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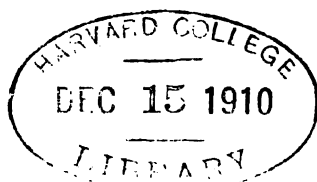
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PREFACE.

IN presenting this volume to the Fellows and Members of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, we are glad to be able to say that the great value of the Papers has kept pace with the increasing interest taken in the development of Irish archæological research. The numerous contributions on Irish pre-historic Archæology, as well as many hitherto unnoticed vestiges of ancient ecclesiastical remains, from the pen of Mr. W. F. Wakeman, will be perused with interest. To those whose taste so directs them, the line of Irish Ecclesiastical Archæology, by the Rev. John F. Shearman, the Paper by the Rev. J. O'Laverty, and that of the Rev. B. W. Adams, D.D., will prove very instructive. Mr. William Gray is an authority on the different forms of flint implements found not only in this country but elsewhere. His valuable contribution to our pages on the Pre-historic Forms of Stone Weapons and Domestic Instruments is an evidence of thoughtful research.

The Rev. Canon MacIlwaine's observations on the interpretation of a disputed passage in the Confession of St. Patrick, and on Celts of Jade found in Ireland, are of great interest. Mr. Robert Day's Paper on a Hauberk of Chain Mail, &c., found in the Phoenix Park,

has opened up an interesting discussion on ancient armour. The Rev. Canon S. Hayman prints Irish MSS. on the Geraldines of Desmond and Kildare, accompanied with notes; Miss Hickson contributes Historical Papers on Kerry Topography, while Mr. FitzGibbon has brought to a conclusion his elaborate essay on the "Whyte Knight," illustrated by MSS. in private as well as public collections. Mr. W. J. Knowles' beautifully illustrated Paper on Irish Beads and Amulets throws much light on a very obscure branch of our antiquities. Mr. G. I. Hewson's Paper on the Irish Processional Cross found in the Co. Kerry is of great interest, and many other contributions will also be perused with advantage.

THE EDITORS.

December, 1882.

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M. le Colonel O'Shee. Pontoise, France.

GENERAL RULES

OF THE

Royal Historical and Archæological Association

OF IRELAND,

As amended at the Annual General Meeting of 1870.

1. The Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland is instituted to preserve, examine, and illustrate all Ancient Monuments of the History, Language, Arts, Manners, and Customs of the past, as connected with Ireland.

2. The Association shall consist of Fellows and Members. All the Original or Founding Members, as enumerated in the Report read at the Annual General Meeting of January, 1869, are hereby constituted Fellows of the Association without any additional payment, or the form of election. For the future all Fellows to be elective; each to pay, on election, an Entrance Fee of £2, and an Annual Subscription of £1. Those Members who shall pay £1 per annum may, on payment of the Entrance Fee, be elected Fellows. The Members shall be elective, and shall pay 10s. per annum without any Entrance Fee. All subscriptions shall be payable in advance, on the first day of January in each year, or on election, and may be compounded for by the payment of £10.

3. The Fellows shall be entitled to receive the Quarterly "Journal" and "Annual Volume" of the Association. The Members shall be entitled to receive the "Journal," and may obtain the "Annual Volume" on payment of 10s. additional.

4. The Fellows of the Association who are not in arrear shall alone have the privilege of voting in cases where the Ballot is called for.

5. The permanent Honorary Officers of the Association shall consist of a Patron-in-Chief, Patrons, President, and Vice-Presidents, two General Secretaries, Treasurer, Curator, and Provincial Secretaries. All Lieutenants of Counties to be Patrons, *ex officio*, on election. The existing Officers to continue, and vacancies to be filled up as they occur.

6. Local Secretaries shall be obtained throughout the country, who shall be requested to inform the Association of all Antiquarian Remains discovered in their districts, to investigate Local History and Traditions, and to give notice of all injury likely to be inflicted on Monuments of Antiquity, in order that the influence of the Association may be exerted to preserve them.

7. A Committee of Twelve (exclusive of the Patrons, President, and Vice-President, Treasurer, and General Secretaries, who shall be *ex officio* Members of the Committee),

shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting held in the January of each year, for the transaction of the ordinary business of the Association; such Committee to meet, if necessary, on the last Wednesday of each month, and at such other times as may be deemed advisable.

8. The Association shall meet on the first Wednesday of January, April, July, and October, when Papers and Correspondence on Historical and Archæological subjects shall be read, and objects of Antiquarian interest exhibited.

9. The Transactions of the several Meetings, forming a quarterly "Journal," shall be printed and supplied to all Fellows and Members not in arrear. If the funds of the Association permit, an "Annual Volume" shall also be printed, and supplied to all Fellows, and to such Members as shall subscribe specially for it.

10. All matter concerned with the Religious and Political Differences which may exist in our country shall be excluded from the Papers to be read and the Discussions held at those Meetings; such matter being foreign to the objects of this Association, and calculated to disturb the harmony which is essential to its success.

11. It shall be the duty of the Committee to revise all Papers which are to be read to the Association, to ascertain that they are in all respects unobjectionable, and, in particular, that they are in accordance with the preceding rule.

12. The Accounts of the Association shall be audited at the second General Meeting in each year.

13. The sums paid by Life Members, and the Entrance Fees of Fellows, shall be invested in the name of two Trustees, to be elected by the Fellows, in whom shall be vested all the property of the Association, and who shall pay over the interest of all invested moneys to the Treasurer. In case of a vacancy in the Trustees occurring, a new Trustee shall be elected with as little delay as possible.

14. These rules shall not be altered or amended, except at an Annual General Meeting of the Association, and after three months' notice.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL
HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND:

ORIGINALLY FOUNDED AS

The Kilkenny Archæological Society,

IN THE YEAR

M.DCCC.XLIX.

THIRTIETH SESSION,
1879.

If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines nor taken these paines.—CAMDEN.

VOL. V.—PART I.

FOURTH SERIES.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
FOR THE ASSOCIATION,
BY PONSONBY AND MURPHY.
1879.

THE Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Association, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL
HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
OF IRELAND,
FOR THE YEAR 1879.

AT the ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held at the Royal
Institution, Cork, on Thursday, January 30th, 1879;

RICHARD LANGRISHE, V. P., in the Chair :

Dr. Caulfield read the Minutes of last Meeting, which
were confirmed.

The Honorary Secretary read the Annual Report as
follows :—

“Your Committee have great pleasure in being able to report that the present state of the Association is most satisfactory, both as regards its financial position and the number of its Members. There are about 630 names on the roll, and the decrease by death and resignations during the past year has, considering that the Association embraces the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with many scattered through the Colonies, been nearly compensated by the accession of one Fellow and fifteen new Members. The Committee would, however, wish to observe that by the Rules of the Association the subscriptions should be paid as soon as possible after the 1st of January, as the heavy cost of printing the ‘Journal’ has to be met, and its regular delivery depends much on the punctuality of its Members in this regard.

“The lamented death of Mr. John G. A. Prim, with the protracted illness of the Rev. James Graves, M.A., have been the chief causes of the delay in the issue of the last numbers of the ‘Journal.’ Your Committee

for 1878 cannot, however, but express their extreme gratification in being able to announce that the health of the latter gentleman, to whose unwearied exertions on behalf of the Association we owe so much, is now so far improved that he is again able to take an active share in the literary work of the Association; and they can now with confidence promise that every effort will be made to ensure the regular issue of the 'Journal.'

"Your Committee can now with pride point to the completion of that magnificent work on 'Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language, from the earliest known to the end of the 12th century,' in two vols., quarto, illustrated with 107 plates, executed in the highest style of art, so as to form as perfect a *corpus inscriptionum Hibernicarum* as possible. This work has been edited by Miss Stokes, based on groundwork laid by the late Dr. Petrie, and under the revision of the Very Rev. William Reeves, D.D., Dean of Armagh, and Dr. Whitley Stokes.

"The annual volume for 1878, 'The Destruction of the Bruiden Da Derga,' one of the most ancient Irish historic tales of the pre-Christian period, edited, with a translation and notes, by W. M. Hennessy, M.R.I.A., is in the press, and will be shortly ready. Your Committee have great pleasure in being able to announce, that by the munificence of His Grace the Duke of Leinster two valuable Irish MSS. will soon be put into the printers' hands. Those unpublished records relate chiefly to the genealogy and history of the Geraldines. The Irish text will be accompanied by a literal English translation, by the late eminent Celtic scholar Mr. O'Beirne Crowe. His Grace has placed the sum of £50 to the credit of the Association to facilitate the publication of this very valuable work.

"The Association is also deeply indebted to the liberality of Lord Castletown, of Upper Ossory, and the Hon. Bernard E. B. FitzPatrick, for the sum of £50 towards the expense of printing *Loca Patriciana*, which was attended with much cost; also to Albert Courtenaye, Esq., Fellow of the Association, for his present of a beautiful and costly die with a crown in the centre, and a legend engraved around it—'The Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland,' which will in future appear on the official correspondence of the Association. The expense of engraving the seal of Donogh MacMurrough, King of Leinster, of the 15th century, has been defrayed by Arthur MacMurrough Kavanagh, Esq.; Sir D. J. Norreys, Bart., has presented the plate of bronze trumpets found in Ireland; the Rev. Dr. Adams the facsimile of the curious ancient plate of the Battle of the Boyne; and the engravings which illustrate the Paper on the Coat of Mail found in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, have been contributed by Robert Day, Esq.

"The valuable suggestions in Mr. Patterson's communication of October 1st, 1878, have been under the consideration of the Committee. In all they fully concur, and every opportunity will be availed of to carry them out. In the year 1850 there appeared in the 'Journal' an article entitled 'Hints and Queries intended to promote the preservation of Antiquities, and the collection and arrangement of information on the subject of Local History and Antiquities.' This Paper was fully illustrated with excellent woodcuts, embracing a cromlech, standing stones, bronze swords, bronze spear-heads, celts, stone hammers, stone arrows and spear-heads, a cinerary urn, and an Ogham stone. The information given, and the questions asked were instructive, comprehensive, and calculated to create an

interest in the subject. It is proposed to reprint these in an improved and extended form, and to have them widely circulated at a very small price, through the Local Secretaries, and thus endeavour to create a spirit of inquiry which, it is hoped, will tend to the preservation of many objects of antiquity that otherwise would inevitably perish. Even in an educational point of view it would most assuredly be productive of much good.

"Nor have your Committee been unmindful of the suggestions made at the last Meeting, that the Association should hold its Meetings periodically in other cities throughout the kingdom. Nothing would tend more to spread abroad a taste for the cultivation of Archæology. We see what it has done in the sister isle, and it is to be hoped that it will occupy the serious consideration of the members at large.

"We would recommend strongly, now that the Association may be said to have got a new start, and as the vitality and permanence of all such associations depend in a great measure on the smooth and efficient working of the financial department, the appointment of a professional accountant who shall keep the books, and whose duty it will be to collect the amount of the subscriptions in arrear and due, to have the accounts in regular form, to prepare a clear abstract for Quarterly Meetings, and a full synopsis for the Annual Meetings, and see that all things in this respect shall be worked out in the best order, and that remuneration for his services be given from the funds of the Association.

"And, finally, your Committee would urge the great importance of Members sending in their Papers with all convenient speed. Nothing would tend more to the regular issue of the 'Journal,' after the punctual payment of the subscriptions, than that the materials should be in the printers' hands."

The Report was unanimously adopted.

The President, Officers, and Committee, were elected as follows :—

President.—His Grace the Duke of Leinster.

Honorary General Secretaries.—Rev. James Graves, A.B., M.R.I.A. ; Richard Caulfield, LL.D., F.S.A.

Honorary Curator of the Museum and Library.—James G. Robertson.

Committee.—Peter Burtchaell, C.E. ; Robert Day, M.R.I.A., F.S.A. ; Barry Delany, M.D., C.M. ; Rev. Samuel Hayman, M.A. ; M. W. Lalor ; Maurice Lenihan, M.R.I.A., J.P. ; Robert Malcomson, A.M. ; Rev. Philip Moore, P.P. ; Rev. John O'Hanlon, M.R.I.A. ; C. D. Purdon, M.B., F.R.C.S.I. ; J. G. Robertson ; Rev. John F. Shearman.

Rev. Canon Hayman proposed Mr. Langrishe as Vice-President of the Association.

Captain Lunham seconded the proposition, which was carried unanimously.

The following new Members were elected :—

Mrs. Palmer, Carrig, Cork.

Henry F. Berry, Esq., 19 Adelaide-road, Dublin.

J. Hodnett, Esq., Town Clerk, Youghal.

Captain George Lidwell, Dromard, Templemore.

James Cagney, Esq., Tivoli, Cork.

The Rev. Canon Gimlette, Dunmore East, Waterford.

The following were exhibited by Mr. Robert Day, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.:—A bronze looped socketed celt and a wedge-shaped grooved stone hammer, which were found at Kilcully, near Cork, during the past summer. The stone hammer is of a form rarely found in Ireland, although frequently met with in the State of Ohio and elsewhere in North America. It is made of a close-grained mottled hornblende, with a fine smoothly polished surface, and somewhat resembles a hammer figured by Sir William Wilde, "Catalogue of Antiquities in R.I.A.," p. 85, but that this is flat-headed, while the specimen in the Academy is oval-shaped. Both are alike in their wedge-shaped cutting edges. The head of this bears marks of use, and immediately below it is a deeply cut and finely polished groove, round which probably a withe passed that secured it to its handle. A gold fibula, found near Downpatrick, of the well-known slug-shaped type, with large circular terminal discs. Where the back narrows near the discs there are two engraved crossbar fillets, and from these spring the deeply marked grooves and lines which give the back of the ornament its slug-shaped appearance. It is in perfect preservation, and weighs one ounce four dwts. A similar gold fibula is figured at p. 65 in the "Catalogue of Gold Antiquities, in the R. I. A." A portrait on ivory, with the monogram, "H. B." (Henry Bone), of Miss Farren, afterwards Countess of Derby. Eliza Farren¹ was born

¹ For a highly interesting biographical sketch of Miss Farren, see "Illustrious Irishwomen," &c., by E. Owens Blackburne, vol. i. pp. 318–53. There is a portrait

of Miss Farren, Countess of Derby, painted by Sir T. Lawrence, P. R. A., now in the National Portrait Gallery, S. Kensington, lent by the Earl of Wilton.

at Cork, in 1759, and died in 1829. Her father was a surgeon who practised in that city, but proving unsuccessful in his profession, he took to the stage, and dying while still young, he left his family in poverty. Eliza made her first appearance upon the stage in 1773. Four years afterwards she played at the Haymarket, and subsequently at Covent Garden and Drury-lane. She maintained a spotless character, and was received at Court by George III. after she married the Earl of Derby in 1797. An interesting presentation medal that belonged to one of the Royal Irish Volunteers who fought in the American War of Independence. The medal is silver, and has engraved upon the *obv.* a harp above a double scroll bearing the motto, "Concitat ad arma," and beneath "Volunteers of Ireland," contained within two sprays of oak leaves. On the *rev.* is engraved "Conferr'd by Colonel Lord Rawdon upon Sergeant Hudson for bravery in the battle fought near Camden on the 16th of August, 1780." In this engagement with the American troops, the loss of British amounted to 70 killed and 250 wounded. The greatest loss was sustained by the 33rd Regt., under Webster, and the Irish Volunteers who were commanded by Lord Rawdon, afterwards better known as Earl of Moira. The 33rd and the Volunteers greatly distinguished themselves in the action, having borne the whole brunt of the battle. Mr. Day also showed an old cream-ware Wedgwood jug, marked "Wedgwood," under the lip or spout of which are the words "Success to the Volunteers of Ireland"; and at either side and beneath the legend are groups showing the uniform worn by the mounted officers, the Grenadier and Light Infantry Companies. This very interesting historical jug was procured by him in the county of Carlow, from a gentleman, whose mother buried it for security with the family plate, during the troublous years with which the last century came to a close.

Mr. Lalor said that Mr. James G. Robertson requested him to present a sketch of a small ancient gold torque, now in the possession of Lord Arthur Butler. It has been coiled up so as to form a finger ring. The sketch represents it as uncoiled: the surface is slightly in-

jured, and not at all equal in finish to the Clara torque, now in the possession of the Dowager Marchioness of Ormonde. The torque was kindly lent to Mr. Robertson for the purpose of describing it. Mr. Lalor also presented for Mr. Robertson, on the part of Mr. Henry Bruce Armstrong, the following newspaper cuttings and prints:—1, a table showing the state and progress of the Catholic cause in the two Houses of Parliament during twenty-two years ending 1827; 2, Down Convention (a political narrative); 3, an obituary notice of John Sinclair, Esq.; 4, memoirs of Mr. Emmet; 5, copy of the original paper of association of the first Volunteer Company in Belfast, published by order of the Company; 6, a print representing the interior of the court-house, at the moment when Emmet is standing up in the dock and addressing the jury; 7, a plan of attack and defence of the town of Belfast by the Volunteers, on the 20th July, 1781, Earl of Charlemont, reviewing general; 8, a view of the Island of St. Helena; 9, a view of the bombardment of Algiers, September 1st, 1816; 10, a coloured print of a monument to the memory of Nelson. Mr. Lalor also exhibited some articles entrusted to him for that purpose by Mr. Robertson, viz., a leaden object with a representation of St. Michael the Archangel in very low relief on one side of it, supposed to have been a mark or seal which had been attached to cloth, to show probably that it had paid duty. It seems to be of the 17th century. Specimens have been found in the Thames, and the seal now exhibited was turned up in a ploughed field in October, 1877, about half a mile from Kilkenny. One side has been broken away, and on it were probably the arms of London. Mr. Robertson had also sent for exhibition a flint scraper and three flint arrow-heads, recently received from Scotland, and remarkable for their minute size.

Captain Bigoe Williams, Fellow of the Association, presented a photograph of a very fine gold torque found four feet deep, not far from the Castle of Dover, in sinking foundations for a house.

The Rev. Canon Hayman exhibited a photograph of an Ogham stone found near the ruins of St. John's

Priory, Youghal. He also exhibited a transcript of the catalogue of the library of the Youghal Franciscan Friary, made in 1491, by Friar William O'Hurily. It contains, with many curious books, Peter Comestor's *Scholastica Historia*. This interesting volume, printed in Strasburg, 1479, was found, 1817, concealed behind a panel in Sir Walter Raleigh's house, Youghal, then the residence of the Hayman family; and was now exhibited to the Association by Canon Hayman, its present owner. Pierre le Mangeur (Comestor) was a native of France. He flourished about A.D. 1170, became Chancellor of the University of Paris, and died Canon of St. Victor, 1198. His work, *Scholastica Historia*, is a compendium of the Holy Scriptures, from Genesis to Acts, and is remarkable for the curious intermixture of unauthorised stories, and sometimes profane fables which the author grafted upon the text. In early times this work was held in much esteem and repute. About A.D. 1294, at the instance of Charles VIII., it was translated into French by Guiars des Moulins. Among other literary treasures of the Youghal Franciscans, as given in the catalogue, was "The Meditations of Saint Bonaventure," which (it is to be hoped) may likewise come to light, as it contained mortuary and other entries, in MS., of the princely house of FitzGerald, founders and munificent patrons of this Friary. The compiler of the catalogue has added a gloss, that whets the antiquary's appetite, "*cum chronicis Geraldinorum*." Canon Hayman stated that, for some years, he had searched in the great libraries and in all accessible quarters—but hitherto in vain—for this copy of Bonaventure. He had some reason to expect that it would be found in the collection of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps. The catalogues of his MSS. are in the Library of the British Museum. Titles—"Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomæ Phillipps, Bart., A.D. 1837. Impressus Typis Medio-Montanis. Mense Maio, 1837;" "Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca Phillippica." These catalogues are extremely rare; they contain all the MSS. now at Cheltenham; and were printed at Middle Hill, on different coloured papers. One volume is much

less in size than the other. Canon Hayman suggested further inquiry.

The following communication from the Rev. W. D. Macray was received by Dr. Caulfield :—

“There is in the Bodleian Library a curious account by a Dutchman, Adrian Adornes, Lord of Corthny, in Flanders, a resident in Co. Mayo, and of his dangers in Ireland, in 1689-91. He was son-in-law, if I remember rightly, of Sir H. de Vic, Resident for Charles II. during the Commonwealth, at Brussels. It is an interesting historical document.”

The Rev. George H. Reade sent the following, relative to what has been called traditionally the Tomb of the Good Woman's Son, in the southern wall of the choir of the Church of the Abbey of Holy Cross, Co. Tipperary :—

“That which is *now* called ‘The Tomb of the Good Woman's Son’ in Holy Cross, is not a tomb, but the Sedilia of the clergy. The tombs of founders were on the other side of the chancel, where, of course, the tomb once stood bearing the above designation; but having been in the course of time swept away, and the memory of a tomb called as above remaining, ignorant guides pointed to the Sedilia as such.

“It has been frequently asked, who was this ‘Good Woman,’ and who was her ‘Son,’ and some very strange conjectural replies have been made to these queries. Tradition is silent upon the subject, and history has hitherto been considered to be silent also as to their identity. Donogh Cairbre O'Brien had been presented by the Pope with a portion of the True Cross, and the only tradition which remains states that he gave the relic to his wife, and that she bestowed it upon the abbey, which takes its name from the gift. Donogh Cairbre O'Brien had two sons, both very celebrated warriors. The eldest, Turlough O'Brien, died in the same year as his father Donogh. Cairbre and his praises and his mighty acts were sung by John, son of Rory Magrath, chief historiographer of Thomond, in a poem entitled ‘The triumphs of Turlough O'Brien,’ in the year 1459. Now, his mother's name was Sabina, the English of which is ‘Goodness,’ or, as it has come down to our day, translated ‘goodie.’ These laudatory poems always recited the names of the parents of the hero, and doubtless in that poem he was called the son of Donogh and his wife ‘Goodness,’ as Sabina meant to the Celtic ear, doubly deserving the name from her inestimable gift to the abbey so recently erected. Turlough had a brother, also celebrated as a warrior, who defeated the English in several battles, and long outlived Turlough, but no bard sang his glories. The fact that the son of Sabina and Donogh, a warrior whose fame was thus promulgated, died young, while all were speaking of his noble deeds, and the erection of the abbey by his father, with the gift of the portion of the True Cross by his mother ‘Goodness,’ were so well remembered, seem to me to prove that the tomb erected in Holy Cross Abbey, and always called the ‘Tomb of the Good Woman's Son,’ must have been erected in

memory of Turlough O'Brien, who is, therefore, the son of Donogh and Goodness O'Brien—the first entombment in the church built by his father, endowed by his good mother, and exalted by his glorious career."

Mr. Denis A. O'Leary sent the following additional notes on the inscription of Maurice FitzGerald at Buttevant Abbey:—

"In the 'Journal' of this Association for October, 1876, I gave the inscription and arms of Maurice Fitz Gerald, of Castle Ishen, and I now add a few items which may be considered interesting when taken with the unpublished Geraldine Documents which have already appeared in the 'Journal.' As already stated (vol. iv., fourth series, p. 109), the inscription is carved on a slab in the built-up window of the transept of the ruined Franciscan abbey at Buttevant. On a recent visit, I found lying beneath on the ground a large monumental slab, apparently the topmost slab of the tomb when complete, now broken in pieces, the outer rim of which bore an inscription in old capitals, which is now unfortunately illegible, and the date 1614 in the lower corner. I carefully rubbed over the inscription to see whether I could not take a copy, but my efforts were unavailing. One letter looked like M, but this is merely surmise. This Maurice of the inscription was, I believe, father to Sir Richard Fitz Gerald, Bart., who built Castle Ishen House, and who was, Miss Hickson says, 'the first of the Castle Ishen Fitz Geraldts who assumed the Clenlish baronetcy.' He married Johanna, daughter and heiress to James Trant, of Dingle, Esq. (niece to Phyllis Trant, grandmother to W. C. Hickie, Esq., D.L., of Kilelton, county of Kerry, and Lieutenant-Colonel J. F. Hickie, D.L., of Slevoir, Roscrea), and had issue one son, James, who succeeded to the baronetcy, and was commonly called Sir James Trant Fitz Gerald, and one daughter, married to a Mr. Pepper, who died in England. Sir James Trant Fitz Gerald married Bridget Anne, daughter of Robert Dalton, of Thurnham Hall, in the county of Lancaster, Esq., by his third wife, Bridget More, of Barnborough Hall, Yorkshire, who was heiress and last lineal descendant of the celebrated Sir Thomas More, Chancellor to Henry VIII. Sir James Trant Fitz Gerald (who died in 1820, when, according to local tradition, past seventy years) had issue one son, James, who married Augusta, second daughter of Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Fremantle, G.C.B., and sister to the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Fremantle, Bart., late Chairman of the Board of Customs, now first Baron Cottesloe, of Swanbourne Park, Bucks, and whose eldest son, the Hon. T. Fremantle, has succeeded the Earl of Beaconsfield in the representation of Bucks. This Sir James Fitz Gerald died at his town residence on the 26th September, 1839. He had issue two sons, both of whom succeeded in turn to the baronetcy.

"1. Sir James George Dalton Fitz Gerald (he assumed the surname of Dalton before that of Fitzgerald, and the arms quarterly, by Royal Letters Patent), born January 6, 1831; succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his father, September 26, 1839; married, June 26, 1856, Blanche Mary, daughter of the Hon. Philip Stourton; died at Bath,

January 15, 1867. He left no issue; and his wife, the Lady Blanche, died at the Convent of Mercy, Baggot-street, Dublin (whither she retired on the death of Sir James), in May, 1875.

"2. Sir Gerald Richard Dalton FitzGerald, Knight of Malta (the present baronet), born August 21, 1832, late a lieutenant in the Royal Navy, married, January 15, 1861, Agnes Georgiana, second daughter of George Wildes, of Elm Bank, Manchester, Esq. He succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his brother, when he also assumed the surname of Dalton before FitzGerald. He has no issue. His surviving sisters are Augusta; Cecilia,¹ married in 1853 to Louis Marquis Di Serlupi, Commander of the Horse to his late Holiness Pius IX.; and Emily. Besides the Castle Ishen estate in Cork county, Sir Gerald Dalton FitzGerald has another estate near Fethard, in Tipperary. Residences: Thurnham Hall, Lancaster; Bigod's Hall, Dunmow, Essex; Castle Ishen Castle, Charleville, county Cork; 47, Portman-square, London, W.

"The last of the family who resided at Castle Ishen was Sir James Trant FitzGerald, grandfather to the late and to the present baronet. When he went abroad in 1812, my granduncle, Mr. Denis O'Leary, of Farthingville House, who was then agent of the estate, came to reside at Castle Ishen, and on his death it fell to his brother, Mr. William O'Leary, my grandfather, whose third son is now in possession. Castle Ishen House is a good old-fashioned three-storied mansion, and is not 'ruinous,' as stated by Miss Hickson in 'Revised Pedigree B, note b.' Over the doorway is a square slab, with the arms as given at Buttevant. Of the old castle which gave the name to the townland—'the castle at the small fort'—one square tower, some thirty feet in height, only remains. On the top, the northern pointed gable, in which was an arched window, stands out in relief. The eastern boundary of this townland is the Aghathulca stream, which flows through a deep glen locally known as *Gleann-na-seid*, 'the Glen of the Blow,' or, according to another reading, 'the Glen of the Jewel,' names which are not given in the Ordnance Survey Maps, for which reason they are inserted here.

"NOTES.—In his *Irish Family History*, p. 221, R. Cronnelly states that 'Clanglas' was a district in Hy Conal Gabhra, in the barony of Upper Connello, south-east of Abbeyfeale; it was sometimes called Hy Cuilean, a name by which the more extensive territory of Hy Conal Gabhra was also known; and the writer of the 'Genealogy of Irish Names,' in *The Shamrock*, Vol. xiv., p. 319, says, 'Claen-ghlais, now Clonlish, barony of Upper Connello, &c.' The Commons of Clonlish, or, as it now written, Cleanglass, an electoral division in the Newcastle West Union, are situate in the parish of Ashford and barony of Glenquinn. It is a wild, bleak, mountainous district, without any trace of a castle, if there was any ever there, or anything to point out its former greatness. A curious legend, as I suppose I should term it, is told concerning Sir James Trant FitzGerald. When travelling in Denmark—so the story goes—he was once present at a wedding, and was not a little surprised to find that amongst the dowry enumerated were 'the lands of Castle Ishen in Green Ireland.' Miss Hickson informs me that it was an ances-

¹ The Marchesa Di Serlupi is Patroness of a lay Confraternity, "The Society of

Faithful Servant Women," recently established by His Holiness Pope Leo XIII.

tor of hers, a Mr. R. Hickson, who conformed to the Protestant religion, that held the Castle Isken estate in trust during the 'Penal days.' The noble part which many Protestant families acted in those troublous times is matter of history."

The Rev. Canon Hayman read a letter from the Rev. James Graves:—

"I inclose a cutting from the *Freeman*. It is about an eviction, but it has an archæological interest, inasmuch as it bears on the destruction of one of Ireland's national monuments—the famous chambered tumulus at Dowth, only second in magnitude and interest to the neighbouring great chambered tumulus at New Grange. It should be brought before the Meeting as showing the absolute necessity of the passing of the Ancient Monuments Bill, which has been read a second time already this Session. This Dowth monument is itself scheduled in the Bill. We must lament that this grand national monument has been left to destruction. It would also be well to remark that the 'Archæological Society' which 'devastated' the tumulus was not our Association. It was explored about thirty years ago by private individuals. No account of the exploration has ever been published; and when I saw it, the materials of the tumulus were lying about in sad confusion, and evidently had never been placed back. Being so, Mr. Elcock, the tenant of the land, naturally thought they would form good building materials, and acted accordingly. Thousands of tons of stones for 'road metal' were also taken from it, for Mr. Elcock was a road contractor as well as a house builder."

The following is a portion of the extract alluded to:—

"We must add that the facts disclosed at the Meeting show only too plainly how urgent is the need of an Act to preserve from ruin the ancient monuments of Ireland. It is quite plain that, for many years past, the great tumulus of Dowth, one of the wonders of the island—one of the most stupendous, interesting, and ancient memorials of the past—has, after two thousand years, been in our day used as a convenient quarry by more than one person."

The O'Donovan read a portion of the trial in the ejectment case above alluded to, and said that from the report it was plain the eviction took place in consequence of the destruction of this tumulus.

On the proposition of Mr. Lenihan, seconded by The O'Donovan, it was unanimously resolved:—"That we strongly protest against the attempted destruction of the monumental remains at Dowth, one of the

most interesting and extensive tumuli in western Europe, and that we respectfully call upon Sir John Lubbock to employ his energies in order to the extension, to the antiquities and national relics of this country, of the protection of Parliament. We cannot in words sufficiently strong denounce the barbarous destruction of the monumental remains at Dowth. We also request the attention of the city and county Members of Cork, the Members for Kilkenny county and city, and such other Members of Parliament as feel an interest in the preservation of our national antiquities, to this subject; and that the Hon. Sec. forward a copy of this Resolution to Sir John Lubbock."

Mr. Penrose.—Is there no Act of Parliament for the preservation of those antiquities?

Rev. Canon Hayman.—Not yet.

The Chairman said that some ecclesiastical ruins were, under the Irish Church Act, made National Monuments, and vested in the Board of Works to preserve them.

The O'Donovan said that Mr. Doherty, Lord Bandon's agent, told him that morning that the splendid Round Tower of Kineigh would before long be upset, owing to the inroads which the ivy was making between the stones.

Dr. Caulfield said that the late Professor Harkness and himself went to the tower last summer, and cut the roots of the ivy as much as possible, and they hoped it would have all come down during the winter.

Mr. Raymond said that he had been employed by the Countess of Kingston to restore the old arch in the church at Brigowne,¹ part of which belonged to the seventh century. There was a tomb in that church to

¹ "In 1807, on building the glebe-house at Brigowne, the base of the Round Tower there was dug up to furnish squared stones for that work. It stood S.W. of the old church, and had long been reduced to a level with the ground. On digging some feet below the surface, it appeared evidently to rest on a square foundation, in one of the angles of which was built

up the fragment of a large stone (carelessly, however, and as a thing of no value), on which the letters H, U, and O could be distinguished. A letter shaped like P was repeated more than once, as also C or G. Three rows of these letters were visible." Bennet MSS. Quoted by Dr. Brady, "Cler. and Par. Records of Cork," vol. ii. p. 70.

Margaret Baroness Kingston; and a gentleman, a descendant, in England, had sent him (Mr. Raymond) £16 10s. to restore that tomb.

It was then unanimously resolved that the next Meeting be held on the third Wednesday in April, at Kilkenny.

The following Papers were contributed:—

EXAMINATION AND MEASUREMENTS OF THE ROUND TOWER
OF KINEIGH, BARONY OF WEST CARBERY, CO. CORK.

MADE BY DR. CAULFIELD, F.S.A.; PROFESSOR HARKNESS, F.R.S.; AND
THE REV. J. HAINES, M.A., ON APRIL 23 AND 27, 1878.

THE Round Tower of Kineigh is situated in the parish of Kineigh; it is about three miles north-west of the village of Iniskeen. The country for miles all round is of a wild and rugged character; rocks crop up on every side; the land is intersected with rivulets, which cascade here and there by the way-side, sometimes forming deep pools: one remarkable for its depth is called *Poul-nagurnane*. At this season of the year this part of the country presents the appearance of a sheet of burnished gold, from the great quantity of the furze blossom with which it is covered. On close observation the surface of the rock, which is old red sandstone, occasionally exhibits *moutonné* outlines, probably resulting from glacial action. At the distance of a mile the Round Tower becomes visible, occupying a commanding position; at first it seems to rise out of a plantation that surrounds the glebe-house, and being partly covered with ivy, with the sky for its background, it has a very picturesque appearance. It may, however, be observed that if the tower is to be preserved, the ivy must be removed, as it has already dislodged some of the stones at the base of the tower, and is still likely to do more mischief. This tower has one unique peculiarity, in which it differs from all the others—it has a hexagonal base and chamber of the same character, from which, at the height of about 18 feet, the round portion of the tower commences. It is built on the top of a small rocky eminence, quite adjacent to the church and churchyard; the base rests on a plinth hexagonally arranged, about six inches high; beneath is a rude platform of stones of irregular thickness, on which the tower

stands, where the builders did not avail of the foundations presented by the natural rock. At a distance of more than three-fourths from the base the circular part of the tower is nearly vertical. From the fact of this tower being somewhat out of the beaten track, it appears not to have received that minute examination which so interesting a memorial deserves. All the accounts of it, from Smith down, prove that a cursory glance sufficed to satisfy the curiosity of those who have made any mention of it. The sides of the hexagon are each about 10 ft. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. broad, the height 18 ft.; on removing some of the ivy from the angles, a remarkable feature presented itself, it was found that each of the angles terminated in a triangular cap formed of five large stones abutting against the round part of the tower. The door, which faces nearly N.E., is 10 ft. 6 in. from the base; the sides are composed of dressed stone facings at the sides, with a flag at the top. Thickness of the wall at door, 4 ft. 3 in. Height of do., 4 ft. $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. Outside width of door at bottom, $28\frac{1}{2}$ in.; do. at top, $24\frac{1}{2}$ in.; inside do. at bottom, 28 in.; do at top, 24 in. The doorway and all the windows have oblique sides, and splay in. The floor of the apartment inside the door is composed of flags; on removing one in the centre, about 3 ft. by 2 ft., access was obtained to the hexagonal chamber, which is 10 ft. deep to the rock on which the tower sits. The following are the measurements of the sides:—1st, that beneath the door N.E., 4 ft. 7 in.; 2nd, N., 4 ft. 4 in.; 3rd, N.W., 4 ft. 7 in.; 4th, S.W., 4 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.; 5th, S., 4 ft. 5 in.; 6th, E., 4 ft. 7 in. Diameter from face to face, 7 ft. 10 in.; do. from angle to angle, 9 ft. 1 in. Some of the stones run the entire length of the face, many are dressed, others exhibit only the surface of a natural joint; the floor above is supported by rude slabs, projecting from the upper part of the angles of the hexagon; no aperture of any kind occurs in the lower chamber.

2nd chamber—facing door, height, 11 ft. 9 in.; diameter, 8 ft. 10 in.; no window. Indications of recent pointing; stones dressed. About two inches above, a rim projects about an inch from the wall, and tapers away

towards the corners of the door: it seems to be the base of the circular part of the tower, and consists of twelve stones.

3rd chamber—height, 11 ft. 4 in.; diameter, 9 ft. 2 in.; height of window from ledge which supports floor, 28 in.; height of do., 1 ft. 4 in.: breadth, $11\frac{1}{8}$ in.; faces E. N. E.; indications of recent pointing and old chisel marks. All the floors above No. 2 are formed of flags about the semi-diameter of the chamber, and rest on the original stone rims which project from the wall all round, and are reached by a series of iron ladders fixed in the floor; the door is likewise reached from the outside.

4th chamber—height, 12 ft. 11 in.; diameter, 9 ft.; height of window from floor ledge, 23 in.; height of do., 1 ft. 4 in.; breadth, $11\frac{1}{8}$ in.; faces N. W.; indications of recent pointing and old chisel marks.

5th chamber—height, 13 ft. 8 in.; diameter, 8 ft. 8 in.; height of window from ledge of floor, 16 in.; height of do., 1 ft. 8 in.; breadth $11\frac{1}{8}$ in.; faces N. by E. In this chamber some of the stones are 3 ft. 6 in. by 5 in. There are also two rude corbels, one 3 ft. 8 in., the other $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from floor; indications of recent pointing and old chisel marks.

6th or upper chamber—height, 7 ft. 8 in.; diameter, 8 ft. 6 in.; thickness of wall at top, 3 ft.; height of window from ledge, 14 in.; thickness of do., 6 in.; height of sill of window, 1 ft. 8 in.; breadth, $11\frac{1}{8}$ in.; faces S.; old chisel marks apparent on some of the curved stones, but much weathered; no indications of pointing. The breadth of the chisel with which the stones were worked was 5 inches; this is evident from the uniformity of the cut on most of the stones; the curve of some of the large stones had been prepared previous to chiselling. The cutting or dressing is always in an oblique direction, and sometimes assumes the forms of a series of *chevrons*. In the doorway some stones so dressed, and afterwards cemented together, present this pattern as if intended for ornament, though manifestly accidental. There is also in the doorway a stone partially jointed and dressed beyond the termination of the

joint. In the upper chamber a modern bell is hung, about 4 cwt. weight. This tower belongs to the glebe land, and is now in excellent condition. The upper courses of the tower are perfectly regular and uniform, and this does not appear to result from repair. The upper courses slightly bulge outwards, as if they had been the support of the cap. It should be remarked that the usual conical cap which generally surmounts these Round Towers is wanting here; the top is open, nor is there any evidence or tradition that such ever existed. At some remote period it may have had another chamber and a cap, as Mr. Petrie says that these stories vary "in number from four to eight," p. 358. The earliest notice we have of this place occurs in the "Annals of the Four Masters" under "A.D. 850, Forbhasach son of Maeluidhir, Abbot of Cill-mor-Cinnech, died." Dr. O'Donovan in a note says, "*i.e.* the great church of Ceann-eich. This was probably Ceanneich, *anglice* Kineigh, near the village of Iniskeen, in the barony of Carbery and county of Cork, where are the remains of a Round Tower." The word in the Irish language is Ceann-eich, and signifies "the head or hill of the horse." Smith, in his "History of Co. Cork" (vol. ii. p. 415), says that "the Round Tower stands 124 feet from the west of the ruined church." It is to be regretted that we have no account of the nature of the architecture of this church, which will hereafter appear to have been in a dilapidated state in 1700; the remains of foundations may still be traced, but not of the ancient church, as we shall also see. In the churchyard, near the south wall, is a mark resembling a footprint in the natural rock, a few inches beneath the surface, said to be that of St. Mocolmóc; and there is a tradition that in former times, whenever an oath was to be administered, it was done by the person placing his right foot in this cavity, when he was interrogated in the usual way. The legend as now told by the people in the locality is, that a cow belonging to the saintly personages who, in the days of old, inhabited this tower, was seized and driven away for taxes due to the lord of the soil; this act so excited the indignation of the saint, that he leaped

from the tower and alighted on this spot, uttering maledictions against those who drove off the cow, which was subsequently recovered, and the footprint remained in memory of the event. This story seems to accord in some particulars with another statement made by Smith (vol. ii. p. 416), on the authority of what he calls "some annals of Munster," and which would point definitely to the period of the erection of Kineigh tower which is mentioned as being in process of building about A.D. 1015. The legend is, that soon after the battle of Clontarf (Cluain-tarbh = "meadow of the butts"), which was fought on Friday before Easter, 1013, "Kean MacMoilewoa having married the eldest daughter of Brien, late monarch of Ireland, set about conquering the kingdom from Donel his brother-in-law, who married the second daughter of Brien, and marched near the tower of Kineigh, then building and almost finished by St. Mocholmog the patron, and, invoking the saint's blessing, received it. Kean, pursuing Donel, came to Kineigh with 5000 men, whom he suffered to plunder it, and carry away the provisions of the workmen, on which account he was cursed by the saint, and his army overthrown by Donel at a place called Magolin, six miles west of Cork." Since the examination of the tower, the Rev. J. Goodman, M.A., Rector of Skibbereen, a gentleman well known for his knowledge of the ancient Irish language, has kindly furnished the following translation of an extract from a copy of an old Irish MS. in his possession. The original was formerly in the possession of John Collins, of Myross, an eminent Irish antiquary, genealogist, and scribe; and it is now pretty evident that Smith must have derived his information from this source, when he was in Carbery. The translation of the latter part, which is given above, differs slightly, but is said to be much more correct, and is worth recording. A.D. 1014, "Amhloibh, son of Cathal (O'Donovan), was a great warrior, and fought at the battle of Clontarf under the banner of Cian, son of Maolmuagh, chief of the sept of the O'Mahonies, and the friend and benefactor of his father, Cathal son of Donovan. This Cian was a prince of great bravery and

wisdom. In the lifetime of his father he was given up as an hostage to Brien (Borumha). He mostly always lived at his palace, fought by his side, and shared in his dangers and in his glory. Brien gave him his daughter Sadhbh (Sabina = goodness) in marriage. As the South Munster troops did not suffer as much as the North Munster troops in the battle of Clontarf, Cian commanded 3000 men coming from the battle. Domhnal, son of Dubhdeivrain, ancestor of the O'Donoghues, commanded as many more; whilst the troops of North Munster consisted only of 2000, out of which 1200 only were able to bear arms, which were commanded by Teige and Donagh, the two surviving sons of Brien. Cian seeing their weakness sent a formal embassy to them, on the morning of the 26th April, informing them of his intention of being proclaimed King of Munster. On hearing this his brother sent an express to Domhnal, son of Dubhdeivrain, announcing the intention of Cian, who immediately proceeded to the tent of Cian, demanded the cause, and told him he had not the least idea of promoting him to the sovereignty of Munster, but solemnly protested against his proceedings. Cian answered, that he never thought of asking his advice or assistance on that occasion, on which Domhnal and his army separated from that of Cian, and formed a distinct camp. Hereupon Domhnal and his party proceeded to Kerry, and Cian and his to Ibh-Eachach in the county of Cork, the place of his residence, where he assumed the government of Munster and protected O'Donovan in his own extensive estates in the counties of Limerick and Cork. The above Domhnal Dubhdeivrain was married to a second daughter of Brien, and marched with an army of 2000 men against Cian, who denounced and challenged him to battle at Maghguilidhe, now called Magolin, six miles to the west of Cork. Domhnal on his way came near Kineigh tower then building, and almost finished by St. Mocholmoge, the patron thereof, and implored that saint's blessing, which he received. Cian coming the same way with his army of 3000 men insulted St. Mocholmoge, and suffered his army to plunder his church, and even to carry away the provisions of the

workmen, for which he and his army were cursed by the saint, according to the following historical rann:—

‘ East from his house, the Saint uplifts his hands
And prays, whilst on the verdant sod he stands,
That Domhnal may the head of Cian obtain,
And o’er his troops an easy conquest gain.’

The parties met at Maghguilidhe, and the engagement was long and bloody. The party of Cian was at length defeated with great carnage, and amongst the slain was the prince and his two brothers and three of his sons. ‘Thus fell,’ says the “Leabhar-Oiris,” ‘the intrepid Cian, as gallant and generous a prince as the house of Heber produced.’” Mr. Goodman has examined other Irish MS. genealogical poems on the same subject, in his collection, but has met with no other reference to the building of Kineigh, nor is there any mention of St. Mocholmoge in the “Acta Sanctorum.”

The Churchyard.—On entering, one is struck with the great number of the boughs of trees, denuded of leaves, and poles about five or six feet long, that are scattered about. It is thus accounted for:—When a new grave is made, the friends usually bring fresh sods, often from a distance: these are cut from the green sward, the dimensions of the grave, and, rolled like a carpet on the straight bough of a tree, are borne on the shoulders of two men to the grave. Here it is unfolded and laid over the remains; the pole is then thrown over the shoulders of one of the bearers, and never removed from the site of the grave. In addition to the usual crop of nettles, which are never permitted to be cut, this place abounds with the yellow water iris (*Iris-pseud-acorus*), the gay blossom of which helps, in its own season, to shine through the gloom that hangs over the graves.

The Old Church.—From the “Regal Visitation” we learn that in 1615 the church and chancel were in repair and furnished with books. 1634.—The church was in good condition and furnished. 1682.—The church of Kineigh was ordered to be repaired by a grand jury presentment. 1699.—The church was in bad condition.

1700, May 27.—Bishop Dive Downes visited the church of Kineigh. In his account he says: "The west end of the church is covered, but the wall-plates give way. The partition betwixt that part of the church which is covered and the east end, which is uncovered, is not plastered. A high Round Tower stands in the S.W. corner of the churchyard. A door was on the north side of the church, and, it is thought, opened into a vestry. It is supposed this church was formerly a cathedral. The churchyard, being an acre, is well enclosed with a stone wall. About 30 acres of glebe lie around the church of Kineigh. The country about is indifferent coarse. A stone is in the S.W. corner of the church of Kineigh, counted very sacred, which the Irish solemnly swear upon. This church is accounted amongst the Irish very sacred. There is a tradition amongst the Irish that formerly in the churchyard there was a well that had great medicinal virtues, and that the concourse of people being very chargeable to the inhabitants, they stopped it up." ("Downes' Tour.") 1794, Sept. 3.—A new church, built near the foundation of the old one, is consecrated under the name of Christ Church. 1856, Aug. 27.—The present church was consecrated under the name of St. Bartholomew. From these accounts it seems there were three churches on this ground. The ancient one seen by Bishop Downes appears to have had a nave and chancel in his time, separated by a partition, the latter part uncovered. Both the later churches occupied different sites. The foundations now visible in the cemetery were not those of the ancient church, as many persons in the locality remember the church on this site; and it is here stated to have been "built near the foundation of the old one." Besides, the churchyard, in Bishop Downes' time, occupied an acre; and it is said that the field to the west once formed part of the churchyard. If, then, the stone now shown in the S.W. of the churchyard be that mentioned by Bishop Downes, it would bring the ancient church in more immediate proximity with the Round Tower, which occurs in so many other instances. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his work on the Topography of Ireland,

which he completed in 1187, mentions these towers as "Turres ecclesiasticas, quæ more patriæ arctæ sunt et altæ, nec non et rotundæ" (chap. ix.). From this it is evident they were previously erected. They are usually called, in the "Annals of the Four Masters," *cloicteacha*, from *clog*, a bell, and *teach*, a house.

KILCOO.

BY W. F. WAKEMAN.

AT a distance of less than a mile from the town of Kiltyclogher, Co. Leitrim, but situate in the extreme north-west of Fermanagh, upon the eastern bank of the picturesque and troutful river which at this point divides the counties, rises from the limestone a knoll or knock, which in the neighbourhood is popularly styled "The Forth." There is, at present at least, no evidence of any fort having had an existence on the spot. The name has, in all probability, been derived from the Irish word *fert*, a place of burial. Upon this slight eminence, and in the immediate vicinity, may be descried many evidences of the site having, in the earlier ages of the Irish Church, been a place very sacred, and even of considerable ecclesiastical importance. It is called Kilcoo; and yet, strange to say, when, baffled myself, I have consulted archæologists well read in Irish Church history—amongst others, the Very Rev. Dean Reeves, Dr. Joyce, and the Rev. John O'Hanlon—the mystery of its foundation and subsequent history remains to be solved. Absolutely nothing appears to be known about it; and still here, within a small compass, we find the relics of an ancient church, a holy well called "Tober Patrick," a very curiously-circumstanced stone cross of primitive character, a number of ancient Irish inscribed flag-stones, a well-defined leacht, or monumental heap, and a cavern in the limestone immediately adjoining (but situate upon the opposite side of the little river already referred to),

which, as we learn from the traditions of the people of the neighbourhood, was anciently, like St. Kevin's Bed at Glendalough, partially fashioned by human hands, and used as a penitential retreat. It may be confessed that from the same authority we must believe that the recluse's cell was not unfrequently, in modern days, used as a place of unholy retreat by persons of the class known as Rapparees, and even by the distillers of illicit whiskey. The same, by the way, may be said of our oldest crannogs.

Few close scenes in Ireland can be considered more picturesquely beautiful than this weird and forgotten spot. In the words of Scott—

“The moor around is brown and bare;
The space within is green and fair”:

and the labours of long-departed churchmen have made a kind of oasis of portions of *Slattinagh* and of *Frevagh*, for so the townlands within which Kilcoo is to be found are still called, and in this style they have been inserted upon the Ordnance Map. Trusting that from a critical examination of these names some clue might be afforded towards an identification of the place, I applied to headquarters in such matters, and received from Dr. Joyce a kindly note, some portion of which, as bearing upon the subject, I am at liberty here to insert. Dr. Joyce writes that: “*Slattinagh* and *Frevagh* are first cousins in meaning. The first means a place abounding in *slots* or rods, or slender rod-like growths of trees. When I was a boy at school we used to call those round slate-pencils you buy at stationers' shops *black slots*. *Frevagh* means a place abounding in *roots* (*Fneam*, a root), so called, probably, from the roots of some vanished plantation. In interpreting *Slattinagh* as abounding in monumental *flagstones*, you probably meant that it was derived from *leac̃t*, with the *s* prefixed, as is common in the north. But I do not think this is the interpretation; and even if it were, remember that *leac̃t* means not a flagstone, but a monumental heap (usually) of stones.” It is but proper here to remark that, when writing the above, Dr. Joyce was not aware that a very fine monumental heap still re-

mains at Kilcoo, and that others (for the place has been ruthlessly dismantled) may have existed there in former times. The cemetery, though at present, and for a long time past, used only for the interment of stillborn or unbaptized children, exhibits numerous graves, several of which appear to be of considerable antiquity. It also, until lately, contained a number (said to have been twelve or fourteen) of ancient Irish inscribed monumental flag-stones, only three of which at the time of our visit still remained. It is almost incredible that the missing monuments could in our time have been wantonly destroyed; but it is a fact beyond question that, some fourteen or sixteen years ago, when a new road which immediately adjoins the graveyard was being formed, more than twelve ancient inscribed stones were removed by a contractor and utilised by him in the construction of "pipes" or drains. The story of this lamentable outrage was told to me in presence of George Stewart, Esq., Fellow of our Association, upon the spot, by Mr. Acheson, a respectable farmer of the better class, who for many years has lived within a few yards of the old cemetery. Mr. Acheson stated that he had known the monuments for a great number of years; that they were much of the same size and character as the three remaining examples; that they were all inscribed with letters differing from those in modern or comparatively modern use; that each inscription was accompanied by an incised cross; and that the latter were of various designs, or, as he said, "*patterns*." This sad story of recent Vandalism was fully corroborated by more than one native of the place. Upon inquiring whether it might not yet be possible to trace some of the stones thus desecrated within the works already referred to, we were informed that it would be useless to seek for them, as they were hidden from view, and as some of them had certainly been broken to pieces in order to suit the convenience of the masons.

The first of the remaining monuments which attracted our attention is a flat-surfaced block of close red gritstone, measuring 22 inches in length by 10½ in breadth. Its thickness is about 10 inches. It was in

order to see and draw this stone (the existence of which had been intimated to me by Mr. P. Magennis, of Knockmore, Derrygonnelly, the talented author of "Tully Castle," and other works in prose and verse) that, in company with Mr. Stewart, I sought the place. We had not been long upon the ground when two other inscribed stones (Figs. 2 and 3) were found; and Mr. Acheson coming up, and seeing the interest taken in the remains, soon gave us the melancholy story of the destruction of others which had been there. Mr. Magennis had heard of our Fig. 1 monument from Mr. F. W. Maguire, the obliging master of Kiltyclogher National School. He had not himself seen it, I believe, and had described it to me as an inscribed stone cross. We were at first rather disappointed; but upon a careful examination of the flag, I soon became satisfied that our journey had not been made in vain.

For an idea of the form of the cross and the character of the inscription, every letter of which remains clear and distinct, I beg to refer the reader to an accompanying illustration, which was made from a careful rubbing and drawing of the original, both of which were made while the object was still before us. The lines of the cross are not of the usual plainly incised class; they may be rather described as consisting of slightly depressed flat bands. The inscription, commencing with a small Roman cross, reads—

✚ $\overline{\text{OR}}$ DU mael cluchi .

"A prayer for Mael Cluchi."

"The ancient form DU" (writes Miss Stokes, in her invaluable work entitled 'Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language'), "instead of DO, for the preposition here, is curious, and occurs on only two other inscriptions." The accomplished editor refers to the inscription $\overline{\text{OR}}$ DU ETICH, at Clonmacnoise. How interesting to find that at Kilcoo we have a fourth lapidary example of this form. "It is found," writes Miss Stokes, "in the 'Book of Armagh' (a MS. of the beginning of the

ninth century) and in the Milan Codex, and is identical with the Goth. *du*, Nhg. *zu*, and probably the Latin *du*, in *in-du*-perator, *in-du*-pedio."

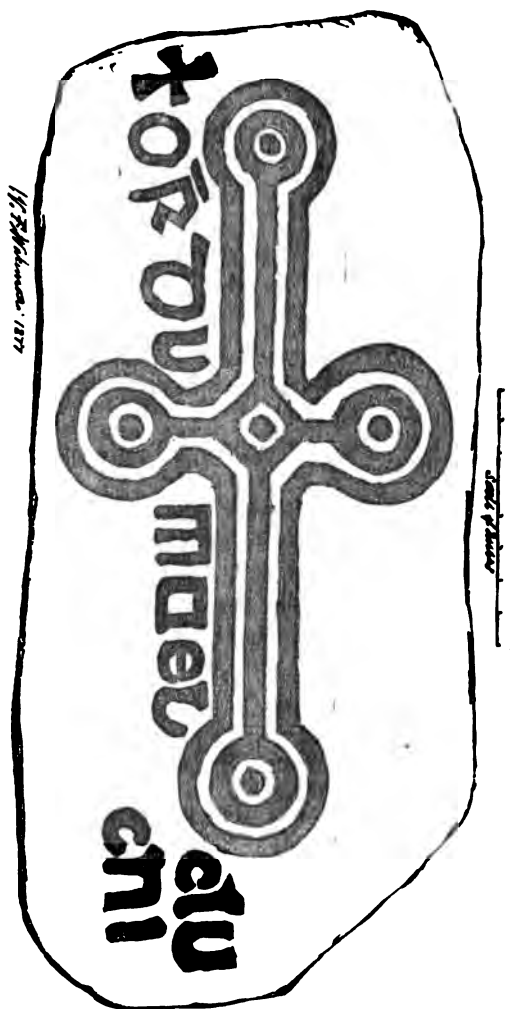


Fig. 1.—Inscribed Stone at Kilcoo.

The letters of the inscription are well formed; and the singularity of their character would seem to point to a date not perhaps later than the ninth century. It is

very unfortunate that I have not been able to identify this Mael Cluchi, who, from the comparative richness of his monument, was, in all probability, a person of no mean note in his day. Maelcluithe was the name of a son of Conchobar, and his death is recorded by the Four Masters in the early part of the tenth century. He does not appear, however (as far as I can learn), to have been in any way connected with the district in which Kilcoo stands.

The second example of the Kilcoo memorial stones, which I here present (Fig. 2), like the former, is

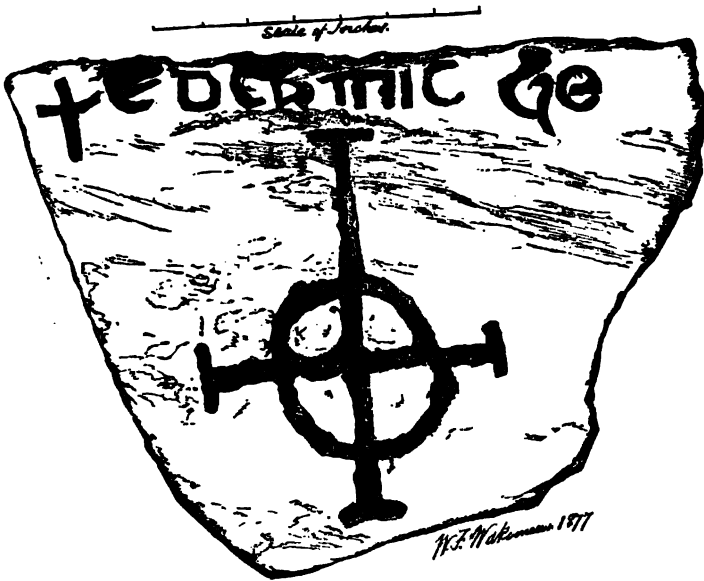


Fig. 2.—Inscribed Stone at Kilcoo.

composed of red gritstone. It measures $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $12\frac{1}{2}$, and is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. It is a very curious and interesting specimen of its class; and the inscription, owing to injury which it received, doubtless by the hands of the contractor's men, seemed rather difficult to decipher. At first, indeed, the task of reading it appeared to be hopeless. I possessed but grass rubbings—which in some points were not entirely satisfactory—as well as a sketch to which the same remark

applied. Feeling very anxious to have the mystery of the inscription, if possible, cleared, I paid a second visit to Kilcoo, on which occasion I was most kindly presented with the original stone by its owner, Mr. Acheson, who, in handing it over, declared that he knew in so doing he secured its safety, and that it would not, like so many of its fellows, be lost. Upon being carefully washed by aid of a soft brush, the characters of the legend became much more clear than they had been. I determined to make a paper mould of the whole inscription, the cross included, and to forward what would certainly be a fac-simile of the scribings for the judgment of the Right Rev. Dr. Graves, Lord Bishop of Limerick. His lordship was kind enough to give the matter careful attention, and his reading of the inscription seems to be most satisfactory. It is

✠ EOCU MÍC LÍE.

Curiously enough, in this instance the larger accompanying cross, in relation to the position of inscription, would appear in a manner to have been carved upside down, or inverted. But we have not here the whole of the flag, and can never be sure of what might once have been seen upon the missing portions. The stone has been recently (no doubt by the contractor's men) broken sharply across, just barely above most of the lettering. The appearance of the sacred emblem, upon the portion of the stone which remains, most likely saved the latter from the "pipes." In Part IV. of Miss Stokes' work, Plate 37, will be found an illustration from a flag remaining on Inis Cathaig (Scattery Island), which bears two inscriptions: one reading, as usual, across the top, the other in an opposite direction. If from the top of this slab (the question, which part is the top, must be judged from the design of the cross) we break off the upper, and I believe original, inscription, *op do Moimach*, we have *op do Moenach aite Moimach* at the bottom, the characters turned, as it were, upside down, and facing the base of the cross, just as in the Kilcoo example. The name *Eocu* I have not been able

to trace. The inscription, from the form of its letters, is unquestionably of very high antiquity; and the accompanying cross is in character amongst the earliest symbols of its kind known to all who have studied the subject of Irish Christian remains.

The third slab (Fig. 3) is but a fragment, its upper and lower ends having been broken off, and a portion only of the incised cross and of its accompanying inscription spared. It was, there can be no doubt, the appearance of the sacred sign upon this, as upon the mic lie stone, which saved those relics from complete destruction. In Fig. 3, as may be seen in the illustration, all but the very beginning of the legend has been sacrificed. Probably the mic lie inscription would also have been destroyed, but for the little Latin cross by which it is headed. It is a fact worthy of consideration that, while the geological formation of

the district for miles around Kilcoo is strictly limestone, all the memorial objects remaining on the spot, including the fragments of what had been a fine specimen of the Celtic cross, and which I shall presently notice, are composed of a very hard close kind of reddish sandstone or grit, which must have been carried from a considerable distance. The old slab-carvers and cross-designers were choice in the materials which they used; they seem to have been so



Fig. 3.—Inscribed Stone at Kilcoo.

generally in Ireland, from the earliest Christian times; and even our pagan ancestors, for their monuments, appear to have preferred millstone grit and kindred material to the ever-yielding limestone which is so abundant and accessible over the greater portion of the country. Barbaric fortresses, like *Dubh Cathair* and *Dun Aengus*, in Aran, and similar works in many districts in Erin, might be piled up in limestone; but when it seemed desirable to record the name of a hero or of a saint, a more lasting material was almost invariably selected. The old Irish, pagan and Christian, appear to have possessed no mean knowledge of the chemical constituents of the materials with which they worked.¹ Thus, we find forts and the linings of caverned tumuli, formed of any kind of stone nearest to hand, while, for memorials liable to atmospheric influences (as a rule, from the earliest times down to the close of the twelfth century, a period when almost every species of art-culture for which Erin had been famous, had recently become corrupted and denationalized), a careful selection of durable material appears to have been observed.

It would be quite unnecessary here to describe at any length the very small existing fragment of the church of Kilcoo; suffice it to say, that the remaining portion appears to have formed part of the southern wall of the nave. It is but a few feet in length and height; and the masonry is of a poor kind, the stones being small and apparently unhammered. Much mortar was used. No feature, such as window or doorway, remains; indeed there is no trace of even one cut stone.

At a little distance to the east of the church site, upon a gently rising knoll, will be found one of the most singular monuments I have ever seen in Ireland, or elsewhere. It seems, indeed, in a most remarkable degree,

¹ In illustration of the foregoing remarks, it may be interesting to observe, that, whereas the whole of the exterior facing of the beautiful Round Tower of Devenish is, with the exception of one or two stones (which may possibly be

after insertions) composed of red sandstone, conglomerate, and other material of a hard, weather-enduring kind, it is lined upon the interior where the weathering was not feared, from base to summit, with limestone.

to combine the pagan idea of a monumental leatc with that by which our earliest Christians were moved when they desired to design a sepulchral memorial. It is in fact a mound composed of earth and small boulders, with a circle of ten stones enclosing a space four yards in diameter, in the centre of which stand the relics of what had been a well-fashioned cross, composed as usual of fine red sandstone. The base and portion of the shaft remain. The former measures 14 inches in breadth at the top, and 28 at the bottom. It is 27 inches in height, and $17\frac{1}{2}$ thick at the ground. The shaft is 2 feet in height, by 14 inches in breadth



Fig. 4.—Cross and Monumental Heap, Kilcoo.

at the base; and it is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. This cross retains no name, nor does any tradition concerning it remain.

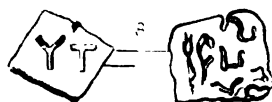
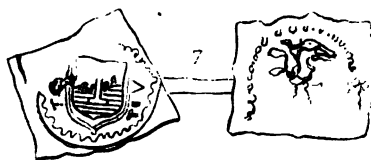
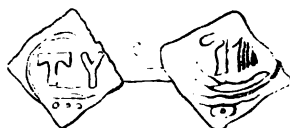
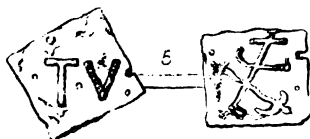
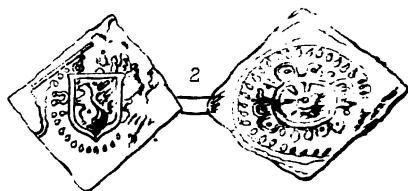
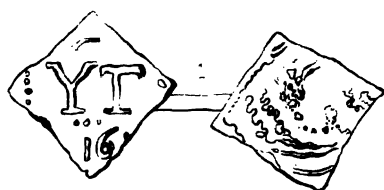
Like nearly every early Christian site in Ireland, Kilcoo has its sacred well. It is called Tober Patrick, and was no doubt dedicated to our national Apostle, as old people residing in the vicinity recollect when a "pattern" used to be held round it, on March the 17th. The well is overshadowed by a venerable tree, and is fenced round by a dry wall, which appears to be of some antiquity. There were no stones of any significance near it, but Mr. Acheson informed us that he remembered a few, "with crosses cut upon them," to have

been there before the raids made by the contractor's men.

I have now, perhaps, touched upon all the points of interest which mysterious Kilcoo presents—all excepting two cavities in the limestone cliff which bounds the river upon the side opposite to that upon which the church and monuments stand. There can be no doubt that these primitive retreats, though mainly the work of nature, in some degree owe their present peculiarities of form to the art of man. They are small, being only about 6 or 8 feet in height by about 8 feet in length and breadth. The stony floor of the upper apartment, if I may use the term, has been scooped out into somewhat the form of a hollow, such as is made in a bed by a person resting upon it. Concerning the character of this upper chamber, at least, I can form but one opinion; and that is, that the place was used as a penitential retreat, like St. Kevin's Bed at Glendalough. The caves are reached from the church side of the river by a very remarkable natural bridge, consisting of an enormous block of limestone. It is very probable that in remote ages the river hereabouts, for a considerable distance, flowed *sub tegmine lapidis*, and that the "bridge" is the last fragment remaining *in situ* of a roof which covered the stream's course. But I am slipping into geology, and having said (unfortunately) *all* I can say about one of the most curious, picturesque, and archæologically tantalizing and baffling spots in Ireland, shall conclude with the expression of a hope that some of our Members or readers may, sooner or later, be able to identify Kilcoo. I cannot, however, lay down the pen without expressing thanks to George Stewart, Esq., for his kind co-operation during the course of this investigation. I have also to express obligation to Mr. F. W. Maguire, Master of Kiltyclogher National School, for valuable assistance.



YOUGHAL MONEY OF NECESSITY



YOUGHAL MONEY OF NECESSITY.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL HAYMAN, M. A.

THE Irish Money of Necessity has received copious illustrations in our "Journal." In the first volume, the late Doctor Cane supplied much interesting information about the Ormonde and Confederate Money; and, in later volumes, the gifted hand of Dr. Aquilla Smith largely supplemented our numismatic knowledge of the seventeenth century. In the second volume, second series, confining myself to a locality possessing for me special claims of interest, I endeavoured to describe the local coinage of Youghal, dividing my subject into the lozenge-shaped siege-pieces of 1646, and the tradesmen's tokens of a subsequent date in the same century; and I resume the subject, because of much additional information about the former tokens which I have recently acquired.

In the summer of 1873, when the old square pews in the nave of St. Mary's church, Youghal, were removed, for the purpose of substituting open benches, the eight specimens of obsidional pieces, which are reproduced in the opposite lithograph, were discovered. The little quadrangular bits of copper are before me as I write, and I attest the fidelity of their depiction. They seem to me to have suffered little by transmission from hand to hand, and were no doubt, at best, very limited in their circulation; but illegibility proceeds wholly from the barbarous execution of the matrices—a circumstance indicative of hard occasion, sudden necessity, and unskilfulness of an amateur engraver. All these specimens are until now inedited. As regards device, the initials of Youghal Town, Y, T, are commonly on the obverse; while for the reverse, a ship, the arms of the town, or an anchor, as indicative of a seaport, or some unintelligible emblem, appears. The variety of specimens may at first surprise us; but we may suppose that the artist, having no tools with which

he might inscribe hardened steel, worked on some softer substance. Ere long, his die was blurred by the rough usage of his hand-press; and, unable to renew the inscription, he carved a fresh device, that speedily shared in the fate of its predecessors. Who were the moneyers, and by whose orders and for what uses were these siege-tokens struck? We can conclusively answer these questions.

In the British Museum, additional MS. 25,287,¹ is the MS. Letter-Book of Lord Broghill, Governor of Youghal, 1644-49, in which, dated 20 March, 1645-46, is the following Order by the Vice-President and Council of Munster:—

“Whereas it hath been generally observed that the most part of the moneys and coins now current in the army, and amongst the inhabitants and rest of the English garrisons,² are pieces of eight rix-dollars, and other large foreign coins very difficult to be exchanged, for want of which the soldier is hindered providing himself victual befitting his condition, which the markets might furnish if there were small moneys which might pass current. It is therefore thought fit that certain small pieces of copper and mixed metal be coined and stamped by Nicholas Stowte, gent., and Marmaduke Deverox, in manner following, viz., every such piece to be in value a farthing, and pass in all exchanges within the English quarters, and weigh $\frac{1}{4}$ oz., or with 12 oz. in each pound weight, to be formed and cut square, having a ship stamped on one side and the letters Y T on the other, charging all His Majesty's subjects, within the town of Youghal, to receive the said pieces so stamped.

¹ This MS. will be found printed in *extenso*, Appendix A, in the “Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal,” edited by Richard Caulfield, L.B., Guild-

ford, 1878.

² These garrisons, held for the Common Wealth, were at Cork, Youghal, Bandon, and Kinsale.

“Provided always that Nicholas Stowte shall not coin or issue above the value of Fortie pounds sterling in copper farthings, until he be further authorized; and that the aforesaid Nicholas Stowte shall paie vnto any that shall demande for everie twenty-two shillings in farthings twenty shillings current English money, and so for greater or lesser sums.

“Provided that in common exchange in the market, or within the English garrisons, in the exchange of twelve pence there shall not be above one penny in farthings, and it shall be lawful for any person to refuse more of said copper coin than one penny in the shilling.

“The Governor of the town to proclaim this.

“ BROGHILLE.

“ W. FENTON.

“Dated at Corke,

“xx March, 1645.”

The discrepancy between the number of siege-pieces struck at Youghal and the other English garrisons in Munster is very remarkable. I have given in the volume referred to seven specimens, and the number is now raised to fifteen; whereas the total issued at Cork, Bandon, and Kinsale, collectively, amounted—so far as ascertained—only to six.

ON AN OGHAM STONE FOUND BUILT INTO THE WALL OF
A HOUSE CLOSE TO ST. JOHN'S PRIORY, YOUGHAL.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL HAYMAN, M. A.

IN the "Journal" of this Association (new series, vol. i., pp. 14 and 15) I was permitted to give some account of St. John's Priory, Youghal, a religious house, lying in the heart of the town, yet unnoticed by Archdall in his *Monasticon Hibernicum*; by our county historian, Doctor Smith; by Lewis, in his "Topographical Dictionary"; and all previous writers. I then submitted what I knew of this house; but recent discoveries have enabled me to identify it as a *Hospitium*, or *Maison de Dieu* of the middle ages, and as having in connexion with it a 'Spital, or Lazar-House, which was placed on a breezy hill adjacent to the town, and not far from a chalybeate spa. I hope, ere long, to supply a Paper throwing light on these noble institutions—the forerunners of our modern hospitals—where pilgrims, and other wayfarers, were kindly received and generously ministered to in other days. I confine myself at present to a remarkable discovery, made in the neighbourhood of the Priory—the finding there of a very ancient Ogham by Mr. Edward FitzGerald, to whom, as antiquaries are well aware, we were indebted for the discovery of the great Ogham that had been used as a building stone of St. Declan's Oratory, Ardmore. Here, again, a venerable relique had been turned into like "base uses." Writing to me, March 7th of the current year, Mr. FitzGerald has briefly supplied the particulars of his interesting "find":—

"In March 1878, I had the northern and back [western] walls of Mrs. Denmead's house at Youghal taken down and rebuilt. The dwelling stands third next, and to the south of the remains of St. John's Priory. A portion of the side wall, before being removed, had a very ancient and loose appearance. It was built with mud, mortar, and stone. In rebuilding,

we used again the old stones, one of which, after being set in the work, I observed to have Ogham scores upon it. I had this stone at once taken out, and cleaned from the old mortar. It is of compact sand- or freestone, 3 feet 3 inches in height, 10½ inches on the widest part of one face, and 12 inches on the other; and the scores are about the same length and character as those of the Ardmore Oratory Ogham. In addition to being weather-worn by long exposure, this inte-



Ogham Stone found at Youghal.

resting stone had received injuries on one side from the mason who originally set it in the mud-mortared wall. I have removed it to my garden, and I have planted it among other congenial relics—plants of which poor Windele was so proud. When he took me to see his flower-garden at Blair's Castle, Cork, there was a plantation of Ogham and other remains most precious in his

sight. Would it not be well to find out what became of them ?¹

"The Rev. Edward Barry, R.C.C. here, a good Irish scholar, and much interested in Archæology, has been over the inscription with me several times; and I enclose a pen-and-ink sketch, the best he could make of it. I transmitted to Dr. Graves, Bishop of Limerick, a photograph of the stone and a sketch similar to the enclosed; and in his reply his Lordship remarked: 'The photograph would have been better if it had been taken so as to show more shade in the Ogham strokes; but a paper mould would furnish the most trustworthy information of all. I conjecture that the stone exhibited the usual group:

..... — I — IIIII — IIIII — //

in the place which I have indicated in the drawing.' Subsequently I sent the Bishop a paper mould, and on its receipt he replied: 'I regret to say that the inscription is so much injured by the effects of time, that I am not disposed to attempt to give a reading of it. Upon conjectural readings one can build no very substantial structure of argument.' You can use the above," Mr. FitzGerald concludes, "as you think well."

I reserve, for a future Paper on St. John's Priory, Mr. FitzGerald's very interesting account, with a sketch, of the finding in the old wall of a stoup, 5½ inches in diameter, 6 inches in height, and ribbed on four sides, as well as of a chamfered door-arch of the fourteenth century, proving that this religious house extended itself farther to the south than was hitherto understood. For the present, assuming that this Ogham stone was originally *in situ* not far from the spot where in Christian times it was incorporated into some edifice, we are lost in conjecture as to the long flight of years that so wasted it. The hill-side, occupied for centuries with the houses of a busy town, was once a lonely spot where, overhanging the sea, was the resting-place of some illustrious personage, whose illegible epitaph now occupies our attention.

¹ These Oghams were all purchased by the Royal Irish Academy, except one, which is preserved in the Queen's College,

Cork, and has a Maltese cross incised on the upper face adjoining the inscription [Ed.]

THE EARLY BIRTH, AND PRE-PATRICIAN MISSION OF
ST. CIARAN, OF SAIGHIR, VINDICATED.

BY JOHN HOGAN, KILKENNY.

IN the "Journal" of this Association for January, 1877, we find an interesting and learned essay on St. Patrick's journey through Ossory, contributed by the Rev. John Francis Shearman, whose refined taste, historical erudition, and literary research, have long since given his name a place of distinction amongst the first-class writers of Irish Hagiology. The Paper before us forms the eleventh number of "Loca Patriciana," in which our author labours with indefatigable industry, acumen, and skill, to trace the footprints of the Irish Apostle on his mission through Leinster, over Ossory, and into Munster. The writer graphically traces the still surviving memorials of the saint's progress through the territory of Ossory, after which he says—"The Apostle set out for Cashel, the abode of Aengus MacNadhfrach, King of Munster, and it now remains," he adds, "to discuss the history of the distinguished laics and clerics of the kingdom of Ossory—amongst the latter stands prominently St. Ciaran, the patron and first bishop of the Ossorians."

Our author confines his illustrations of the history of St. Ciaran almost exclusively to a refutation, or rather a denial, of the high antiquity assigned by a host of Irish scholars for the date of his birth, and rather summarily disposes of the "pretensions" of those who hold what he calls the "pre-Patrician" theory. His arguments on this point apparently aim rather at establishing this conclusion than at reflecting any new ray of light on the subject itself. But, as even the opinions of so learned a writer carry with them the weight of an authority, and as these opinions in the present case are entirely novel and clothed in elegant verbiage, we shall now give them the benefit of a full and free discussion. In p. 214 our author having named Colgan, Ussher, O'Flaherty, and others, as having accepted the theory of the "pre-Patrician" mission of St. Ciaran, thus advances his first objection:—"Those pretensions (*i. e.* of the pre-Patricians)

have their origin in provincial vanity, and self-glorification, *and are not of a very ancient date in Irish ecclesiastical history*"; and again, at p. 217, criticising the legend of St. Ciaran's Life, he writes: "This life, or memoir, is so filled with absurd and ridiculous miracles, that the Bollandists altogether rejected it. We must demur to their judgment, which was to some extent ill-grounded and premature. Apart from the legendary portion of this Life, which may, with advantage, be set aside, . . . this document, in the form it has reached our time, *is founded on some very ancient authentic records*; it appears to have been *recast*, with a view to sustain the anti-(ante-) Patrician claims, at a period when *gross ignorance and laxity of morals were prevalent*."

Those two extracts thus united, though somewhat in mutual contradiction, form the most formidable objection urged by our author against the "pre-Patrician" theory. They do not, however, to use a conventional phrase, form a very "hostile amendment" to the original question. We shall, therefore, endeavour rather to illustrate than disprove their combined testimony. We first inquire respecting the "ancient authentic record" on which the Life of St. Ciaran was founded, and secondly, the "period of gross ignorance" when it was recast and corrupted.

The earliest known reference to the "pre-Patrician" mission of Ciaran is that found in the "Tripartite" Life of St. Patrick. This venerable memoir of our Apostle is attributed to St. Evan, who died towards the end of the sixth century, so that the memoir was compiled probably as early as A. D. 580. Dr. Lanigan, generally over sceptical, objects to so early a date; but the late Professor O'Curry, who had Lanigan's objections on the point before him, unhesitatingly assigns the original authorship of the "Tripartite" to St. Evan, though subject to subsequent interpolations (see "MS. Materials of Irish History"). We now quote the testimony of this ancient record in support of the ante-Patrician date of St. Ciaran's mission. After naming the other saints from Ireland, whom St. Patrick met on the Continent, the writer then says, p. 133:

"But the sixth was old St. Kieran of Saighir"; and lower down, "Old St. Kieran of Saighir asked St. Patrick on their meeting, where he should fix his abode and build a monastery. To whom the holy man replied (*Quod juxta fluvium Huar appellatum*), that beside the river called Huar he should build a monastery, and that there he should meet him after 30 years."

This is the oldest authority for the "pre-Patrician" mission, and has formed the groundwork for the various versions and subsequent amplifications of that event. It was written by the biographer of St. Patrick, and therefore could not have originated in "provincial vanity," and is apparently the "ancient authentic record" on which our reverend author assures us the Life of St. Ciaran was founded. We come now to the "recasting" (the word is not mine, but is admirably expressive) of this original record into the legend of Ciaran's Life.

From its intrinsic evidence, the Life of Ciaran must have been compiled before the first assault of the Danes on the monastery of Saighir. In the year 842 we read "Bir and Saighir were plundered by the Gentiles." In a century later, *i. e.* A. D. 952, the city of Saighir Ciaran was demolished and its monastery burned to the ground by "the men of Munster." Twenty years later, *i. e.* A. D. 974, Sabdh or Sabia, Queen of Ireland, when attending the funeral of her father, King Donnchadh of Ossory, found the cemetery of Saighir an unprotected common, and to save it from desecration procured masons out of Meath to enclose it with walls. After this the church of Saighir never regained its former opulence. Now, the legend of Ciaran's Life was written when the monastery of Saighir had attained the culminating point in its affluence, and whilst in the undisturbed enjoyment of its primitive institutions. Two years after the first raid of the Danes on Saighir in A. D. 842, Cormac MacEladach was promoted to the abbacy of that church. He is the only one in the long list of its ecclesiastics to whom the Four Masters give the title of *scribe*—"Cormac MacEladach, bishop and scribe of Saighir," and to him we may safely assign the authorship of the legend of Ciaran's Life. If he did

compile it, he must have done so before his elevation to the abbacy, as the Danish raid on the monastery occurred two years previous to that event. It might have been written at an earlier period, but it could not have been done after his time, as at the date of its compilation the monastery was in the most ample enjoyment of its original immunities, privileges, and material possessions; and no reference whatever is made to any encroachment on its rights by either foreign or native assailants; whence we can conclude with certainty, that the legend of St. Ciaran's Life was written before the first attack of the Danes on Saighir in A. D. 842, and apparently by Cormac MacEladach, the bishop and scribe of that church at the same period.

The argument of the legend consists of an effort by the writer to show the title of the monastery to its several holdings of land and chattel property, to the rents and emoluments then payable to the house, and to the fees then chargeable for sepulture in the cemetery; and the writer of the legend, to illustrate the history and sustain the reputation of the celebrated bell, then called the "Barcon Ciaran," and to establish the right and title of the church of Saighir to the dignity of "Mother Church" of Ossory, "recast," the original record of the conversation between St. Patrick and St. Ciaran on the Continent, as preserved in the "Tripartite," and thus the "pre-Patrician" theory was moulded and shaped to suit the "provincial vanity and personal glorification" of the monastery of Saighir. The following is the version of the event after it was thus recast into the legend of St. Ciaran's life.

"But when Ciaran's wisdom, chastity, and faith became manifest at Rome, he was accordingly ordained, and sent back to Ireland to preach the Gospel. On his way he met St. Patrick, and as the holy men met together, they rejoiced exceedingly . . . St. Patrick said to Ciaran, 'Proceed before me to Ireland and you will meet a well in a solitary part of the country, and erect a monastery for yourself at that well. The name of the well is Uaran; and your name will be held in reverence there until the resurrection of the dead.'"

Ciaran replied and said, "Tell me where is that well situated." And Patrick said to him, "The Lord will guide you, and take this small bell with you, which will not ring till you reach the well; but when you do, it will ring with a most charming and melodious sound, and thus shall you know this well; and in thirty years hence I will follow you to that place; and they blessed and greeted each other, and Ciaran proceeded on his journey to Ireland, while St. Patrick remained in Italy. Ciaran's bell never rang until he arrived at the well which St. Patrick spoke of, viz., Uaran; and on landing in Ireland the Lord directed his footsteps, and on reaching it the little bell rang quickly with a melodious clear sound. . . . This well, about which we have just spoken, is situated in a solitary district on the borders of Munster, eastward . . . and it is there that Ciaran intended first residing as a hermit, for the locality was surrounded by large woods at the time . . . and it is now universally called Saighir Ciaran."

This is the history of the "pre-Patrician" mission in its modified form, and setting aside its legendary portions, or, as Father Shearman elsewhere terms them, "absurd and ridiculous miracles," the difference between this report and the "original record in the 'Tripartite'" is at once discernible. In the original report St. Patrick directs Ciaran to go to the river called Huar (Heoir, Eoir, Feoir, ancient names of the river Nore), and there open his mission in the midst of his own tribe, where the germ of the faith could be planted and guarded by his own social influence against pagan turbulence, till it should have attained such strength as to defy the malice of its enemies. But in the legend as "recast," the river is changed into a well, and the writer of the legend adds from himself—"that well is in a solitary spot on the borders of Munster." Its name, he says, is Uaran, synonymous with Huar, the name of the river; and then by a singular contradiction he writes, "it is now universally called Saighir-Ciaran"; but if its original name had been "Uaran," it ought and would be now called "Uaran Ciaran," which I think clearly proves that in "recasting" the original record the "Scribe of Saighir" moulded it to suit the requirements of the monastery of

Saighir in his own time, which, according to Father Shearman, was "a period when gross ignorance and laxity of morals were prevalent." I find no authority to justify so sweeping a charge against the venerable Irish Church at a time when her learning and piety were renowned over Europe. Whether the charge is well founded or otherwise does not, however, concern the argument of this discussion; but I cannot understand how in the face of the above ancient record from the "Tripartite," and its more amplified form in the Life of St. Ciaran, our reverend author can assert—"the 'pre-Patrician' theory is not of very ancient date in Irish ecclesiastical history," whilst at the same time he writes—"The document (*i.e.* the legend of Ciaran's Life) is founded on some very *ancient authentic records* !

The second argument or proof advanced by our author against the ante-Patrician mission of St. Ciaran is thus stated at p. 214:—"The patrons of the pre-Patrician date of St. Ciaran rely on the place he holds in both his paternal and maternal genealogies, which, if perfectly reliable, would appear to sustain their views. But they are not so, as some generations are evidently either lost or omitted, and in consequence no theory can be formed on them."

There is no evidence to show that even one descent or generation is missing or lost in either the paternal or maternal lines, or, if there be, why not produce that evidence? The paternal genealogy of St. Ciaran is found in very many and very different authorities, as no one knows better, and few so well, as our reverend author:—in the *Felire* of Aengus, written during the eighth century, transcribed by our author from Mr. Hennessy's copy of that MS.; in the "Sanctilogium Generale," translated into Latin by Colgan from the "Book of Lecan"; in the "Book of Leinster," copied by the Rev. Mr. Shearman for the present writer; in O'Mahony's edition of Keating's "Ireland," and in Dr. O'Donovan's Genealogy of the Ossorian Family the paternal genealogy of Ciaran is preserved, and in each the pedigree is numerically the same, the only difference found to exist being confined to the orthography, which is not material.

The following tabulated form gives the paternal

genealogy of St. Ciaran (as admitted by all our authorities) from Aengus, the first king of Ossory, to Lughaidh, the father of St. Ciaran, and brother to Caenfaladh, tenth king of Ossory:—

AENGUS OSRAIGHE,	. . .	Founder of the kingdom of Ossory, second half of first century.
1. Leoghaire Birn,	. . .	Second king of Ossory, ancestor of the "dal-Birn," from whose tumulus there Tullabirn, near Kilkenny, is so called.
2. Amalgaidh,	. . .	Third king of Ossory, about the middle of second century.
3. Eochaidh Lamdoitt,		Fourth king of Ossory. During his reign the kingdom of Laoighis or Leix was established in the north of Ossory by Cucorb, King of Leinster.
4. Buan Osraighe,	. . .	Fifth king of Ossory. From his son Dronagh descended through five generations two eminent saints and bishops, Aengus Laimoidham and Aduanus, contemporaries of St. Ciaran.
5. Nia Corb,	. . .	Sixth king of Ossory, a legatee under the will of Cathair Mor. Contemporary of Ross Failghe, Cathair's son, and of Lughaidh Mac Conn, R. H., A. D. 255.
6. Cairbre Caem,	. . .	Seventh king of Ossory. In Book of Leinster named Coirpre Niadh. He flourished towards the latter half of third century, and was apparently the king of Ossory slain in the "Battle of Gabhra," near Dublin, A. D. 283.
7. Conaill,	. . .	Eighth king of Ossory, in the early part of the fourth century.
8. Ruman Duach,	. . .	Ninth king of Ossory; grandfather of St. Ciaran and ancestor of the "Ui Duach" of Ossory. Contemporary of Corc, the founder and first king of Cashel. Ruman had eight sons, namely:
9. Lughaidh. He emigrated to Corca Laighe and married Liedania, daughter of Maine Cherr, of whom was born St. Ciaran.	Caenfaladh, ¹ tenth king of Ossory, <i>a quo</i> the Ossorian dynasty.	Carbrie, Cellach, Conaill, Muredach, Rughaidh, and Ubneadh, six sons of Ruman, and converts of St. Ciaran.

The above Table of St. Ciaran's paternal pedigree gives

¹ This chieftain is to be distinguished from Caenfaladh, King of Ossory, in the time of St. Kenny, towards the end of the 6th century.

nine descents or generations from Aengus Ossory to Lughaidh (Lewey), the son of Roman Duach and father of St. Ciaran. Those nine descents, at 30 years each, make 270 years, which (added to A. D. 105, which represents Aengus Ossory, the head of the race, in his manhood) bring us to Ciaran's father at A. D. 375, then thirty years of age, and which represents the date of the birth of his son, St. Ciaran.

We shall now test the authenticity of this pedigree, and the accuracy of its results, by collating it with the genealogy of St. Ciaran's mother, Liedanie. This lady was not an Ossorian; she descended in the fourth degree from Ludhaidh Mac Con, Monarch of Ireland A. D. 253. The intervening generations are given in the "Genealogy of the Corca Laighe," preserved in the Books of "Lecan" and "Ballymote," translated and edited for the "Celtic Society" by the late Dr. O'Donovan, 1849. The pedigree is as follows:—"Lughaidh Mac Con, Maichnaidh (Mainey), Aengus Bolg, Maine Cher, Liedania (Leann¹), St. Ciaran." Liedania is here fourth in descent from Lughaidh Mac Con. Four descents, at 30 years to each, make 120 years, which, added to A. D. 253, the date of Mac Con's death, bring us to Liedania at A. D. 373, when she would be thirty years old, and when her son Ciaran would be just born. Ciaran's paternal pedigree represents him as being born in A. D. 375. His maternal genealogy represents his birth in A. D. 373—a difference of only two years occurring in the result of the comparison, which proves that no generations are missing or lost in either line, for if there were, the result could not so closely approximate.

But if we test the maternal genealogy of Ciaran by analysing its component parts, it gives us the following result, which ought to settle the question of its accuracy. For this purpose it will be necessary to tabulate the maternal genealogy of St. Ciaran from Lughaidh Mac

¹ Killion, not far from Seir Kieran, is an establishment for nuns, said to have been founded by Leann or Liedania. It was

Conn with the collateral descents of Aengus Mac Nadhfrach from the same chieftain:—

Lughaidh Mac Conn, R.H.	255
Maichnaidh,	285
Aengus Bolg,	315
<div> <div>Maine Cherr,</div> <div>Liedania,</div> <div>St. Ciaran, Bishop of Saighir.</div> </div>	<div> <div>Abinda,</div> <div>Nadhfrach,</div> <div>Aengus, King of Munster.</div> </div>
	345
	375
	405

Here we have Lughaidh Mac Conn, Monarch of Ireland, grandfather of Aengus Bolg, and this Aengus Bolg was the grandfather of Ciaran's mother. This chieftain had a son named Maine Cherr, and a daughter named Abinda. Maine Cherr had a daughter named Liedania; and Abinda, becoming the wife of Corc, the first king of Cashel, had by him a son named Nadhfrach; hence Liedania, the daughter of Maine Cherr, and Nadhfrach, the son of Abinda, were first cousins. Nadhfrach, the second king of Cashel, had a son named Aengus, the first Christian king of Munster, and Liedania becoming the wife of Lughaidh, an Ossorian chieftain, gave birth to Ciaran, the "first-born of the saints of Ireland," hence Aengus MacNadhfrach and St. Ciaran of Saighir were second cousins. Aengus was king of Munster and a married man when he was baptized by St. Patrick *circa* 447-8, and, as a matter of course, both himself and his cousin Ciaran must have preceded St. Patrick in Ireland. And now, with those statistics before us, how are we to hold with our reverend author that St. Ciaran belonged to the middle of the sixth century, though himself and his cousin, Aengus MacNadhfrach, were full-grown men in the middle of the fifth?

The authenticity of these two genealogies of St. Ciaran, and the accuracy of the result of their compari-

son, will bear a critical illustration with the chronology of the legend of his Life. According to the genealogies, Ciaran was born in A. D. 375, and according to the legend he left Ireland for Rome when he had attained the thirtieth year of his age. This brings us to A. D. 405 for the date of his departure, the same year in which Nial of the Nine Hostages fitted out an armada and set sail for the coasts of Gaul, which afforded him ample facility for his emigration. The legend next tells us that Ciaran remained twenty years in Rome, which brings us to A. D. 425 for the date of his return, at which period he was fifty years of age. On this occasion, when parting with St. Patrick in Italy, the Apostle promised to meet him at the well in thirty years hence, and in thirty years from that date St. Patrick having completed his seven years' mission in Munster, and accompanied by King Angus and a great multitude, paid a formal visit to St. Ciaran at Saighir, on which occasion "Ciaran blessed his own well and changed it into wine" for their entertainment. At this date Ciaran was eighty years of age, for he was fifty in A. D. 425, when Patrick promised to meet him at the well "in thirty years hence," consequently he was eighty in 455, the date of the fulfilment of that promise; and now take 80 from A. D. 455, and you come back to A. D. 375 for the date of his birth, the same year to which we were conducted through the mediums of his paternal and maternal genealogies.

The evidence of the several authorities now quoted, though taken from very distinct and remote sources, singularly unite and hang together with admirable precision. They mutually illustrate each other, and form the skeleton of a biography more harmonious in its details, and more consistent in its constituent parts, than probably can be produced of any other character of that remote period in Irish history.

On no light or doubtful ground would I venture into antagonism with so accomplished a writer as my respected friend, Rev. J. F. Shearman; but I feel that I owe it to myself, if not to the numerous dignitaries, ecclesiastics,

and scholars who so liberally sustained me in my effort to bring out the "Memoir of St. Ciaran," to show that the argument of the book—viz., the pre-Patrician birth and mission of St. Ciaran, rests on such solid historical bases, that it has not been disturbed by even the learned research of the reverend author. All the authorities to whom we are wont to appeal for guidance, through the obscure paths of Irish history, are directly opposed to his conclusions, and until he adduces some evidence to disprove their combined testimony, it is futile to labour in support of such a conclusion.

NOTES.

Page 43, line 33, *its affluence*. Numerous passages in the legend incidentally show the wealth of the Monastery of Saighir at the period of compilation of this document. One anecdote represents St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise thus blessing St. Ciaran of Saighir: "Ciaran of Cluain said, 'let the result of my blessing be *riches and much treasure and wealth in your town [of Saighir] for ever*,' and these words turned out true," which clearly shows that the City of Saighir was famed for its riches, treasures, and wealth at the time when the legend in which "these words" are recorded was written. The writer sets forth the opulence of Saighir as the result of the saint's blessing.

Page 44, line 7, *privileges*. One of those was the perpetual burning of the Paschal Fire in the church of the Monastery. From the foundation of the church of Saighir to the time in which the legend was written this fire had been extinguished but twice: one of those was accidental, a conclusive proof that the Danes or the Munstermen had not plundered the Monastery before that document was compiled. Another of the original privileges of Saighir which existed till the period in which the Life of Ciaran was written was, that the "Barcon Ciaran" had then attained its highest reputation, and was then universally honoured through Ireland. "Barcon Ciaran," says the legend, "is the name of the Bell, and it is now deposited as a sacred relic in the City of St. Ciaran." But after the City of Saighir had been plundered, the Bell is called the "Bearnan Ciaran," i. e. the gapped or broken bell of Ciaran. It is so denominated in the "Chronicum Scotorum," A.D. 972, which conclusively shows that the legend was written before the bell was damaged, and that was before either the Danes or the Munstermen had desecrated the sacred grounds of Saighir-Ciaran.

Page 44, line 16. *Title*. The title of the Monastery to the land and other property in its possession at the time the Life of Ciaran was compiled is thus established: "Dima, chief of the dal Fiachre, threatened to eject Ciaran from Saighir: the saint refused to leave the place, and said 'he would remain in spite of him.' Dima then left in great rage. On reaching his castle he found it in a blaze of fire, and that

52 EARLY BIRTH AND PRE-PATRICIAN MISSION OF ST. CIARAN.

his son had been left asleep in the midst of the flames. But the child's mother cried out in a loud voice, 'My beloved child, I bequeath you to Ciaran of Saighir; I leave you entirely in his hands.' When the house fell in and the fire quenched, the child was found asleep and unhurt in Dima's bed; then Dima went to Ciaran and presented to him his posterity for ever after him, as also the Monastery, rents, and emoluments for interments in Saighir for ever." The titles to some out-farms and other forms of property then in possession of the Monastery are all established on equally miraculous foundations.

Page 47, line, 21, *will of Cathair Mor*, published, with a translation, by Dr. Todd in his Appendix to the Introduction to the "Martyrology of Donegal," p. xxxiv. *et seq.* "Ogygia," vol. ii., p. 206., Heley's Edition.

Page 47, line 29. *Battle of Gabhra*: see "Battle of Gabhra," published by Ossianic Society, pp. 90, 91.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT THE QUARTERLY MEETING, held in the Museum, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, 16th April, 1879;

RICHARD LANGRISHE, V.P., in the Chair :

The following new Fellows were elected :—

Thomas Dowling, Clonbrick Lodge, Rathgar, Dublin.

Peter Walsh, Fanningstown, Piltown.

Richard Langrishe, Sion Villa, Kilkenny.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Right Rev. W. Pakenham Walsh, D. D., Bishop of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin, the Palace, Kilkenny.

Lucius Boyd, Parade, Kilkenny.

S. Whiteside Dane, Solicitor, Enniskillen.

J. Alcock Stawell, Kilbrittain Castle, Bandon.

William Swanton, F. G. S., Seaview, Hollywood, Belfast.

Sir George Colthurst, Bart., Blarney Castle, Blarney.

Mr. R. Colles presented to the Association an old key found in a garden in Maudlin-street, Kilkenny, in 1869.

Mr. Robertson said that he thought the key dated from the sixteenth century.

Mr. Browne observed that the key had no pipe in it, and seemed to have had some ornamentation around the handle.

The Meeting then adjourned.

THE ADJOURNED QUARTERLY MEETING was held in the Museum, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, 7th May, 1879 ;

RICHARD LANGRISHE, V.P., in the Chair :

The Dean of Ossory proposed the following Resolution, which was passed unanimously:—

“That the Association desires to record the sense of the very great loss which it has sustained by the death of its late President, the Very Rev. Charles Alphonso Vignoles, D. D., Dean of Ossory, who took a deep interest in its welfare from the time of its foundation, and in many ways furthered its progress, from that period until his lamented death.”

The following new Fellow was elected:—

Rev. J. B. Barter, 1, Holles-street, Dublin.

The following new Members were elected:—

Miss Hickson, Castle-street, Tralee.

John R. Scott, High-street, Kilkenny.

The following Resolution was then proposed by Mr. Browne, seconded by Dr. James, and unanimously passed:—

“Resolved,—That henceforward the Quarterly Meetings of this Association be held alternately in the other provinces, the Annual Meetings being held in Kilkenny; and that the next Quarterly Meeting be held in Belfast on the first Wednesday in July next.”

It was proposed by Dr. James, seconded by the Very Rev. Dean Hare, and passed unanimously:—

“Resolved,—That the Rev. Charles A. Vignoles be elected a Member of the Committee in place of M. W. Lalor, resigned.”

Mr. Browne proposed, and Dr. James seconded, the following Resolution:—

“Resolved,—That the Treasurer’s Accounts be printed and circulated amongst the Members.”

Mr. Lucius J. Boyd exhibited the pin of an ancient bronze brooch, but without the circular disc. Mr. Boyd also exhibited a "Michael Wilson" Dublin halfpenny, by some thought to be about 1672; others did not consider it so old. The articles were found at Archersfield, near Kilkenny, in making some improvements in the pleasure-grounds.

Mr. Lalor presented a stone about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. square, and about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch thick. On each side was a mould for casting studs or buttons, ornamented. He also presented a whetstone about 3 in. long and 1 inch in diameter. Both articles had been given him by Mr. S. D. Wilson, of Newlands, Co. Kilkenny, who found them on his land close to where he discovered a stone hatchet a few years since, and now preserved in the Museum.

Dr. Martin presented a cinerary urn, and gave the following description of it:—"The urn I now present to the Association has some points about it to which I wish to call attention. The several urns which I before obtained from the cemetery—amongst others, the very neat small one now in our Museum—have the ornamentation incised; and all those I have seen that were found near the coast are similarly incised. They were also placed in the ground in a very inartificial manner, laid on a large stone, and three other large ones placed around them. On the other hand, those found in the county of Carlow and other inland districts seem to have been more elaborately ornamented. This which I now produce was found in the county Kilkenny, parish of Fiddown, in a field adjoining the large rath or fort of Dowling. It was placed in a small cavity, regularly walled round. Though the material is of the same coarse nature as in those found near the coast, the ornamentation differs in being raised, and of more elaborate pattern. It would seem to be a primitive attempt at a fern pattern, and the raised part seems to have been first made and then attached to the sides of the vessel before being burned. My inference is, that as the inhabitants made way from the coast inland, they improved in fictile art, showing that their progress must have been slow and gradual. The contents of the urn was the usual mass of incinerated bones and ashes.

The rath of Dowling is about two miles inland from the Suir, and is a very fine one, with second ditch and moat. Through the latter a stream of water runs, having ingress to the north and egress to the south-west. It overlooks the great valley of the Suir, and the prospect from it on a fine summer's day is one not to be easily forgotten."

Miss Mary Agnes Hickson sent the following note:—

"Mr. D. A. O'Leary, in his notes on the Castle Ishin Fitz Gerald's in the "Journal" for January, 1879, is mistaken in saying that I informed him that an ancestor of mine, who had conformed to Protestantism in the last century, acted as trustee to save the Castle Ishin estate for Joanna Lady Fitzgerald (*née* Trant) and her children. The Mr. Robert Hickson, of Dingle, who, according to a memorial in the office for the Registration of Deeds, Dublin, did take an assignment, or trust lease of Castle Ishin, in the last century, was no relative of mine at all. He was the great-grandfather of Mr. Hussey of Edenburn and his wife, and of Mrs. Fitzgerald of Glanleam. Between him and my father's family, who resided at Fermoy, near Castle Gregory, Co. Kerry, there was no traceable relationship. No direct ancestor of my father's ever conformed in the penal times (after they had, by Roman Catholic marriages, been induced, for about a century and a-half, to adopt the religion of their wives), nor had any of them ever anything to do with Castle Ishin or its owners."

The following Papers were contributed:— .

ON A REMARKABLE MEGALITHIC STRUCTURE NEAR SLIGO.

BY EDWARD T. HARDMAN, F.C.S., F.R.G.S.I., OF H.M. GEOLOGICAL
SURVEY OF IRELAND.

THE county Sligo abounds in prehistoric structures, cromlechs, stone circles, stone forts, and *souterrains*; and it numbers amongst these probably one of the most

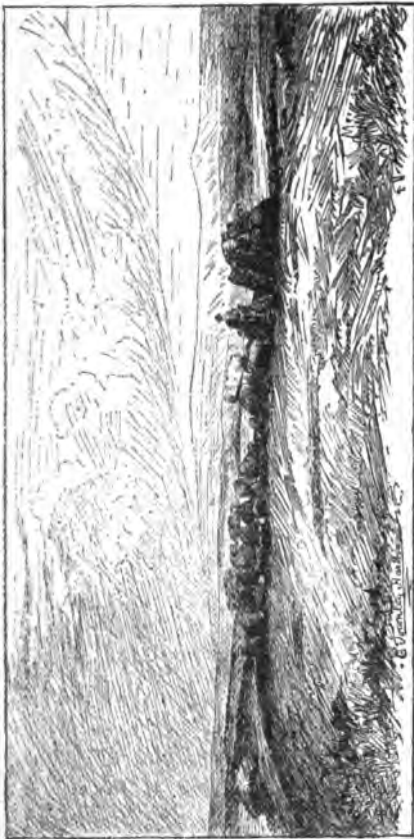


Fig. 1.—Distant view of Megalithic Monument, Deerpark, Sligo, from N. W.

remarkable ancient stone structures to be seen in Ireland, which, if not unique in this country, must be certainly of very uncommon occurrence. As I have not

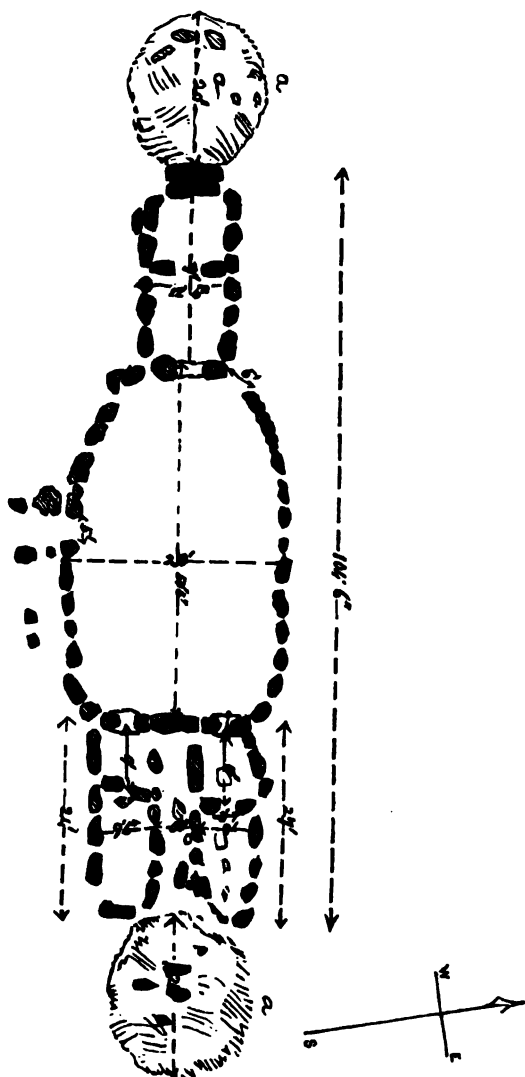


Fig. 1.—Plan of Megalithic Monument, Deerpark, Sligo.

been able to meet with any previous mention of it, I beg to send the following short description, accompanied by photographs, sketches, and a plan.

The monument in question is situated about four miles east of the town of Sligo, and a short distance from the Manorhamilton road, in a townland known as Magheraghanrush, or the Deerpark, the property of Owen Wynne, Esq. Fig. 1 gives a distant view of it from N. W., with Lough Gill in the distance. It is set upon the summit of a hill some 500 feet above the sea level, and occupies a very commanding position, from which a wide extent of country can be viewed. On the east the Table of O'Rourke, the celebrated Prince of Breffni; on the south, Lough Gill; to the westwards in the valley, the town of Sligo, and further on Knock-na-rea, crowned with its remarkable cairn; and on the north Benbulbin and the range of limestone hills which continue inland. The hill on which it is placed is composed of limestone rock, covered with a very thin coat of soil, and frequently cropping out at the surface.

The plan of the structure given on the opposite page is carefully laid down to scale. The whole structure has a length of 144 feet 6 inches, and consists primarily of a rude oblong, or blunted oval, bounded by rough stones set on end. The principal area has a length of 50 feet 6 inches, and is 28 feet wide at the broadest part. At each extremity of this are what I shall call—for want of a better term—"aisles." At the western end is a single "aisle" some 27 feet long and 12 feet 6 inches wide, which opens into the main portion by an entrance formed of two rude upright stones and a long apstone (see Fig. 6); the opening is about 3 feet high to the under side of the capstone, and about 5 feet 6 inches to the top, the capstone being about 8 feet long. This "aisle" is divided at about halfway by two low stones, but so arranged as to allow of a passage between them (see Fig. 3), and the extremity of this part of the structure is closed by two immense upright blocks, the outermost one leaning against the other (see plan and Figs. 4 and 7). These stones are about 6 feet high, and 7 feet long by 2 feet thick.

Passing now to the western end of the central space,

we find that there are two "aisles" opening into it by means of similar rude low doorways or opes, consisting

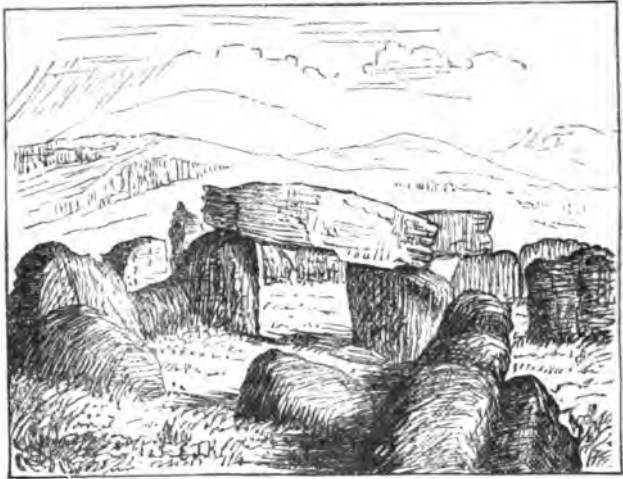


Fig. 3.—Passage Stones, Megalithic Monument, Deerpark, Sligo.

of two upright stones covered by capstones, all being of about the same height and general dimensions—viz.,

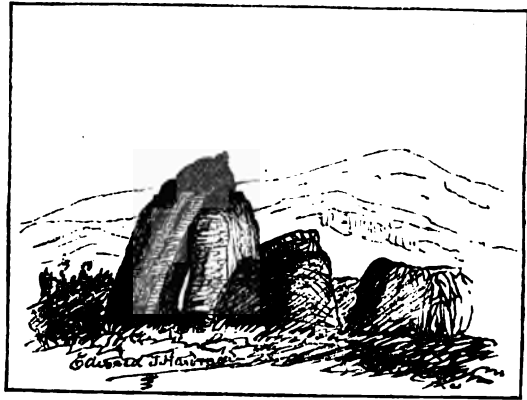


Fig. 4.—Double end Stones, Megalithic Monument, Deerpark, Sligo.

about 3 feet to under side of capstone and 5 feet to top. These "aisles" are of nearly the same length as the first, the northern one being 27 feet long, while the southern

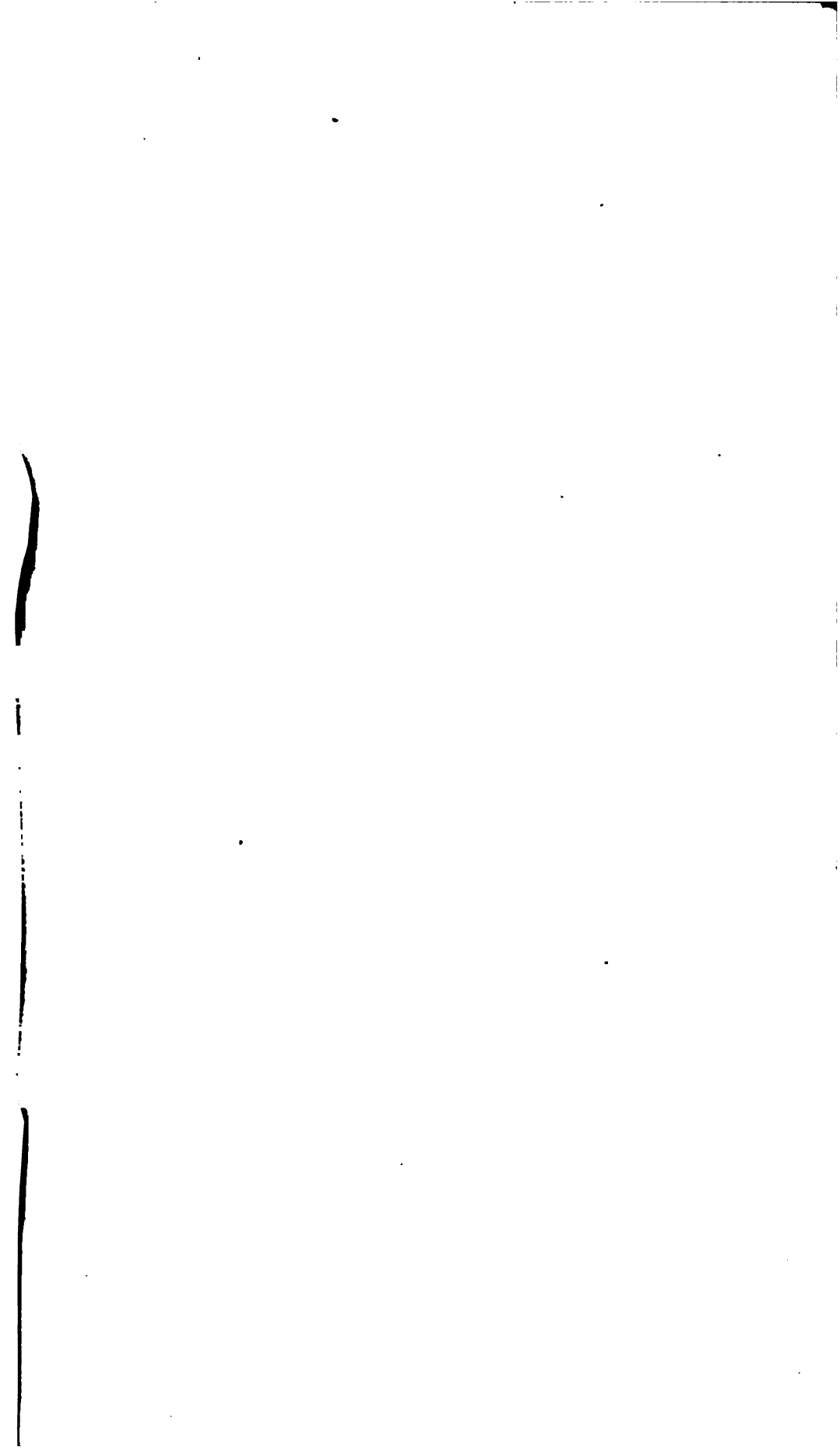




FIG. 5.—MEGALANTHIC STRUCTURE, DEER PARK, SLIGO.

"aisle" is 24 feet. Both are narrower than that first described, being respectively 8 feet, and 9 feet 6 inches wide, and they are separated by a space resembling a central aisle, 5 feet 6 inches wide, but stopped off from the main portion by a large stone (see plan, Fig. 2, and plate, Fig. 5).

Both these aisles are divided nearly midway (like the first) by two opposite stones standing near the outer walls, so as to mark a kind of passage through the centre of the aisle. I call them, for want of a better term, "passage stones," but I am unable to conjecture their use. It is possible that they may also have had capstones on them, but there are no traces of such, and, on the other hand, those in the southern aisle being out of line would seem to preclude this idea. It is likely that they may have been stations of particular importance during ceremonial observances. At this extremity they are upright and of very irregular height.

A general view of these aisles is given in plate, Fig. 5, from which also a fair idea of the nature of the entire structure may be obtained. The single western aisle will be observed in the distance.

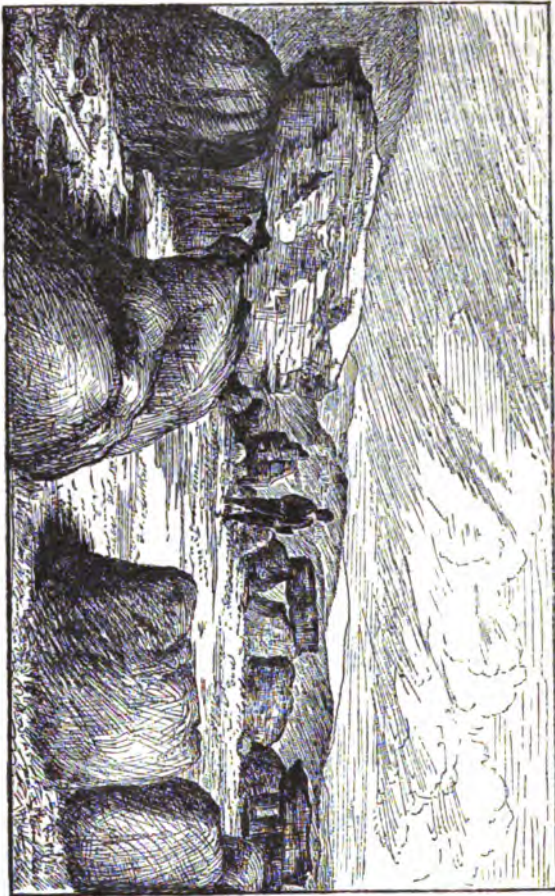
Exterior Structures.—At each extremity there is a low mound nearly circular, in which there are a number of small stones, now displaced, but apparently showing traces of artificial arrangement. I have indicated the general appearance of these mounds on the plan, but, as they have evidently been disturbed, it would serve no purpose to map them accurately.¹ However, I have no doubt that they form part of the monument, for on measurement they prove to be almost exactly of a size, the eastern being 20 and the western 21 feet long. As it will be observed that there is a remarkable amount of symmetry in the proportions of the other parts of the structure, it is evident that these heaps are artificial, and not mere freaks of nature—probably places of burial. They rise about 18 inches to 2 feet above the ordinary level of the ground.

Side Entrance or Transept.—At the south side, and near

¹ That on the west is also shown in Fig. 1.

the centre of the principal enclosure are some stones arranged in such position as to indicate an entrance, these consisting of four stones; two on each side, allowing a space or passage about 5 feet wide and about 10 feet long. One of the stones forming this is a massive

Fig. 6.—Megalithic Structure, Deepark, Sligo, showing Trilithon.



block of limestone 6 feet wide and about 4 feet 6 inches high. There are a couple of stones to the east of them which appear also to belong to the structure.

There are upwards of ninety stones used in the existing part of the structure, not to mention numerous stones scattered within and around it. These vary in size, from

pieces about a foot or so in diameter and length, to monster blocks 6 to 8 feet long. The three existing capstones are blocks 7 to 8 feet long, about 2 feet thick, and from 2 to 3 feet wide. The stone capping the entrance into the northern aisle has been fractured across the centre, the fissure being some inches wide, but the lateral pressure is sufficient to prevent its fall. As this crack must have been due to the effects of weathering since the block was placed in its present position, it is, I think, an evidence in favour of the great antiquity of this monument.

All the stones used in its construction are limestone, and have been apparently obtained from the beds of rough rubbly limestone which crop out at the surface in the vicinity, unlike many other prehistoric structures, which are often in Ireland formed of erratic blocks of a stone foreign to the neighbourhood. Its builders must, therefore, have had some idea of quarrying, and have had sufficient mechanical contrivances to enable them to first displace and then set in position the large blocks of rock they used. At the same time, the rude appearance of the blocks, and indifference shown as to size or arrangement (although there is a symmetry in the general structure) would seem to point to a more primitive age than that of Stonehenge, unless, indeed, we are to suppose the Irish of that period were behind their British neighbours in civilization.¹

I would wish to draw attention to the rudely symmetrical method displayed in the construction of this enclosure:—(1). The mounds at each end, each of which are about 20 feet long. (2). The principal aisles, each 27 feet long (the third 24 feet). (3). The central enclosure, 50 feet 6 inches is, roughly speaking, twice as long as the aisles. (4). The “passage stones” are from 9 to 10 feet from the capstones of the aisles. These primitive people were not particular as to the difference of a few feet, but the above measurements show that, in their rude way, they had some well-defined architectural purpose in their arrangements.

It is curious to observe the general resemblance of

¹ The Rev. Mr. Graves terms this structure—very happily—“the Irish Stonehenge.”

the plan of this structure to that of a modern church or cathedral. The eastern end represents the chancel; the central space, the portion under the dome; while the eastern extremity is not without analogy to the nave,

Fig. 7.—Megalithic Structures, Deerpark, Sligo, showing double upright stones at end of eastern "aisle."



with side aisles. The bearing also is nearly east and west. In this case—N. 80. W. & S. 80. E.

I shall not venture on any theory as to the uses of this structure, except so far as to suggest that it was the place of a ceremonial observance of some kind. It is

clearly not a sepulchral structure, seeing that the solid rock occurs within a foot or so of the surface.

It should be mentioned that it bears directly west of, and points towards, the great cairn which caps Knock-na-rea, supposed by the country people to have been the spot where ancient kings of Ireland were crowned. Close to this cairn are four or five small stone circles, of apparently the same age and construction as that described above. In one of these, flint implements and other relics of the stone age were obtained. It is possible that these two most important prehistoric structures in the county Sligo might have been erected at about the same time for the observance of more particular ceremonies.

It is remarkable that there is no folk-lore with regard to this unique structure. Tradition appears to be altogether silent about it, so far as I could learn. Nor could I hear of any prehistoric implements having been obtained near it. It will be seen from the above description that this monument ranks with the important and rare stone circles of Stonehenge and Avebury, Stennis in Orkney, and Carnac in Brittany. The stones forming the enclosures vary from 1 to 6 feet in height.

The accompanying plan and engravings (Figs. 4, 6, and 7, drawn from photographs, for which I am indebted to my friend J. A. S. Gregg, Esq.), will convey a good idea of this curious structure. Owing to the peculiar form of the ground, it was very difficult to get a favourable general view.

WHITE ISLAND, LOUGH ERNE.

BY W. F. WAKEMAN.

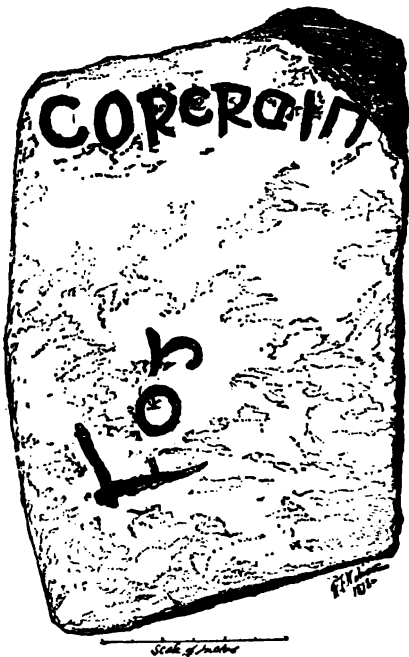
IN the "Journal" of the Association, vol. iii., new series, our late Associate, George V. Du Noyer, has published an essay on certain ancient Irish effigies which are (or, as we may now say, were then, as a group) to be seen, *in situ*, in the walls of a singularly interesting old church, which stands surrounded by an ancient cemetery, not far from the southern shore of White Island, opposite Castle Archdall. I advisedly mention the proximity of the site to Castle Archdall, as Lough Erne contains more than one island or islet, called in modern times "White Island." It is equally certain that Lough Erne, in olden times possessed upon several of its *inches*, as well as upon its shores, not a few places of ecclesiastical interest, the original names of which have been lost. This want of identification with places of more or less importance in the annals of our country—though it is certain that the sites had at one time been held very sacred, and had possessed a history—has deprived many a gray relic of ancient, and even of mediæval Erin, of too much of the consideration to which it was due from ecclesiologist, antiquary, or historian. It is so with that on the White Island under notice. Although we find here a church of considerable dimensions, and displaying much care and expense in the process of its construction (moreover contributing an example of Hiberno-Romanesque in the features of its doorway, and in its walls numerous traces of a style of masonry which there is every reason to believe did not come down in Ireland to a later period than the first quarter of the thirteenth century), the history of the structure and all notice of the founder are unknown. Notwithstanding all that our late respected Associate, Du Noyer, has advanced in the Paper referred to, I, having on four occasions examined

the ruins, and the immediate precincts, cannot for a moment agree with him in assigning White Island church to so early a period as the eighth century. No person could do so, even upon Du Noyer's own argument: for there is not the least likeness between the White Island doorway and that of the stone-roofed church at Killaloe, the erection of which (says Du Noyer) is attributed by Dr. Petrie to St. Flannan, who, according to Ware, was consecrated first Bishop of this See at Rome by Pope John IV., about the year 693. The Killaloe church or "chapel" is a building originally consisting of nave and choir, both stone-roofed. The choir has been destroyed, but the choir or chancel arch remains. The doorway of this very interesting structure was placed in the western gable, and consisted, and still consists, of recessed semicircular arches, supported by inclining jambs in the usual old Irish fashion. The barrel arch and surmounting acutely-pointed roof still remain over the nave.

Now on White Island we find a church in plan a simple oblong, with a doorway in the south side-wall at a little distance from the western gable. The only other ope remaining is the eastern window, which is in a very ruinous condition, yet presenting the appearance of having been a fine pointed lancet, such as we are familiar with in thirteenth century work. The doorway already referred to consists of an outer and of an inner arch, supported on jambs which do not incline, excepting perhaps that they are slightly further apart at the top than at the base. The capitals are rudely blocked out, and were probably attempts to represent conventional human heads. They are very rude and debased in character, presenting not the least trace of scroll or interlacing work. This church, with the curious sculptures which are found built into its walls (one of them being an unquestionable sheela-na-gigg), will, I think, on further examination by architectural antiquaries, be pronounced one of the latest examples of the Hiberno-Romanesque work to be found in Ireland. It was probably necessary that I should, however unwillingly, take a glance at this much misrepresented

structure, in order to introduce to the meeting an inscription which, on the occasion of Captain Archdall (the gallant and friendly owner of the sod) clearing the *debris* of centuries from the interior of the church, had turned up. It reads, as the accompanying rubbing shows CORCRQIN. At right angles with this name we find the letters PO $\overline{\text{S}}$. Now can this be the name of a man, or is the inscription simply imperfect? Could it have been the commencement of a name like Fogartaigh? The character of these inscriptions would seem to be earlier than the period to which the remaining church would generally be assigned—

viz., the close of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. It is a curious fact that there exists in the neighbourhood a tradition that the church was erected by one Earl Strongbow; but of an earlier *foundation* there can be little doubt. Within the neighbouring Deerpark of Castle Archdall, situate in a most romantic spot, with pagan mounds and stone circles all around, with a holy well overshadowed by I believe the hoariest and most gigantic yew tree in Great Britain or Ireland, may be seen an early Christian cemetery, dotted with crosses of primitive type: some of them early, some so late as the seventeenth or eighteenth century. No one is buried there now. Here, too, are some few remains of an old church. One stone, still remaining, seems to have formed the apex of a gable like that which we find on St. MacDara's church,



Irish-inscribed Slab at White Island.

on Inis MacDara, off the coast of Connemara. Like the White Island remains, those of the Deerpark have lost their history. Although within a short walk of the cradle of his family in Ireland, Archdall has not noticed it in the "*Monasticon Hibernicum*." It would appear that between these two churches there must, in ancient times, have been some connexion, as a very remarkable road, paved in the Roman fashion, and now called the "Friars' Walk," leads from the Deerpark ruin to a point nearly opposite the shore of White Island.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS.

1873.

CHARGE.

		£	s.	d.
1873.				
Jan. 1.	To balance in Treasurer's hands,	164	18	4½
Dec. 31.	„ Annual subscriptions,	424	3	6
	„ Entrance fees of Fellows,	10	0	0
	„ Cash by sale of "Journal" and "Annual Volume" to Members,	27	11	0
	„ One year's rent of garden at Jerpoint Abbey,	1	0	0
	„ Donation from A. Fitzgibbon, Esq.,	101	17	0
	„ Dividends on New 3 per cent. Government Stock,	6	8	6
		<hr/>		
		£735	18	4½

DISCHARGE.

		£	s.	d.
1873.				
Dec. 31.	By postages of correspondence and book parcels,	23	19	7
	„ Postages of "Journal" and "Annual Vo- lume,"	26	16	5
	„ Printing, &c., of "Annual Volume,"	29	16	10
	„ Printing, &c., of "Journal" for October, 1869, and January and April, 1873,	226	0	4
	„ Illustrations for "Journal" and "Annual Volume,"	155	9	11
	„ Binding of "Journal" and "Annual Volume," and general printing and sta- tionery,	34	13	11
	„ Collection of subscriptions,	20	0	0
	„ Sundry expenses,	31	9	3
	„ Purchase of books and early number of "Journal,"	30	18	1½
	„ Rent and caretaker, Jerpoint Abbey,	2	10	0
	„ Rent and insurance of Museum,	20	9	0
	„ Purchase of £55 1s. New 3 per cent. Stock,	50	0	0
	„ Balance in Treasurer's hands,	83	15	0
		<hr/>		
		£735	18	4½

We have examined this Account, with Vouchers, and found the same correct, leaving a balance of £83 15s. in Treasurer's hands.

J. G. ROBERTSON, }
J. B. FITZSIMONS, M.D., } *Auditors.*

KILKENNY, 8th January, 1879.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS.

71

1874.

CHARGE.

1874.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To balance in Treasurer's hands,	83	15	0
Dec. 31.	„ Annual subscriptions,	524	16	6
	„ Entrance fees of Fellows,	14	0	0
	„ Life compositions,	34	0	0
	„ Cash by sale of "Journal" and "Annual Volume,"	11	9	6
	„ One year's rent garden at Jerpoint Abbey,	1	0	0
	„ Dividend on New 3 per cent. Government Stock,	8	1	10
	„ Cash by books sold,	1	5	0
		<hr/>		
		£678	7	10

DISCHARGE.

1874.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By postages of correspondence and book parcels,	22	3	4
	„ Postages of "Journal" and "Annual Volume,"	22	5	1
	„ Printing, &c., of "Annual Volume,"	31	4	0
	„ Printing, &c., of "Journal" for July and October, 1873, and January and April, 1874,	203	18	10
	„ Illustrations for "Journal" and "Annual Volume,"	151	14	10
	„ Binding of "Journal" and "Annual Volume," and general printing and stationery,	45	1	4½
	„ Collection of subscriptions,	20	0	0
	„ Sundry expenses,	30	7	7
	„ Purchase of books and early number of "Journal,"	11	0	8
	„ Rent and caretaker Jerpoint Abbey,	1	10	0
	„ Rent and insurance of Museum,	20	9	0
	„ Purchase of £54 11s. 2d. New 3 per cent. Government Stock,	50	0	0
	„ Transcribing original documents and editing same,	9	1	0
	„ Balance in Treasurer's hands,	59	12	1½
		<hr/>		
		£678	7	10

We have examined this Account, with Vouchers, and found the same correct, leaving a balance of £59 12s. 1½d. in hands of Treasurer.

J. G. ROBERTSON, }
J. B. FITZSIMONS, M.D., } *Auditors.*

KILKENNY, 8th January, 1879.

1875.

CHARGE.

		£	s.	d.
1875.				
Jan. 1.	To balance in Treasurer's hands,	59	12	1½
Dec. 31.	„ Annual subscriptions,	321	14	0
	„ Entrance fees of Fellows,	8	0	0
	„ Cash by sale of "Journal" and "Annual Volume,"	13	14	0
	„ One year's rent of garden at Jerpoint Abbey,	1	0	0
	„ Dividends on New 3 per cent. Government Stock,	9	14	11
	„ Balance due to Treasurer,	82	2	5½
		<hr/>		
		£495	17	6

DISCHARGE.

		£	s.	d.
1875.				
Dec. 31.	By postages of correspondence and book parcels,	20	11	10
	„ Postages of "Journal" and "Annual Volume,"	25	10	4
	„ Printing, &c., of "Annual Volume,"	44	11	9
	„ Printing, &c., of "Journal" for July and October, 1873, and January and April, 1874,	190	3	6
	„ Illustrations for "Journal" and "Annual Volume,"	119	13	6
	„ Binding of "Journal" and "Annual Volume," and general printing and stationery,	25	16	3
	„ Sundry expenses,	12	3	2
	„ Books purchased,	15	8	2
	„ Rent and caretaker, Jerpoint Abbey,	1	10	0
	„ Rent and insurance of Museum,	20	9	0
	„ Collection of subscriptions,	20	0	0
		<hr/>		
		£495	17	6

We have examined this Account, with Vouchers, and found the same correct, leaving a balance of £82 2s. 5½d. due to the Treasurer.

J. G. ROBERTSON,
J. B. FITZSIMONS, M.D., } *Auditors.*

KILKENNY, 8th January, 1879.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS.

73

1876.

CHARGE.

1876.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	To annual subscriptions,	513	17	0
	„ Entrance fees of Fellows,	2	0	0
	„ Cash by sale of "Journal" and "Annual Volume,"	43	5	10
	„ One year's rent of garden at Jerpoint Abbey,	1	0	0
	„ Dividends on New 3 per cent. Government Stock,	9	14	3
	„ Donations,	66	9	1
		<hr/>		
		£636	6	2

DISCHARGE.

1876.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	By balance due to Treasurer,	82	2	5½
Dec. 31.	„ Postages of correspondence and book parcels,	17	17	6
	„ Postages of "Journal" and "Annual Vo- lume,"	17	2	0
	„ Printing, &c., of "Journal" for July and October, 1875, and January, April, and July, 1876,	170	11	11
	„ Illustrations for "Journal" and "Annual Volume,"	82	16	3
	„ Binding of "Journal" and "Annual Vo- lume," and general printing and stationery,	26	19	6
	„ Sundry expenses,	9	5	5
	„ Books purchased,	9	18	2
	„ Rent and caretaker, Jerpoint Abbey,	1	0	0
	„ Rent and insurance of Museum,	20	9	0
	„ Editing "Journal," and transcribing origi- nal documents,	43	4	6
	„ Collection of subscriptions,	20	0	0
	„ Purchase of New 3 per cent. Government Stock,	50	0	0
	„ Balance in Treasurer's hands,	84	19	5½
		<hr/>		
		£636	6	2

I have examined the above with the Book and Vouchers, and find same correct.

P. O'BRIEN, *Public Accountant*,
13, SOUTH MALL, CORK.

22nd February, 1879.

1877.

C H A R G E .

		£	s.	d.
1877.				
Jan. 1.	To Balance in Treasurer's hands,	84	19	5
Dec. 31.	„ Annual subscriptions,	366	2	6
	„ Entrance fees of Fellows,	16	0	0
	„ Cash by sale of "Journal" and "Annual Volume,"	13	9	4
	„ Year's rent of garden at Jerpoint Abbey,	1	0	0
	„ Donations,	17	19	6
	„ Dividends on New 3 per cent. Government Stock,	11	5	2
		<hr/>		
		£510	15	11

D I S C H A R G E .

		£	s.	d.
1877.				
Dec. 31.	By postages of correspondence and book parcels,	11	13	8
	„ Postages of "Journal" and "Annual Volume,"	36	0	6
	„ Printing, &c., of "Annual Volume,"	31	12	5
	„ Printing, &c., of "Journal" for October, 1876, and January and April, 1877,	107	2	7
	„ Illustrations for "Journal" and "Annual Volume,"	52	10	9
	„ Binding of "Journal" and "Annual Volume," and general printing and stationery,	21	1	9
	„ Sundry expenses,	2	13	6
	„ Books purchased,	2	16	6
	„ Rent and caretaker, Jerpoint Abbey,	2	0	0
	„ Collection of subscriptions,	20	0	0
	„ Rent and insurance of Museum,	20	9	0
	„ Editing "Journal," and transcribing original documents,	30	0	0
	„ Balance in Treasurer's hands,	172	15	3
		<hr/>		
		£510	15	11

I have examined the above with the Vouchers and Book, and find same correct.

P. O'BRIEN, *Public Accountant*,
13, SOUTH MALL, CORK.

22nd February, 1879.

1878.

CHARGE.

		£	s.	d.
1878.				
Jan. 1.	To balance in Treasurer's hands,	172	15	3
Dec. 31.	„ Annual subscriptions,	252	11	0
	„ Entrance fees of Fellows,	2	0	0
	„ Cash for sale of "Journal" and "Annual Volume,"	21	13	0
	„ Year's rent of garden at Jerpoint Abbey, . .	1	0	0
	„ Donations,	58	0	0
	„ Dividends on New 3 per cent. Government Stock,	11	4	2
		<hr/>		
		£519	3	5

DISCHARGE.

		£	s.	d.
1878.				
Dec. 31.	By postages of correspondence and book parcels, .	11	2	9
	„ Postages of "Journal" and "Annual Vo- lume,"	16	8	2
	„ Printing, &c., of "Annual Volume," . . .	66	19	0
	„ Printing, &c., of "Journal" for July and October, 1877,	40	4	0
	„ Printing, &c., of "Journal" for January and April, 1878,	65	19	9
	„ Illustrations for "Journal" and "Annual Volume,"	20	1	0
	„ General printing and stationery,	12	13	9
	„ Sundry expenses,	0	17	8
	„ Books purchased,	1	17	0
	„ Rent and caretaker, Jerpoint Abbey, . . .	2	0	0
	„ Rent and insurance of Museum,	20	9	0
	„ Editing "Journal," indexing, &c., . . .	25	0	0
	„ Collecting subscriptions,	20	0	0
	„ Balance in Treasurer's hands,	215	11	4
		<hr/>		
		£519	3	5

I have examined the above with the Vouchers and Book, and find same correct.

P. O'BRIEN, *Public Accountant*,
13, SOUTH MALL, CORK.

April 2nd, 1879.

CAPITAL ACCOUNT

1873.

		£	s.	d.
1873.				
Jan. 1.	New 3 per cent. Government Stock invested in the names of the Trustees,	217	10	11
Dec. 31.	New 3 per cent. Government Stock purchased for £50,	55	1	0
		<hr/>		
		£272	11	11

1874.

		£	s.	d.
1874.				
Jan. 1.	New 3 per cent. Government Stock invested in the names of the Trustees,	272	11	11
Dec. 31.	New 3 per cent. Government Stock purchased for £50,	54	11	2
		<hr/>		
		£327	3	1

1875.

		£	s.	d.
1875.				
Dec. 31.	New 3 per cent. Government Stock invested in the names of the Trustees,	327	3	1

1876.

		£	s.	d.
1876.				
Jan. 1.	New 3 per cent. Government Stock invested in the names of the Trustees,	327	3	1
Dec. 31.	New 3 per cent. Government Stock purchased for £50,	52	18	4
		<hr/>		
		£380	1	5

1877.

		£	s.	d.
1877.				
Dec. 31.	New 3 per cent. Government Stock invested in the names of the Trustees,	380	1	5

1878.

		£	s.	d.
1878.				
Dec. 31.	New 3 per cent. Government Stock invested in the names of the Trustees,	380	1	5

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT A GENERAL MEETING, held in the Museum of the Natural History Society, College Square, North, Belfast, on Wednesday, July the 2nd, 1879 ;

RICHARD LANGRISHE, V.P., in the Chair :

The following Fellow was elected :—

The Rev. James O'Laverty, P.P., M.R.I.A., Holywood, Belfast.

The following Members were elected :—

Rev. Charles Scott, A.M., 5 West Clifton, Belfast.

William Scott Core, M.D., Abbotsford Place, Belfast.

Dr. Whittaker, High-street, Belfast.

Lieutenant-General W. J. Smythe, M.R.I.A., White Abbey, Belfast.

Rev. J. A. Kerr, LL.D., White Abbey, Belfast.

Alexander O'D. Taylor, 3 Upper Crescent, Belfast.

Rev. J. H. Smythe, Fortwilliam Park, Belfast :

Cecil Wood, Chiplee, Blackrock, Cork :

Dr. Caulfield, Secretary, read the following communication :—

"GENTLEMEN—You are aware that the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland have, by orders dated 27th October, 1874, 16th December, 1874, and 12th December, 1877, provided for the care and preservation of 118 of the round towers, churches, ecclesiastical buildings and structures, pursuant to the 25th section of the Irish Church Act, 1869, by paying over £50,000 to the Board of Works for that purpose. It is greatly to be regretted that very many of the round towers,

churches, ecclesiastical buildings, crosses, and other structures which are in no way inferior to those 118, but on the contrary, in many cases, much more interesting, are still uncared for. My object in writing to you is this:—I have reason to believe that the Commissioners of Church Temporalities are well disposed to make another order to provide for those I have last mentioned. Would it not be well, then, at the meeting of the Association at Belfast, on 2nd July, to take some step, by resolution or otherwise, as might be thought well, to respectfully request the Church Temporalities Commissioners' attention to the subject, to thank them for what they have already done in the matter, and to beg of them to make another order to include those omitted in the former orders. If the surplus Church funds are disposed of without obtaining another portion of it for the care and preservation of our round towers, abbeys, crosses, &c., such an opportunity will never occur again. The Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland is a very influential body, and I am sure the Church Temporalities Commissioners will treat a communication from the Association with respect. I am now making out a list of the round towers, abbeys, &c., not included in the 118, which I will feel pleasure in furnishing on application when ready.

"I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

"Your obedient servant,

"JAMES LYNAM,

"June 28th, 1879."

"Member of the Association."

Mr. Gray said that in consequence of that letter he was instructed by the Local Committee to communicate with the Board of Works, and the next letter which the Secretary was about to read was the reply to that communication:—

"Office of Public Works, Custom House,

"July 1st, 1879.

"DEAR SIR—I send herewith a copy of a pamphlet prepared for distribution among the members of the British Association last year at Cashel. It contains a full report of the monuments in charge of the Board, and a memorandum of the mode which the Board adopted with them, &c. As regards additional buildings, the Act refers only to buildings and objects which were the property of the late Established Church of Ireland, and the funds available are limited to a sum of £50,000 for present works of repairs and maintenance. Therefore, any addition to the present list must be within the limits, or the funds available would be insufficient. The proper course, however, for effecting the transfer is by bringing the list of intended monuments before the Church Temporalities Commissioners, accompanied—if the objects have become private property—by an application by the present owners, or with their consent; but I think it as well to mention that a list of objects is now under consideration which would, if transferred by the Commissioners, completely exhaust the available financial powers of the Board. I exceedingly regret that the pressure of business prevents my attending the Belfast meeting of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.

"(Signed)

"J. B. OWEN."

The Rev. Dr. Grainger moved—

“That this meeting requests the Committee of the Association to enter into communication with the Church Temporalities Commissioners, with a view to the further protection of ancient monuments, and also to communicate with Sir John Lubbock, in order to promote the passing through Parliament of the Bill for this purpose.”

The following resolution was also adopted:—

“That Mr. R. Young, Mr. R. Macadam, Dr. James Moore, Canon M’Ilwaine, the Rev. Charles Scott, General Smythe, the Rev. Dr. Grainger, and Rev. J. J. O’Lavery, be appointed a Committee to act in conjunction with the General Committee.”

Mr. William Gray was appointed Local Secretary for the county of Antrim.

Lt.-General Smythe called attention to the withdrawal of Sir Samuel Ferguson from the Association two years ago. He regretted that the Association should have lost so valuable a member, and he thought that anything which the Meeting could do to induce his return to the Society should be done.

Mr. Robertson said that Sir Samuel Ferguson’s withdrawal was in consequence of a statement made by Lady Wilde in the concluding portion of “The Memoir of Gabriel Beranger,” which appeared in the Journal of the Society, commenting on the new arrangement of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. It was a matter of general regret that a man of Sir Samuel’s eminence, and one who had taken so great an interest in the Society, should have withdrawn from it.

Mr. John Ribton Garstin, M.R.I.A., said that he was Secretary of the Museum Committee of the Royal Irish Academy, and was in a measure responsible for the arrangements that had been criticised, but he did not think it necessary that he should withdraw from this Association. If the meeting wished to pass a resolution now requesting Sir Samuel Ferguson to rejoin, it might have the desired effect. Any resolution the Meeting should pass should be a mere expression of regret at the publication.

Canon M’Ilwaine proposed the following:—

“That this Meeting has heard with deep concern that Sir Samuel Ferguson has withdrawn from the Society; that the Meeting regrets the

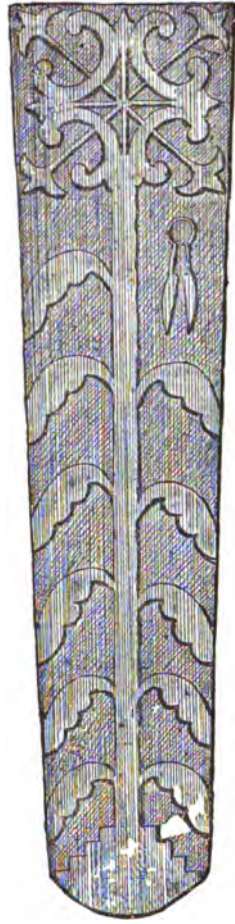
publication of the passage on account of which Sir Samuel has withdrawn, and would be much gratified if Sir Samuel could be induced to return to the Association."

General Smythe seconded the resolution, which passed unanimously.

Rev. E. J. Hartrick read a Paper on Connor: its History and Antiquities, in the course of which he stated, that after the defeat of the English at Bannockburn Robert Bruce, at the invitation of some Irish chieftains, fitted out an armament under his brother Edward for the overthrow and subjugation of the English settlers. Having landed at the Curran, at Larne, they were met by the English forces at Mounthill, near Larne, where they received a severe defeat. The Scotch then proceeded northwards, and at the Path, at Cairncastle, they defeated the M'Quillans. They afterwards marched in the direction of Slemish, and the course they took could still be traced by the cairns they erected along the route—one of which, Cairnaffan, was the largest in Ireland. He next referred to the siege of Connor by Edward Bruce and the Red Ryver. It did not appear that Connor was ever restored to its former importance; but if there was any revival it must have been temporary, as it was sacked in 1333 by the insurgent Irish. It had been questioned by some whether it was even a city of any extent, some holding that it was merely a citadel with a few houses adjoining, but the traditions were all to the contrary, and these were corroborated by the valuable notes on Down by Dr. Reeves, who showed that the original church, which gave its name to the diocese, was founded in the fifth century. In conclusion, he said there were many historical questions in connexion with Connor, and many antiquities that were deserving of attention.

Mr. W. H. Patterson, M.R.I.A., exhibited a rubbing of an Anglo-Norman grave slab, which had been accidentally turned up by the gravedigger in the cemetery which surrounds the ruined parish church at Holywood, county of Down, in May last. The accompanying illustration represents the slab, which was very massive, and measured 5 feet 8 inches long, 18 inches in width at the

broad end, and 12 inches at the narrow end. The design was an ornamental cross of eight points rising from a calvary; the stem was decorated with foliage, six branches springing from the right side, and five from the left; one branch had been omitted from the left side, for the purpose of leaving room for the emblem of a pair of shears, which probably indicated that the monument was that of a female, the sword being the corresponding male emblem on grave slabs of this class. Holywood is situated on the southern shore of Belfast Bay, nearly opposite to Carrickfergus. In the taxation of Pope Nicholas IV. the name was written Haliwode. Dr. Reeves writes: "Instead of the English name, the form *Sanctus Boscus* is sometimes met with. A.D. 1210, July 29, King John halted, 'apud sanctum Boscum,' when on his way from Carrickfergus to Downpatrick. A.D. 1217, Jordanus de Saukevill was confirmed by Henry III. in the possession of his lands, 'de Sancto Bosco.'" A slab very similar in design, but bearing a long Norman sword, instead of a pair of shears, was found at the site of the old church of Ballymaghan, about two miles distant from Holywood; they are probably both of early thirteenth century work.



Grave Slab, Parish Church of
Holywood, Co. Down.

Mr. Robertson exhibited, from the Museum of the Association, several objects of interest found in Dunbell Rath, Co. Kilkenny, including articles of bone, bronze, and iron—amongst the former, combs decorated in the

Anglo-Saxon style: the bronze objects included pins, one of them most delicately engraved, as if with a fine needle: a highly interesting and very small bell also from the same rath was exhibited. Amongst the other objects were an ancient ecclesiastical Irish staff, with boat-shaped head; ancient square ecclesiastical bell from Foulks court; a scold's bridle, which had long been preserved in the county jail of Down; a stone mould for casting celts; portions of the carved sculpture of the Hiberno-Romanesque church which preceded the present Cathedral of St. Canice, &c. A few select objects of considerable interest from Mr. Robertson's private collection were also exhibited, including a stone hatchet of great beauty and finish, said to be the finest of its class in Ireland; a bronze celt with the herring-bone pattern upon it. Mr. Robertson, on the part of the Association, presented two ancient flooring tiles from St. Canice's, and from himself models of a Cassava strainer, two clubs, and a model of a house from British Guiana, as donations to the Belfast Museum.

The contents of the Belfast Museum itself were highly interesting. Canon M'Ilwaine exhibited the magnificent silver crozier of the bishop of the diocese, on bog-oak, black as ebony, the staff being exquisitely carved, and the crozier splendidly chased. Dr. Purdon, for Captain M'Cance, exhibited some unique specimens of cinerary urns, the fine old bell of Bangor Abbey, and other interesting articles. Mr. Gray exhibited a collection of flint implements and weapons, including flakes, cores, hammers, scrapers, celts, arrow-heads, and pottery, illustrating the character and distribution of worked flint implements, &c., in Antrim and Down.

The Rev. Charles Scott, M.A., exhibited some very interesting Irish MSS., bound, which comprised a miscellaneous collection of tales and poems, written in the years 1815 and 1817, by members of a family named Sullivan, who lived, apparently, in the barony of East Carbery, and county of Cork.

Dr. James Moore, M.R.I.A., and Mr. William Gray, M.R.I.A., exhibited a large number of water-colour

drawings of objects and places of antiquarian interest in the district.

The Evening Meeting was held at eight o'clock in the Lecture-room of the Museum.

On the motion of Canon M'Ilwaine, D.D., seconded by Mr. W. H. Patterson, the chair was taken by

Lieutenant-General W. J. SMYTHE, R.A., M.R.I.A.

The Chairman said—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The members of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland residing in the neighbourhood are much gratified by the resolution of the Association which has brought this meeting to Belfast, and they desire to offer a hearty welcome to the members from a distance who have come to take a share in its proceedings. They have only one cause of regret. The meeting, they had hoped, would have had the supreme advantage of being conducted under the presidency of the great Irish archæologist and scholar, of whom Ulster and all Ireland is so justly proud, but circumstances evoking their sincere sympathy have prevented his presence. With Dr. Reeves as president, the meeting could not fail to be most interesting, instructive, and agreeable.

As this is the first meeting of the Association in this part of Ireland, and some of those present may not be perfectly familiar with its work, it will not be out of place to give a short account of its history and objects. It was in the year 1849 that, at Kilkenny, with the unassuming title of the "Kilkenny Archæological Society," and under the auspices of the Rev. James Graves, the Association was first formed. The extension of its operations through the surrounding counties justified, in a few years, the addition of "South-east of Ireland" to its name. In 1868 the Prince of Wales was pleased to become its patron-in-chief, and, as its inquiries then embraced every corner of Ireland, its title was changed to "The Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland." At the close of the following year Her Majesty the Queen, by Royal Letter, authorised it to assume the title which it now bears, and granted to it the privilege of electing Fellows.

The objects of the Association are—the preservation, examination, and illustration of all ancient monuments connected with the history, language, arts, and customs of Ireland. A library and museum have been formed at Kilkenny, where a meeting was held on the first Wednesday of each quarter. At least such had been the course hitherto; but by a new rule (of which we are now profiting), meetings are to be held in other localities. Although its head-quarters are at Kilkenny, the rest of the country is not neglected. "Videttes," in the character of provincial or local secretaries, or corresponding members, are posted over the country, to give notice to the Association of all antiquarian remains discovered in their districts, to investigate local history and traditions, and to draw attention to any injuries threatening monuments of anti-

quity, in order that efforts may be made to protect them. A large sum, contributed expressly for the purpose, has been expended in the preservation of the ancient and beautiful Abbey of Jerpoint; the round tower and churches of Monasterboise have been repaired; and the ruins of Clonmacnoise, so dear to Irish archæologists, have, at a great cost, been made thoroughly secure. A quarterly journal has, from the foundation of the Association, been issued, comprising amongst its contents many Papers of the highest interest and value, regarding the history and antiquities of Ireland.

Notwithstanding that the exertions of the Association have obtained so large a measure of success, the field of its operations is very far from being exhausted. The ancient monuments of Ireland are so abundant, that many exist undescribed and little known, and original manuscripts of the greatest value remain unpublished. To treat these and other cognate objects with the despatch which the times demand, and ere the opportunity be in many cases lost for ever, the additional resources afforded by a large increase of members, and the local knowledge and influence thereby enlisted, are indispensably necessary. For such an increase the time appears most propitious. There is evidently now extending over Ireland a national spirit of the right kind. Indications of it may be seen in various directions—in the works proceeding from the press, in the general interest taken in historical monuments, but perhaps more than anything else in the extraordinary success which has attended the exertions of the society lately established “for the Preservation of the Irish language.” This society saw clearly, from the outset, that a language, although extensively spoken, and possessing a large heritage of literary treasures, could not hold its own in these days without the aid of a popular and periodical literature. It therefore set to work at once to produce progressive elementary books which should enable those who spoke Irish to read it, and which should also serve as an introduction to the language for those who had no previous knowledge of it. Of the “First Irish Book” and the “Second Irish Book” already 40,000 copies have been sold: the “Third Irish Book” has just been issued, as well as a copy-book to facilitate the practice of writing in the Irish character. The way is thus being prepared for the literature which is soon to follow. Through the influence of the Society the Irish language is now recognised in the National Schools, and it takes its proper place in the examinations under the Intermediate Education Act of last Session. To the Irish archæologist, acquaintance with the Irish language is of primary importance. In the mere question of the names of places its services are indispensable. In spite of the political changes which the Island has undergone, the old Irish names remain rarely or but slightly altered. These names, covering the land with a lavish profusion, surprise the inquirer by their marvellous aptness, and often, where local changes have taken place, afford convincing evidence of a former condition. Many a *Derry* and *Kill* remind us of the grand ancient forests that clothed and beautified the land. The Irish name of Dublin, still in common use—*Baile-atha-chliath*—recalls the wicker-work causeway across the Liffey of a distant age. The name of Belfast (*Bel feirste*) tells us of the “fords” which anciently were its most prominent feature. (Truly it is not without a groan that we note on the arms of the town the heraldic “*ignorance proper displayed*” in the puerile conceit of a *bell fast*.) But the preser-

vation of the Irish language extends far beyond its use as an interpreter of names, or even as giving access to its former literature. The mental activity gendered by the sway of two modes of speech is an immense intellectual benefit, as the possession of a language "racy of the soil," entwined in the most cherished memories of the country, supplies the surest bond of national union. And it must be remembered that Irish is no barbarous *patois*, but a language highly polished and cultivated more than a thousand years ago. The mother tongue of Columba, of Albin, of the *Doctor Subtilis*, we may be sure is capable of giving expression to every phase of emotion, to every mental conception. The saying, sometimes heard, that the Irish language is dead, expresses, there is too much reason to expect, often a wish rather than a belief. A language in no sense can be called dead which is spoken by nearly one million out of a population of five millions. In this noble movement for the preservation of the national language, the ladies (in all countries so patriotic) could render the most essential aid. To children the acquisition of a spoken language is of extreme facility, and if ladies would only refuse to engage any but Irish-speaking nurses for their children, in another generation the Irish language would be what Magyar is to the Hungarian, and Eaquara to the Basque, if not, indeed, the official language—the language of the home and the heart. A good time seems coming for the Celtic languages. A professorship of Celtic has been recently founded at Oxford, and a large sum has been subscribed towards a similar object at Edinburgh. As Scotland owes all she possesses of Celtic to Ireland, her action in this direction, if a worthy example, is not less a bitter reproach to us. The use of the Welsh language, it is said, so far from decaying in Wales, is now steadily extending.

The members of the Association who now visit this part of Ireland for the first time will find that it is not less rich than other parts in memorials of the past. If traces of mediæval structures are less numerous, it is explained by the late continuance of Ulster under the rule of its native princes. Although Belfast does not possess, like Kilkenny, an Archæological Society, the pursuit of archæology has been by no means neglected. The suspension of the publication of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, which we all deplore, is owing, I believe, not to any failure of support, but simply to other more pressing avocations of its accomplished editor. The Belfast Naturalists' Field Club does not confine its investigations exclusively to natural history, but joins with this charming pursuit, archæological explorations, and often finds that rare plants or curious fossils associate with ancient monuments.

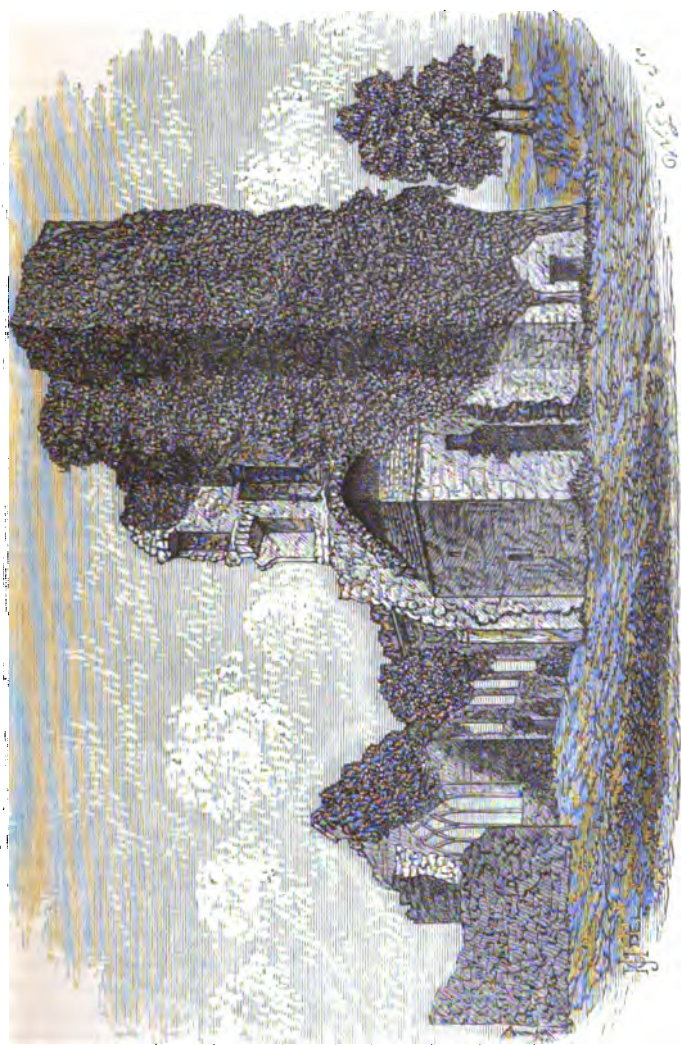
I will here, in concluding, name two of our historical sights of great interest, within view of which we shall pass in our excursion to-morrow—Slemish Mountain, on and about which our great Apostle spent the six years of his early captivity, where he learned the Irish language, and where he imbibed that intense love for the Irish race, which, after his return to his native France, gave no rest to his soul till it drove him back to our shores a Missionary Bishop. At a later hour of our excursion we shall look across the waters of the Lough to the site of the famous monastery of Bangor—no less a seat of learning than of religion—whose teaching influenced so largely the philosophy of the middle ages. While of her sons, some adorned the court of Charles the Great; others, fearless and devoted missionaries, travelled over the Continent—as Columbanus, who,

after preaching the Gospel in France, ended his eventful life in the monastery he had founded among the Apennines; or Gallus, whose name survives in that of the Swiss canton St. Gall, where, in the library of the magnificent monastic buildings which cover the site of his humble cell, may now be seen beautifully illuminated ancient MSS. either carried from Ireland or transcribed by Irish monks.

Mr. G. J. Hewson sent the following notice of the Abbey of Rathkeale, Co. Limerick:—

“The tower of, or rather the castle connected with, this abbey, which stands close to the east end of the town of Rathkeale, at the south side of the road from Limerick, has been very much damaged by the wet and the severe frost of last winter. The ruins consist now of merely the remains of the Abbey church, of the tower or castle in question, which stands at the west end of the church, and a small portion of what appears to have been a tower at the north side of the church: every vestige of the other buildings has been eradicated. A gentleman's residence having, unfortunately, been built close to the abbey, in the last century, it was inclosed in a pleasure-ground or garden in front, and, with the exceptions above named, which were fortunately considered picturesque, all the *old walls and rubbish* were removed and the very foundations grubbed up, to give place to trim grass-plots and flower-beds. There are still the remains of the yew hedges and bushes, which were clipped into grotesque shapes according to the fashion of the time.

“Limited as are those remains, they are very interesting on a close examination. The east window is still entire, and is a plain fifteenth century interlaced four-light window, such as those at Askeaton and Adare, and which are so common in this country in the abbeys of that time. Close observation, however, will show that this was an insertion, and that the original window was an early English three-light window, with sandstone dressings, and very massive piers of masonry between the lights. This early window came much nearer to the ground than the present one, and it can be traced in the space under the sill of the latter; and also having been wider than the present window, for some distance up the sides the sandstone dressings at the inside of the splay of the two outside lights coming very close to the side walls of the church. There were five very narrow single lights, with sandstone dressings, in the eastern half of the south wall. The one nearest the east end was raised higher in the wall, the top being now in that part added to the height of the wall. This may have been done to give room for a high tomb or monument under it; and there are some remains of a rough arch in the wall: this would have been a very likely place for the tomb of the ‘re-edifier’ or some of his family. The next light has been closed up inside, but the sandstone dressings remain outside. The third and fourth have not been altered: the fifth has been closed up and replaced by a much lower and shorter window of two narrow lights, with a slight stone mullion between, in limestone of the same age as the present east window. The remains of some early English single lights, with sandstone dressings, appear in the opposite side, but they seem to have been closed up at the time of the other alterations just mentioned. In this north wall, close to the east end, are some remains of a very



ABBAY OF RATHKEALE.—BEFORE THE TOWER FELL.

plain recessed altar-tomb, in limestone. With the exception of those already mentioned, not the slightest vestige of any architectural features of the church, in either the earlier or later style, now remains.

"I think that a close examination of the masonry leads to the conclusion that the early English church having been ruined, as so many churches and abbeys in Ireland were during the interminable civil wars from which the country suffered, was re-edified during the religious revival which seems to have occurred in the fifteenth century (most probably by one of the Earls of Desmond). The original church seems to have been lower and much shorter than the later one. The former having been built with surface stones, with hardly any attempt at hammering or dressing of any kind, it is easy to see how the walls were raised and a parapet added, as well as an internal cut limestone cornice. I am inclined to think that the original church terminated where the remains of the old tower at the north side stands, and that the latter was at the north-west angle of the original church. All that part of the church between this tower and the tower or castle now at the west end, was, I think, an addition made at the time of the 're-edification.'

"The tower or castle which I have so often mentioned was, as it seems to me, built in the interval between the building of the original church and the 're-edification.' It was just such a castle as those scattered so plentifully through the country, but of rather small size. It was evidently built for defence; and consisted of a lower vaulted storey, with two others over it, divided by a floor resting on beams and corbals, and with stairs and passages in the thickness of the wall, and a small turret on the south-east corner, giving access from the stairs to the battlements which surrounded the roof. As is so often the case with castles in this country, one side was entirely removed, apparently by gunpowder: in this case it is the north side. Until last winter a good deal more than half of the west side and the entire of the south side remained; but from the action of the rain and frost the vault has come down entirely to the ground, bringing with it all that remained of the west side, against which it abutted, and most of the south side, leaving the south-east corner standing to its full previous height. The east side, which forms the west end of the church, remains as it previously was.

"This castle is, I think, a most interesting feature of the Abbey of Rathkeale. It was undoubtedly built for defence. It was, as I think is very evident, built long after the original church, but before the addition, which reached down to it. It is not square to the church, the south-west angle of the latter being obtuse and the north-west acute. The wall has a very considerable *batter* for four or five feet from the ground, and appears to have been cut for the insertion of the course of Barge flags belonging to the west end of the roof of the church.

"What I believe to be the remains of an old tower at the north side of the church, and, as I am inclined to think, at the north-west corner of the original early English church, consist only of the rubble-work of a low vault, the outer walls having been removed, with the exception of the west wall, which shows it to have measured twenty feet at that side, and it seems to have been square or very nearly so. The removal of the north wall has left the entire extent of the vault exposed, which now opens into the back-yard of a house, and is used as a cart-shed. The part of the north wall of the church between this tower and the castle

at the west end has been entirely removed, the foundation and every trace of it having been obliterated.

"The entire length of the church is exactly 100 feet; it is 23½ feet wide. From the east end to where I am disposed to think the early church terminated is about 65 feet; this is, however, very much a matter of opinion, in which I may be wrong; but I think it certain that the original church was not as long as the later one, or, if it was, *it was in ruins when the castle was built*, which in either case is not very unlikely. Some of the original conventual buildings did come as far as the castle at the south side, and the latter was built against them at that side; whilst the six feet or so which were added to the height of the wall when the church was lengthened and re-roofed, were evidently built against the castle.

"There never was any chancel arch, or aisles to the church, nor is there any appearance of there having been either transept or side-chapel. The only place where either could have been is at the north side, between the old tower at that side and the west end. This is not a very usual position for a transept, but the abbey church of Askeaton has a large transept with aisle in exactly this place; however, the entire absence of foundations makes it impossible to form an opinion on the subject. A large, high-pointed arch at the opposite side is evidently quite modern, and is revealed at the *outside* for hanging a gate.

"The study of the various alterations in and additions to the old ecclesiastical buildings of this country is a most interesting and, I think, a very useful one, both from an architectural and an antiquarian point of view. It is a great pity that in the present instance, as in so many others, so little of the materials necessary for pursuing it have been left.

"I have been so fortunate as to obtain from Mr. Henry Norman, of Rathkeale, the loan of a photograph of the abbey, which he got taken by an itinerant photographer before the fall of the castle. There was but one copy printed, which is very bad, having been done with inferior chemicals from a very indistinct and blurred negative, which had been most inaccurately touched up—in fact, a stranger could make little or nothing out of it; but with the remaining part of the abbey before me, and a very distinct recollection of the fallen part, with the details of which I have been perfectly familiar all my life, and which I have been in the constant habit of seeing, I have been able to make the accompanying etching, which is the only means of preserving an accurate representation of a very interesting building which has almost ceased to exist. I also send a second drawing of the abbey as it now stands, which shows part of the castle as it were in section, giving a view of the stairs, doors, and passages of communication between the different storeys, such as cannot be very often seen. The door which is visible under the broken arch of the vault communicates by the partly winding stairs, which can be seen through that door, with the storey immediately over the arch, through the arched door, only one jamb of which now remains. Those stairs did not go any higher; but another winding stairs, on which the door with a straight stone lintel in a sort of recess in the corner opens, gave access to the upper floor, and also to the battlements of the castle. The upper part of this winding stairs is now exposed to view from the level of the floor of the upper

storey to the top. In each storey there was a passage in the thickness of the wall leading to a series of small closets, one on each storey, in the projection at the west side, which can be seen in the first sketch, but which has now fallen to the ground. The slated house under the arch is, of course, modern, as also the straight jamb to the left of it.

"The part of the castle still standing is in a very dangerous state; it is sure to fall before very long if something is not done to secure it. The facing of the wall at the off side, near the corner, and which was originally portion of the very old conventual buildings, against and partly on which that part of the castle was built, having fallen out, I shall make every exertion to get this built up before the winter, and have some hope of succeeding; but if I do not, the remainder of this very interesting building is doomed to speedy destruction."

Mr. J. J. Phillips read the following notes on the Plan and Architectural Remains of Downpatrick Abbey:—

In the north of Ireland (and in the neighbourhood of Belfast in particular) it is very difficult to pursue in any practical and consecutive manner the archæology of mediæval structures, ecclesiastical or domestic. From a variety of reasons well known to all students of local history, we have few and widely-scattered remains of art-workmanship; and such as still exist have been scandalously ravaged by the ignorant, as well as by the violent hands of man—shorn of their most interesting and instructive details of construction and ornament. It is because my subject is brimful of profit, as well as interest, not merely to the archæologist and the architect, but also to the art-student and art-workman, that I make the venture of bringing it before you; and it is with all deference to the matured judgment, and in reliance upon the good nature of the veterans of science here, that I endeavour to place before you in some new light the archæology of Down Abbey.

Our difficulties in finding the new light whereby to examine this subject are lessened by the fact that it has in the most unaccountable way had the "go-by" on all hands for many years; and since Dr. Hodges "analysed" it in his very young days, and illustrated it in the *Irish Penny Magazine* for October, 1841, all alike (with one exception) appear to have gone as they came, ignoring the value of this heritage of Gothic art, or unstirred to examine it in any critical way. The only one who has subsequently exhibited any practical feeling for, or critical appreciation of, the Gothic sculpturings in the modern Cathedral was Doctor Mant, bishop of this diocese, whose history and antiquities he loved to explore.

Of all the remains of mediæval art-workmanship and of ecclesiastical architecture which we in the Province of Ulster possess, the most extensive and complete in their chronological sequence and association, the most frequently seen, yet the most completely ignored and misunderstood, are the very fine series of sculpturing in the capitals of the piers and pier-responds and other architectural details of the Gothic period at Downpatrick Cathedral—a structure of whose history of which (time and space

being very limited) I will simply attempt the merest outline, and that only offered, as I proceed with the Paper, by way of collateral evidence to the correctness of my theories.

The present cathedral was commenced in the year 1790, and was engrafted upon a ruin—the venerable yet sturdy fabric of what in Bishop Tiberius's time (A.D. 1536) was the eastern arm of a gorgeous abbey minster fully 240 feet long. It has been hitherto asserted that it was erected on the ruin of the church, but I must make a distinction, and the difference is that the modern cathedral I can show to have been built upon the choir and sanctuary of the Benedictine Abbey Church, upon what in modern churchwardens' vocabulary is termed the chancel of the church. It will at once occur to you to inquire—But where is the nave of the church? Where are the transepts? Local folk will answer that their foundations and parts of their walls are still under the sod in the adjacent field and garden. They are lying, for the most part, outside the precincts of the graves; and further, there are to the north and north-west of the present church tower the foundations, and probably under the extensive grass-grown mounds more than mere foundations, of the chapter-house, fraterly, dormitories, and other structures incidental to once one of the most important and extensive abbeys in Ireland. And these exist, notwithstanding that it was the quarry whence was excavated a large portion of the materials with which in the last century many of the buildings in Downpatrick were erected. If we remember that the floor of the choir and sanctuary would have been the most elevated of all the floor levels in the church by a number of steps—at least three steps, very probably seven steps, or ten, or more—and when you have in the Minster at Down deducted the necessary difference in levels to descend to and reach the probable level of the floor of the vanished nave, you will be inclined to believe with me that the quarry has not by any means been exhausted, more particularly when we know that part of the quarry which embraced the nave, probably with crypts, had been buried for two centuries or more in the accumulation of *debris* and soil. I need scarcely remind you that in mediæval times it was essential that a Benedictine abbey minster should have its nave. I exhibit the original plan of St. Werburgh's Abbey, in Chester, upon the lines of which John De Courcy's monks had this of Down remodelled and enlarged. Examine the plans of any other abbey churches, and observe the ground plan almost invariably in the form of a Latin cross, of course differing in proportions, but still preserving nave, transepts, choir, and sanctuary. Refer to the plans of Armagh Cathedral, Christ Church, St. Patrick's, Dublin, and satisfy yourselves as to their lengths and ground plans; then consult Dean Reeves's invaluable work on the antiquities of Down, and learn that the priors of this great abbey were peers of Ireland, and possessed fully one-third of the lands of Lecale. Next find the assessed values and taxation of Down Abbey in the thirteenth century, and I think you will conclude with me that the ruin 100 feet long, as given by Harris, very inadequately represents the Abbey Minster, which was beautified and extended by Bishop Tiberius, and which, from its eastern chapel or sanctuary to its western gable, would, on the most moderate calculation, reach 240 or 250 feet in length.

"The Abbey," as the modern cathedral of this diocese is very

frequently called, contains within itself representative specimens and scraps of almost every epoch of Gothic art, except "Perpendicular" work; while scattered around it upon the grass, exposed to all weathers, in a shameful state of neglect, and treated as mere *debris*, are fragments of a sculptured Celtic cross, which, as we have been informed on good authority, have been a *casus belli* to more quasi-religious shindies than any other stones of their size in Ulster. You have on the wall a rubbing of one panel of this cross, which exhibits the well-known characteristics of the *opus Hibernicum*. This panel, I may state, almost exactly corresponds with one of the panels of the Cross of Arboe.

As these Celtic crosses have been popularly associated with the pseudo-grave of St. Patrick, reference to them here would suggest the vexed question of the final resting-place of the remains of that venerated apostle; but I disclaim any such topic, as it is far wide of the aims of this Paper. I must now direct your attention to a sketch which purports to be a view of the ruins of Down Abbey and Round Tower as they stood in 1789—the year in which Mr. Charles Lilly, the architect, made his plans and undertook the supervision of the modern erection. It appears that the original drawing of these ruins by Lilly is now in the possession of William Johnston, Esq., of Ballykilbeg. I also exhibit the lithograph of the abbey given in the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," vol. iv. p. 130. From all these illustrations we may observe that the Round Tower of Down anciently stood, with reference to the abbey church when in its prime, in a position somewhat analogous to that which the Round Tower of St. Canice, Kilkenny, occupies—*i.e.*, close to the south transept. In the autumn of 1789 this Round Tower was pulled down, an act of vandalism much to be deplored—the result of political jealousy.

Ere I leave the subject of early Irish stone-carvings, I beg to direct your attention to this full-size drawing of a small monolith, which, fortunately for its safety, was built out of harm's way upon the inner face of the wall over the doorway of the vestibule of this cathedral. On this stone we have sculptured an Irish cross with the bas-relief of an early Irish abbot carrying his bachal and book. Observe the archaic form of this crozier, coinciding with those anciently in use in the primitive Celtic Church, the relics of some of which, preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, bear the appearance at a distance of fossil gas-pipes, but on close inspection reveal exquisite examples of the Irish interlaced work. We might have expected to have found in the vicinity of Down Abbey more frequent traces of the art-workmanship of the Hiberno-Romanesque period. We must remember the growing importance at this period of the abbey church and of the ecclesiastical school at Dundaleathglas, or Down. It is in numerous records by the Four Masters shown that, since a period nearly coeval with the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, this was the site whereon stood successively enlarged and beautified ecclesiastical structures. We have numerous records of invasion and pillage by the Danes, who were particularly attracted to Down. Under date 1015 Dundaleathglas was totally burned, with its *damleag* (stone church) and *cloitheach* (round tower). Bishop Malachy the First was an earnest originator and patron of church exten-

sion schemes. The period of his episcopate (dating from 1186 to 1148) closely synchronises with the date of the erection and consecration of Cormac's Chapel on the Rock of Cashel, which is the most unique ecclesiastical edifice ever erected in Ireland, and marks the distinct and independent tendency of Irish architecture to work out a style of its own, based on Romanesque types. This Malachy (the famous Malachy O'Morgair) made Down his head quarters, and repaired and beautified the church of that See. He already had in his church the decorated shrine, or tomb, of the relics of SS. Patrick, Bridget, and Columba. We have on record that Donard, a saintly artificer, ornamented this tomb. We have also on record that the "Bell of the Will"—i.e. St. Patrick's bell—was transmitted from Down to Armagh. We have most of us seen this bell of archaic type, with its exquisitely ornamented shrine. There is abundant proof in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and in St. Bernard's *Life of Malachy*, to show that this enlightened churchman fostered native arts and artificers, although in latter days he craved for the introduction of Continental types of church architecture and foreign forms of church ritual. Pity it is that we have not now in Down Abbey any of the work of St. Donard and such like devotees to that mode of Irish art which identified itself with the legends of local antiquity and the mysterious relics of an ancient faith.

Now, however much we may wish to have had some vestiges of the work of Bishop Malachy the First to show in the cathedral at Down, we do not find any architectural detail evidencing features assignable to any date prior to the undoubted early English work of John De Courcy's abbey builders, or about 1183, during the episcopate of Malachy the Third. I am aware that this statement is at variance with the suggestions of Bishop Mant, who assigns "all the sculptured work in the capitals, as well as the arch mouldings of the 'five handsome arches,' as probably belonging to the period of Malachy the First, or 1137;" but I have hereafter to show that a large proportion of this carved detail can easily be identified as the work of two centuries later—i.e. the decorated period. I have been privileged by access to Bishop Mant's original manuscript, now in the possession of Canon M'Ilwaine, and I feel bound, in justice to its author, to give the exact words of its introduction, as this causes me to feel less timidity in presenting my own views and researches on the subject. He states that "the deductions which are thus hazarded in this essay are offered with considerable hesitation," and we may feel certain that their author would have amended them if spared to later days, when archæological science had more opportunities of becoming exact and certain. My identification of the architectural detail in the cathedral commences at the moulded circular abacus and unfloriated capitals, which are, without doubt, Early English work, and that of a very distinct type, although we have also unfloriated capitals grouping in the decorated work in the clusters of shafts in the east wall of the church. Those Early English capitals occur where shown on the ground plan of the cathedral, and marked No. 1, and I consider them to have been part of the earliest work of De Courcy's builders; and as Malachy the First's church would have been much too small for the large bands of monks from St. Werburgh's, in Chester, imported by De Courcy, it would have been swept away (in much the same way as the native Irish clergy were turned out) to make room for the new forms of art, and to accommodate

a new and more advanced ritual. It is my opinion, based on careful search and much thought, that there was waged on that occasion a war of extermination all down the line, or different lines, against the Irish national institutions—political, social, religious, architectural, and artistic—and that it was only the superstitious fears of De Courcy which saved such relics of Celtic art as were left about the shrine of St. Patrick, whom this warrior sought in every way to propitiate in his favour, as related by Camden. It is this which we attribute as being the primary reason why we have such scanty remains of the Hiberno-Romanesque period at Down Abbey—the previous plundering by the Danes being another reason.

I must now direct your attention to the peculiar form of the piers on which rest the 'five handsome arches' of the ruined Abbey Church, mentioned by Harris. To use Bishop Mant's description:—"The form of these piers is not common; they are oblong with the angles taken off, and are ornamented on the shorter faces (i.e. on the east and west faces) with semicircular shafts of cut stone, the capitals of which appear sculptured with figures of human heads, grotesque animals, and foliage. . . . These piers support the 'five handsome arches,' which may be of the same date." Now, with reference to the original form of these "oblong piers with their angles taken off," I will ask you to inspect the very beautiful clustered shafts and pier responds, north and south of the modern reredos at the eastern wall of the cathedral, of which you have photos here as well as sketches. We look to the form of these responds and clustered shafts for the key to the original form of the north and south faces of the pier, which now, instead of such clustered shafts, present chamfered angles with Queen Anne string moulding at the level of the abacus. Doubtless, the architect Lilly was under the necessity of chamfering the angles or re-constructing the piers to the form in which we now have them, for we may easily understand that the angle shafts on these piers would have horribly suffered during the iconoclastic period which ensued between A.D. 1538 (when Leonard Lord Gray, having burnt the Cathedral at Down, converted it into a stable) and the year 1790, at which date Lilly commenced the so-called "restoration," according to his lights and the means placed at his disposal. Upon close inspection of some of these piers, I find that in some cases these angle shafts are plastered up after the fashion of Lilly's period, and still exist; but this, of course, without permission from the authorities, I could not further investigate.

As it is to the sculptured capitals and mouldings of these engaged shafts we chiefly look for the data upon which to base conclusions as to dates, I will take them in the following order:—1st. Those having archaic forms and grotesques, and with foliage. 2nd. Those having foliage and mouldings showing characteristics of the Early English style, in various stages. 3rd. Those having foliage showing characteristics of the decorated style of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The capitals figured Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 on the plan have carved on them, in very bold and prominent relief, those fanciful archaic forms and grotesques, and invariably some little foliage attached, and are assignable, by comparison with well-known examples in English abbey churches, to the Early English period. Take this one, No. 3—it is the only one of the period which I consider to possess any approach to symbolism, and I

certainly find it placed in the most appropriate position, near to the modern pulpit. We have thereon carved the tonsured head of a cleric, boldly projecting, and on each side attacking it with ravenous jaws are two nondescripts, which suggest by their attitudes the approach of some besetting sins to overpower the cleric. They have long flat dragons' heads, powerful sinewy jaws, with goats' beards, the eyes cunning and intent even in their worn-out condition, the neck twisted, the bodies having the wings of a bird with conventional feathers. Short-jointed bipeds they are, with claws and paws; the tail of one of them finishes with Early English foliated leaves; the extremity of the other is covered up with one of Mr. Charles Lilly's cherubic namby-pambyisms. This is the only instance we have in the eastern end of the cathedral of an Early English capital, and there may be a reason for this which at some future time I shall be able to explain.

Capital No. 1, close to the north stair of the organ loft, has sculptured on it two grotesques with winged bodies, legs, and tails, like those on the capital near the pulpit; but these have human heads, with peculiar head-dress, and smiling faces very much worn. In capital No. 2 we have carved a series of female heads, on their faces a smile which ranges from broad laughter down to as subtle an expression of quiet comical humour as could well be imparted to stone, or preserved unharmed through the fiery vicissitudes of centuries. The leafage which forms a sort of zig-zag under the chins of those hilarious females we would almost pronounce to be Early English but for the unconventional freedom of its treatment. This capital, it will be observed, is evidently not in its original place; it does not centre with the shaft, for which it is too small, and its abacus is too narrow to form a stop to the more prominent members of the arch moulding. Capital No. 4, on the north of the organist's seat, has from its position been for many years a weekly temptation to the choristers, and is mutilated in the most approved schoolboy fashion, but still has boldly projecting from its bell the figure of a stag at full stretch; also the bodiless head of an eagle and the headless trunk of a scaly monster. Capital No. 5, on the south of the organist's seat. We have hereon a bearded human head, with a cowl or low cap, and at each side a bird pecking, probably at some lost fruit among the worn foliage; the leafage is very freely treated; the birds are somewhat similarly placed to instances of Early English work in Westminster Abbey and Salisbury Cathedral, and on Archbishop Gray's tomb at York. Through the abbey there are numerous heads serving as stops for label mouldings, or springings for window arches. We note a suspicious uniformity in them and in the corbel clusters under the engaged columns from which the groining springs. I postpone expressing an opinion on these details. This exhausts the list of grotesques: probably some critic will be inclined to go much further than I have gone in finding hidden import in these carvings.

We know that during the middle ages symbolism and allegory played the chief part in the sculptured decorations then introduced. From the numerous instances of chimerical monsters which meet the eye in every Gothic edifice, particularly those for ecclesiastical use, it will be obvious that in addition to their architectural purpose and necessity they were intended by the art-workmen to personify human vices and evil passions. Generally the more hideous ones were placed outside the building.

Tradition at Down Abbey states it was so there on a corbel table, probably intended as a caustic hint to church-goers to leave their sinful thoughts outside the church. This practice of caricature was sometimes carried to excess as a mere exhibition of beastly grotesqueness, and without any approach to symbolism. We find the Cistercian leader, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, strongly writes to repress it, and demands from one of his subordinate abbots "the meaning of such deformed creatures." I am bound to remark, with reference to all the mediæval work in Down Abbey, that whether such sculpturings had a meaning, and personified divers beastly sins; or whether they caricatured human follies; or whether they were intended to bear symbolical reference to the penalties of heresy and schism; or whether they were, as I believe them to have been, purely the artistic fanciful outcome of the minds of the Gothic sculptors of the period;—they are not obtrusive or disproportionate, and to the eye of a spectator placed at such a distance as to lose detail, the outline and general proportions are satisfactory. Nay, the effect would be charming if we only had opened out and restored to our view the clustered shafts and their capitals to dispel the clumsiness of the piers. With reference to the second class of capitals in the abbey, *i.e.* those having foliage and mouldings showing details assimilating to the Early English, we find only one capital which reveals in its foliage a close approach to those peculiar scrolls, with spiral leafage, flowing tangentially out of the parent curves, the leaves lobed, and occasionally interpenetrating each other, so characteristic of Early English work. The foliage on the capitals just mentioned possesses all, more or less, of the characteristics of this capital.

I remark that there is no instance in the abbey of the "dog-tooth ornament," which is incidental to all Early English work. And as we come now to consider the carved work of the "decorated period," I may also remark, with reference to it, that there is no single instance of the "ball-flower," which invariably identifies itself with the work of that later period. All the remaining carved foliage in the abbey is so unquestionably assignable to the "decorated period" of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that we have no difficulty whatever in recognising it, and in tracing in it all the details and features characteristic of this period. I remark that this "decorated" detail is almost entirely to be found in the eastern end of the church, while the archaic carvings are chiefly contiguous to the organ gallery. In this "decorated" foliage we notice a profuse use of the vine-leaf and clusters of grapes. In some of these capitals we also have a clever arrangement of oak leaves and stems, with acorns; and although in the leafage there is in nearly every instance a total absence of stiffness, formality, or of conventionality, yet there is preserved through all this freedom and natural grace a certain systematic grouping and dexterous arrangement which is charming. We notice, however, a total absence of the forced undulation in the leafage which is very frequently found in "decorated" foliage, particularly in the later stages of the style. In some of the capitals the leafage is very cleverly undercut, and I have to remark, in particular, that in the foliated capitals of the before-mentioned clustered shafts on the eastern wall we have specimens of workmanship—gems of art and genius which might be taken as models by the cleverest modern stone-carvers. The sharpness of the detail of the sculptured work loses immensely from the

numerous alternate layers of whitewash, or whiting; and although the verger and his assistants preserve the cathedral in a model state of cleanliness, and keep these carvings in particular carefully dusted, yet they cannot be expected to overcome the results and effects produced by the offending whitewash. We would regret to learn that their vigorous scourings ever soared to such a high work of art as to divest these carvings of their original character by our process of questionable restoration. With reference to the arch mouldings and bases of the columns, and a variety of details of mediæval work, I have already so far exceeded the time allotted to the Paper, that I must defer, *sine die*, my allusions to them.

I may be allowed, however, a word in conclusion to the memory of Lilly, the architect of the cathedral; and in writing of this gentleman I cannot bring myself to abuse him or his work in the way in which I find some have done. We must remember that the voluminous text-books of Gothic detail now to be seen "under the thumb" of even the best architects had in his day no existence. These compilations of the choicest fruits of archæological research, by such men as Rickman, Pailey, Colling, Brandon, Parker, Norman Shaw, Nesfield, Viollet le Duc, and sundry other illustrators of the mediæval arts, had no existence in Lilly's day. The science of archæology has benefited no class of men more than modern architects, and the benefit has spread itself from that profession into all the various arts and sciences which hail architecture as a loving mistress and nursing mother.

Let us trust that if at any future time the mutilated remains of the ancient Cathedral Church of Down require the care and supervision of an architect, it shall not fall into the hands of a man who is ignorant of the true applications of the Gothic art, or a self-sufficient scorner of the teachings of mediæval archæology.

Mr. W. F. Wakeman sent the following notice of a bronze pin and a carved vessel of wood found in the Co. Fermanagh:—

Some time in the month of June last Lord Enniskillen was kind enough to forward, for my inspection, the very interesting pin, of which the accompanying illustration will afford an accurate idea. The left-hand figure (*see* next page) is given exactly half the size of the original. The upper portion of the pin is represented to the right, full size. The material is beautiful golden bronze. Judging from the style of its ornamentation, and the peculiar form of its head, which is slightly cupped, there can, I think, be little doubt that this pin belongs to the age during which it was customary to manufacture many of the mysterious golden ornaments which form such attractive features in our museums, public and private.

That its ornamental portion had been intended to receive enamel is extremely probable. No trace, however, of any such substance at present remains either in its cup, or in its deeply-recessed chasings. Long slender pins of bronze, more or less similar to the example under notice, are not unfrequently found in Ireland, but they are almost invariably plain. That they were used for the hair is extremely probable, their thinness and great length rendering them inconvenient or useless as clothes fasteners.

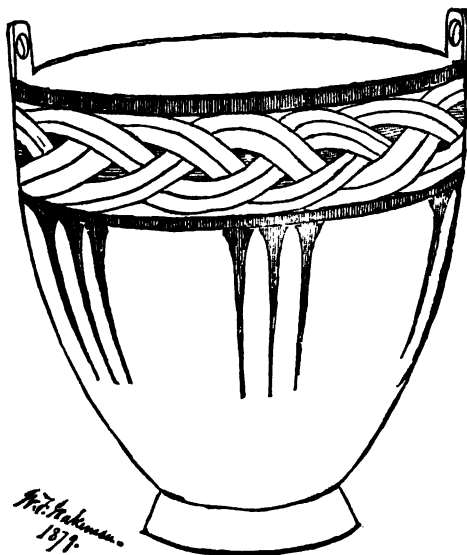
Mr. W. Noble, upon whose land, near Enniskillen, this very interesting relic of a remote and unknown age was discovered, thus writes to Lord Enniskillen, who had been inquiring into particulars of the "find":—

"BALLYREAGH, 17th June, 1879.

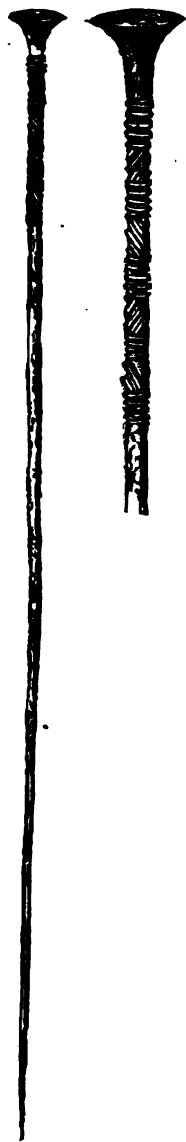
"MY LORD,—The bronze pin was dug up out of a potato furrow eighteen inches in depth, in reclaimed land, where there may have been bog (but not in my time) ten or twelve feet deep over it, as there is bog at that depth on the same level, at about twenty yards from where it was found. There could not have been a lake in the place. Nothing more to be seen worthy of notice."

Within the same bog a highly-finished and ornamental bronze celt was discovered a few months ago. This, as well as three others, richly decorated, from other parts of Fermanagh, I hope on a future occasion to bring before the notice of the Association.

The very beautiful, and, I believe, unique vessel which is here figured was found some two years ago by a farmer named M'Mulkin, in a bog on the lands of Cavancarragh, Co. Fermanagh. It



Carved Wooden Vessel found in Co. Fermanagh.



Bronze Pin from Co. Fermanagh.

lay five feet below the surface. When first taken up the vessel was entire and complete, with its cover. The material, with the exception

of the bottom, which is a piece of alder, is what the country people of the North call "brown oak." It stands fifteen inches in height, and must have originally presented a very chaste appearance. The sketch here given is entirely outline. The apparent shading round the rim, between the interlacings, and lower down, represents the remains of painting or enamelling with some very dark substance in the original. If the latter, it is probably the only specimen of enamelling on wood hitherto noticed. The lid is unfortunately lost. It was described to me by Mr. Bernard Bannon, of Cavancarragh, as having been slightly convex in form, and furnished in the centre with a little knob-like handle, or "nipple." This lid, or cover, is a great loss, as it was carved with interlacing work in every way similar to that which remains upon the upper portion of the vessel. I am very happy to be the means of placing on record this most interesting discovery. Bowls, churns, dishes, and methers of wood are common enough in our bogs, but I believe the Cavancarragh vessel presents the only example of interlaced carving hitherto noticed in such connexion. With regard to the proximate age of this beautiful waif of "long, long ago" there might be many opinions. It cannot, I should say, from the style of its ornamentation, be older than the sixth, or later than the twelfth century. Certain *savants* have from time to time, for a good number of years, busied themselves in considering the average rate of the growth of bog in various parts of Ireland. From their observations, it would appear that in a bog situated like that of Cavancarragh a formation of six feet, or thereabouts, would take about a thousand years or so to grow. If we adopt the average calculation, the vessel under notice would be about a thousand years old; in other words, should be referred to a period somewhere about the ninth century. We know very well that just about that era the style of decoration here presented prevailed to a great degree, both in MSS. and on stone-work. Not far from the spot where this, the latest discovery in the bog, was made, implements of flint and a fine bronze spear-head have been found. The site appears to have been in distant ages occupied by a small loch, which ultimately, through the decay of vegetable matter which it nourished, became choked, and transformed into a peat bog.

The Rev. Canon M'Ilwaine read the following on a passage in the "Confession" of St. Patrick:—

Four early MSS. of the *Confessio* were known to exist in the time of Sir James Ware, namely, that contained in the Book of Armagh, one in the Cottonian Library, and two which were then in the library of Salisbury Cathedral, and which are now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, having been bestowed on that university by Bishop Fell in the seventeenth century. The "Book of Armagh" is avowedly a transcript of a more ancient copy, and purports to have been taken down by Bishop Tirechan from Ultan, who was Bishop of Ardracchan towards A.D. 650, and by Muirchu Maccu Machteni in the same century. The name of the scribe who wrote the MS. as it now exists has been ascertained, viz., Ferdomnach, who lived about the middle of the ninth century, reference being made by him to a still earlier MS. than even that of the seventh century. The conclusion arrived at by archæologists

of the highest authority is, that a MS. of the *Confessio* existed from the pen of the saint himself. For the identification of the scribe above mentioned, and the elucidation of the facts, we are mainly indebted to the researches of the Bishop of Limerick, Dr. Graves, who has pursued his investigations with almost mathematical accuracy. The "Book of Armagh" may thus be considered as the earliest and most authentic MS. of the *Confessio*, the next in importance and interest being that of the Bodleian Library, the date of which is of the eleventh or twelfth century. Fac-similes of both are given in the national MSS. of Ireland, admirably executed, by order of Government, under the able editorship of T. J. Gilbert, Esq., F.S.A., M.R.I.A. A transcript also of the *Confessio, verbatim et literatim*, is given in the second part of this publication in Latin-Irish and in Latin, the former being in the Irish character, and the latter in ordinary English. This document is full of interest to every student of Irish history, although, as the late Dr. Todd remarks, and all who have attentively examined it must admit, it is of very defective Latinity, and abounds in orthographical errors, its punctuation also being extremely defective. These circumstances render it very difficult of interpretation, scarcely any two translators being agreed as to the exact meaning of the original. There is, moreover, one passage in the *Confessio* which has perplexed interpreters and translators more perhaps than any other, and it is to this I desire to invite the attention of the members of the Archæological Association present. A Paper was read before the Royal Irish Academy in the month of April last, which I had the pleasure of hearing, and a copy of which has been kindly presented to me by the learned author, Sir Samuel Ferguson, M.R.I.A. This Paper, remarkable for its originality and research, deals with the passage of the *Confessio* above referred to; and through the further kindness of Sir Samuel Ferguson, I am enabled to exhibit to the meeting the transcript made to illustrate it.

"Oportet . . . sine repre
hensione periculi notum facere donum
Dei et ejus consultationem æternam sine ti
more fiducialiter Dei nomen ubique ex
pandere ut etiam post obitum meum ex
agallias relinquere fratribus et filiis meis
quos in Domino ego baptizavi tot milia ho
minum."

Of these words Sir Samuel Ferguson offers the following interpretation, the best perhaps which can be given of a sentence whose punctuation is so dubious, and whose construction is so involved:—"It behoves me, regardless of danger, to make known the gift of God, and everlasting consolation, without fear faithfully to spread abroad everywhere the name of God, so as also even after my death to leave" (these) "so many thousands of men, 'ex agallias,' to my brethren and sons, whom I have baptized in the Lord."

Before making any further observations on the passage under consideration, it is but right to remark, that if the words be taken in connexion with the entire context wherein they occur, and if a different punctuation be adopted, another meaning, and perhaps a better one,

might be extracted from them.¹ It is also to be noted that the Bodleian MS. differs from the "Book of Armagh," the former reading '*exgallias*,' a single term, and the latter '*ex agallias*,' consisting of two terms, that is, if the marginal correction of the scribe, the *tr* of the preceding line be omitted.

I now proceed to summarize Sir S. Ferguson's criticism and proposed solution of the difficulty involved in the passage, consisting, as it does, of a new reading, and the introduction of a word different from that found in the MSS. Having advanced his reasons for assuming that the '*ex*' of the preceding line should not be separated from the '*agallias*' of the following one, he proceeds to remark:—

"Now, there is no such word, so far as I know, as '*agallias*,' even supposing its accusative form capable of reconciliation with the antecedent '*ex*.' Hence arises a cogent inference that '*exagallias*' is one word, divided by the scribe, just as in the next line above he has divided '*expandere*.' Being an accusative, as well as '*tot milia hominum*,' and there being but one verb, '*relinquere*,' to govern both, we may infer next, with considerable confidence, that the meaning is, that the writer should, after his death, leave these thousands of men to his brethren and children in the Lord as '*exagallias*,' whatever that may be."

Sir Samuel Ferguson next adduces a term of debased Latinity from Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia A.D. 510, and also from Du Cange, which he contends to be identical, or nearly so, with the disputed word of the *Confessio*. This word is '*exagella*,' which is interpreted as a *legacy*, or '*something left after death*.'

Such is his proposal for untying the critical *nodus* of this obscure passage, which it is impossible to hear, as already remarked, without admiration of its ingenuity, as well as of the ability shown in its application. I venture, however, to propose another, which, although equally new, cannot pretend to possess the characters due to that which you have just heard. It possesses, at all events, the merit of simplicity. It occurred to me on first seeing the Paper here exhibited; and on further consideration I am induced to believe that, without presumption, it may be presented to an audience such as that which I am now privileged to address.

It is well known to all who have seen the original MS., that the scribe, as well as giving sundry various readings, has inserted in several places in the margin the Greek letter ζ (*zeta*), and also the words '*incertus liber*.'

This, I may observe, is a striking instance of the corrupt latinity found throughout the entire document, the spelling at times here employed, '*incertus*,' being in itself an instance of this. It has been suggested that the ζ is meant as an abbreviation of the word *zoteite*, and is intended as a note inviting attention or research regarding the passage where it occurs. The exact meaning of the other expression, '*incertus liber*,' is by no means clear. I am disposed to think that it may refer to a variation or doubtful reading at the place in the original MS. which the scribe was then copying. These remarks will properly intro-

¹ I may instance here the interpretation given by the Rev. T. Olden, in his

excellent translation of St. Patrick's *Epistles*, 1876, p. 66.

duce my suggestion, namely, that the word in the original was the well-known one, '*Evangelia*,' corrupted by the scribe into the form which the MS. now presents. As some confirmation of this hypothesis, I need only draw attention to the fact, that in nearly all early written MSS. a frequent cause of error in transcription was, when the eye of the scribe carried down the final word of the line preceding into the same portion of that following. Thus, in the present instance, we have *ex*, instead of the proper syllable, *ev*. It may be noticed that a small interval of space occurs between the *a* in the latter line and the '*gallias*' which follows. This may indicate that the usual stroke above the line, betokening the omission of the letter *n*, was originally to be found here, which would complete the word '*evangellias*.' This latter might have easily been substituted for the more correct term '*evangelia*' by the scribe, who has in so many places of the *Confessio* betrayed his want of skill in the Latin tongue. The adoption of this reading is manifestly accompanied by two advantages—1. It gets rid of the topographical and historical difficulties involved in the supposition that the Gallic region is here referred to by St. Patrick. 2. It affords a much more consistent sense than others proposed, while the mention of *the Gospels* presents a rather striking coincidence, the writings of the four evangelists which accompany the *Confessio* in the "Book of Armagh" being taken into account.

I may add, that if Sir S. F.'s emendation be adopted, and the "*ex-agella*" of Ducange be substituted for the '*ex agellias*' of the text, either of the "Book of Armagh" or the Bodleian MS., quite as much orthographical difficulty will arise—perhaps, indeed, more—than by adopting the hypothesis which I have ventured to give.

The following Papers were contributed:—

NOTES ON PAGAN MONUMENTS IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY OF ANCIENT CHURCHES IN THE DIOCESE OF DOWN, AND ON PECULIAR FORMS OF CHRISTIAN INTERMENTS OBSERVED IN SOME OF THE ANCIENT GRAVEYARDS.

BY THE REV. JAMES O'LAVERTY, P.P., M.R.I.A.

DURING the preparation of the work on which I am engaged, *The Diocese of Down and Connor, Ancient and Modern*, I have visited the site of every ancient church in the Diocese of Down, except a few to the north-west of Belfast, which I have not yet visited, and I now take the liberty of placing before the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland the following notes:—

The following ancient churches were built in the immediate vicinity of sepulchral *tumuli*:—

Greencastle.	Dundonald.
Farranfad.	Gortgrit.
Clough (Rathcath)	Knock (Columkille).
Lismochan.	Breda.
Ballykilbeg.	Edinderry.
Rathmullan.	Drumbeg.
Donaghadee.	Crumlin (Hillsborough).
Holywood.	Magheragall.
Ballymahon.	Trummery.

We can only surmise the cause or causes of this arrangement. Our early missionaries may have erected their churches in the immediate vicinity of these sepulchral *tumuli*, in order not to outrage unnecessarily the prejudices of their converts, who may have entertained a religious respect for those *tumuli*, as the graves of their ancestors. A more likely supposition, however, is, that each of these *tumuli* was erected to cover the remains of some ancient chief, whose tomb being the recognised place for the religious and deliberative assemblies of the neighbourhood, became the most important place in the district. It was consequently a centre of population;

and, for the convenience of that population, the church would be erected in their midst. There can be little doubt that the Mound of Greencastle, which is the first in this list, was in ancient times called *Knocktinell*, as that name occurs immediately after Greencastle in an Inquisition regarding the property of the Bagnalls. Knocktinell—the hill of the assembly (*Tionoil*, “an assembly”)—was, without doubt, the place where the princes of the district were inaugurated, long before the Normans had erected their stone fortress in its vicinity.

In some instances it is difficult to distinguish between the earthen mound, which was intended for the site of a fortified residence, and that which was erected for purely sepulchral purposes. Mounds of the latter class are generally more hemispherical, and have less of a level plane on the top. The mounds at the Knock and Dundonald are good examples of this class; while perhaps those of Farrinfad, Lismoghan, and Ballykilbeg were intended for the sites of fortified residences. The mound of Gortgrit, which was in the townland of Tullicarnet, and that of Trummery, have been destroyed within the last few years. Though so many funereal mounds stood in the immediate vicinity of the ancient churches in the diocese of Down, it is remarkable, that in no instance is there a cromlech in the immediate vicinity of any of the churches, if we except one which is said to have been at the Knock. This exception rests on the questionable authority of a writer in Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*, who, in describing the ruins of the Knock church, says, “Near them are the remains of a cromlech, consisting of five large stones.” We must naturally conclude, from this circumstance, that the cromlech is

¹ Tynwald Hill, in the Isle of Man, is like Greencastle Mound in name, and even in appearance. Gough, in his edition of Camden's *Britannia*, says, speaking of the king of the island:—“The mode of investiture and of receiving him at the first occasion is this: He has to sit on the Tinwald Hill, in the open air, in a chair of state, with a royal canopy over his head, his face to the east, towards a chapel eastward of the hill, where there

are prayers and a sermon on the occasion; and his sword before him held with the point upwards. His barons, viz., the bishop and abbot, with the rest in their degree, sat beside him; his beneficed men, councils, deemsters, before him; his gentry and yeomanry in the third degree, and twenty-four keys in their order; and the commons stood without the circle, with their clerks in surplices.”

a structure which had been erected by some ancient people, whose institutions were completely obliterated previous to the period of the introduction of Christianity to Ireland.

Standing stones, or pillar stones, occur near the church of Ballygrange, in the parish of Donaghadee, Dundonald, and Cluntirriff, in the parish of Ballinderry, but they were probably connected with funereal mounds.

I have also observed evidence that an ancient form of interment was practised by the early Christians in this portion of Ireland. The coffin consisted of flag-stones placed along the sides of the body, with a flag-stone at its head, and another at its feet; similar thin stones, resting on these, were placed over the body: at times even, but only seldom, thin stones were placed under the body. In an ancient Christian cemetery in the townland of Lisban, which seems to have been the site of the chapel of "Moyndele," which was valued, in the taxation of Pope Nicholas, along with the church of Ardkeen, there were found the remains of ferns, on which the heads of the dead had been cushioned. Stone-lined graves would probably be found in every ancient cemetery in the diocese of Down. They were found in the following cemeteries:—

Moneydorragehmore	St. John's Point.
(Mourne).	Kilbride.
Killyglinnie.	Saul.
Legamaddy.	Ballycraig (Parish of
Grangewalls.	Inch.
Bright.	Knockinelder (or Bally-
Tullynespick.	martyr).
Ballygilbert.	Lisban.
Ballynagalliagh.	Holywood.

Mr. Wakeman's *Hand-Book of Irish Antiquities* makes the following remark on the interments at the ancient church of St. John's Point:—"The direction of the grave is generally from east to west, but in the cemetery of the very early church at St. John's Point, in the county of Down, and elsewhere, the cists are arranged

in the form of a circle, to the centre of which the feet converge." It is remarkable, that during the explorations at Ephesus the graves in the Christian cemetery were found radiating from a central point, which was supposed to have been the tomb of St. John the Evangelist. It cannot be doubted that St. Patrick's ecclesiastical training in the south of France caused many of the ceremonies of Ephesus to be carried to Ireland, for the great commerce between Marseilles and the ports of Asia Minor brought the south of France into immediate connexion with Ephesus. Stone-lined graves have been found at nearly all the ancient churches of the diocese of Down. The writer of *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. lx., properly remarks, "that the occurrence of long stone cists is not to be regarded as a mark of age by itself will also appear from the following facts, for which I am indebted to Captain Thomas:—At Ness, in the island of Lewis, till quite recently no one was buried in a wooden coffin. There was only one big coffin in connexion with every churchyard, which the people called 'The Chest of the Dead.' When the body was brought to the churchyard in this coffin, a coffin of stone was made, in which the body was placed. This manner of burying lasted until comparatively recent times, for the name of the man who was last buried in 'The Chest of the Dead' is well remembered even yet." We, in the pride of our civilization, may pronounce interment in a rude stone coffin, formed of separate flagstones, as barbarous; yet such coffins have for many centuries faithfully fulfilled their trust, in guarding the frail remnants of humanity, while the modern oaken coffin passes into dust and ashes in a few years. Perhaps the true source of our preference is that we cannot afford a grave to each corpse, and the olden dead, no matter how rich they were in life, must as soon as possible make room for fresh tenants of the grave. Groups of graves resembling those just described have been found in various parts of England and Scotland. By the English antiquarians they have been ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon period, and are said to date from the sixth to the end of the tenth century. Cists formed of

rough stones, set on edge and covered with flags, have been found at the west end of the church of Cupar-Angus, in a portion of the old cemetery at Durham Cathedral, to the eastward of the Priory of North Berwick, at the church of Kelso, and all round the ruined church of Kirkheugh. This mode of interment throughout Scotland and portions of England is, no doubt, owing to the Irish customs disseminated through the influence of Iona; yet, from the words of Adamnan, it would appear that the body of St. Columba was rolled in clean linen sheets, and placed in a coffin—"Venerabile corpus, mundis involutum sindonibus, et præparata positum in rata busta, debita humatur cum veneratione." Reeves, *Vita S. Col.*, p. 239.

A very singular custom was followed by our ancestors—in each stone-lined grave they placed a white pebble. A few years ago a cemetery of stone-lined graves was discovered under the avenue which leads up to the ancient graveyard of Saul. The workmen remarked that there were in each grave several white pebbles. In this they may have easily been mistaken; for, by the destruction of several graves, the pebbles of two or three of them may have become so commingled, that they all appeared to belong to one grave. White pebbles have also been found in the graves of the very ancient cemetery in Ballynacraig. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* says, that in similar graves in England one white pebble is invariably found, which, he says, is attributed by antiquarians to an ancient custom supposed to have arisen from Apocalypse, chap. ii. ver. 17—"To him that overcometh I will give hidden manna, and I will give him a white stone, and on the stone a new name written, which no one knoweth but he that receiveth." An allusion to the custom of judges giving their votes by depositing a white or a black stone—the former to express that they acquitted the accused; the latter that they condemned him. Hence Ovid says:—

"Mos erat antiquis niveis, atrisque lapillis
His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpa."

The allusion in the text is, however, rather to white counters given to the victors in the public games, and inscribed, as it appears, not with the name of the receiver, but of the object which he was to receive.

Caves, whose walls are built of dry stones, without any cement, and roofed with long flagstones, placed horizontally, occur in the immediate vicinity of many of the ancient churches of the diocese of Down. As they were probably intended as places of retreat in time of danger, their proximity to ancient churches is only another indication that those churches, though many of them are now at a distance from villages, were formerly surrounded by dwellings. Caves occur in the immediate vicinity of the ancient churches of Seaforde, Tyrella, Ardtole, Slanes, Molusk, and others. Caves occurring in the vicinity of these churches incline us to suspect that they may at times have been used as abodes by early ascetics. The caves of Knockmore, County Fermanagh, and that at Lough Nacloyduffe, in the same county, exhibiting early Christian symbols (see *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 1869), the Christian inscription found in the cave at Seaforde, Co. Down, and in that of Killena, Co. Antrim, and the sculptured caves of Scotland, strongly favour that opinion.

My object in placing these notes before the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland is, that they may induce my fellow members to investigate the subjects in other portions of Ireland.

**THE CHARACTER AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE RUDELY-
WORKED FLINTS OF THE NORTH OF IRELAND, CHIEFLY
IN ANTRIM AND DOWN.**

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF IRELAND, AND PRESIDENT B. N. F. C.

INTRODUCTION.

IRELAND has long been famous for its rich yield of skilfully-wrought flint and stone implements of pre-historic times. There are but few countries that equal her wealth in this respect, and probably no country can exhibit such a variety of forms, or such skilful workmanship.

Worked flints are fairly distributed all over the country, but, beyond doubt, the county of Antrim has yielded them in the greatest abundance. This may be attributed to the fact that the cretaceous, or flint-bearing rocks occur only in the north of Ireland, and chiefly in the county of Antrim.

The geological features of the district are very remarkable. An immense sheet of very dark basaltic rocks covers nearly the entire of Antrim and portions of the adjoining counties to a maximum thickness of about 900 ft. This thick sheet of rocks is more or less bounded by escarpments, forming in many places bold cliffs, particularly along the coast, where they enhance the grandeur of the scenery, and form combinations of the greatest beauty.

Many of those escarpments expose the white limestone or chalk rock that underlies the black basaltic sheet, with which the chalk is probably co-extensive. The chalk is well exposed below the basalt on the face of the cliff along the coast road, particularly near Glenarm (see Fig. 1), where the layers of flint-bearing chalk form a face of considerable height below the sheets of overlying basalt.

Bands of flint nodules occur throughout the chalk, and between the basalt and the chalk there is often a great accumulation of flint, the result of the sub-aerial

denudation of the chalk, prior to the deposition of the basalt; and as the face of the cliff is worn away by atmospheric and other agencies, the flints fall, and accumulate along the talus, or under-cliff, at the base of the rock escarpments.

The white cliffs of Antrim were no doubt objects of great interest to the early colonists of Ireland, who, after establishing themselves here, discovered the abundance of flints, and thus, guided by local advantages,

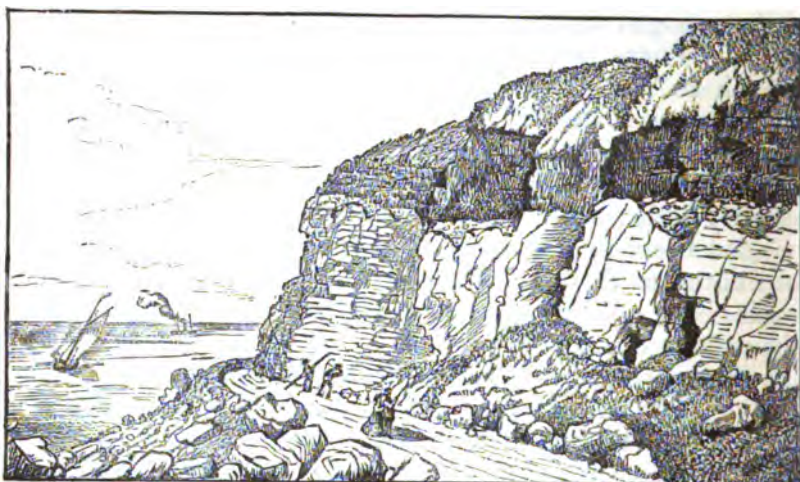


Fig. 1.—Chalk Cliffs, Antrim Coast Road, near Glenarm, showing Basalt covering the Flint-bearing Chalk.

selected the sites of flint factories, and doubtless carried on a trade in worked flints with other parts of the island: indeed there is every reason to believe, as we will see in the sequel, that the raw material itself was carried long distances for the purposes of manufacture.

Whether the ancients traded in worked flints or not, we are quite certain that in our own day large quantities of those ancient implements (and some of their modern imitations) have been sold out of Antrim. The chief portion of the Irish worked flints in the museums of England and Scotland has been obtained from Antrim, and large numbers continue to leave the country year by year. Yet it is to be regretted we have not in this

locality a public collection that would adequately represent the number, variety, and distribution of our north of Ireland worked flints. The only existing public collections in the county are those in the Museum of the Belfast Natural History Society, and a smaller one in the Ballymoney Town Hall. Fortunately there are several private collections, some of them very rich in worked flints, stone, and bronze.¹ I may, I think, fairly say that no individual has done more to preserve those articles than Mr. Arthur, of Ballymena, by whose zeal, industry, and intelligence, as a collector and dealer, a great number of articles have been secured, and passed into the cabinets of private and public collectors.

The higher forms of stone and flint implements, such as the polished flint celts, and elaborately chipped arrowheads, have attracted the attention of collectors from a very early period, but the ruder forms, such as I have to describe, were almost entirely neglected or overlooked until recently, when systematic inquiry was stimulated by the discovery of worked flints of rude types in the caverns and river gravels of France, England, and Belgium.

PREVIOUS AUTHORS.

One of the first to inquire into the subject in the north of Ireland was the well-known observer, John Evans, F.S.A., author of the work on *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, who examined and described the worked flints of Toomebridge and Lough Neagh. About the same time (1865) my attention was directed to the subject by observing worked flints in the gravel used for walks, &c., in Lurgan, and obtained from the shore of Lough Neagh, about two and a-half

¹ The principal private collections at present are those belonging to the Earl of Antrim, Glenarm; the Marchioness of Downshire, Hillsborough; Rev. Canon Grainger, Broughshane; Rev. James O'Laverty, Holywood; Rev. Canon M'Ilwaine, Belfast; Rev. A. H. Beattie, Portglanone; Messrs. W. J. Knowles, Cullybackey; D. Wilson, Ballymoney;

Captain Giveen, Coleraine; W. H. Patterson, Belfast; W. Raphael, Ballymena; J. A. Henderson, Belfast; and my own collection, in which both the stone and bronze ages are fairly represented. The collection of the late Mr. Benn, of Glenravel, now held by his brother in Belfast, will be presented to the Belfast Museum.

miles from the town. I then visited the spot, and collected several worked flints. Subsequently I observed worked flints in the gravel used in Belfast, and having ascertained that the latter was taken off the beach at Greencastle, between Belfast and Carrickfergus, on the Antrim side of Belfast Lough, I carefully examined the gravels at both sides of the harbour, and in every instance I found worked flints in quantity.

In June, 1866, I conducted a party of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club from Carrickfergus to Whitehead, and on that occasion we collected several good specimens from the gravels of Kilroot.¹

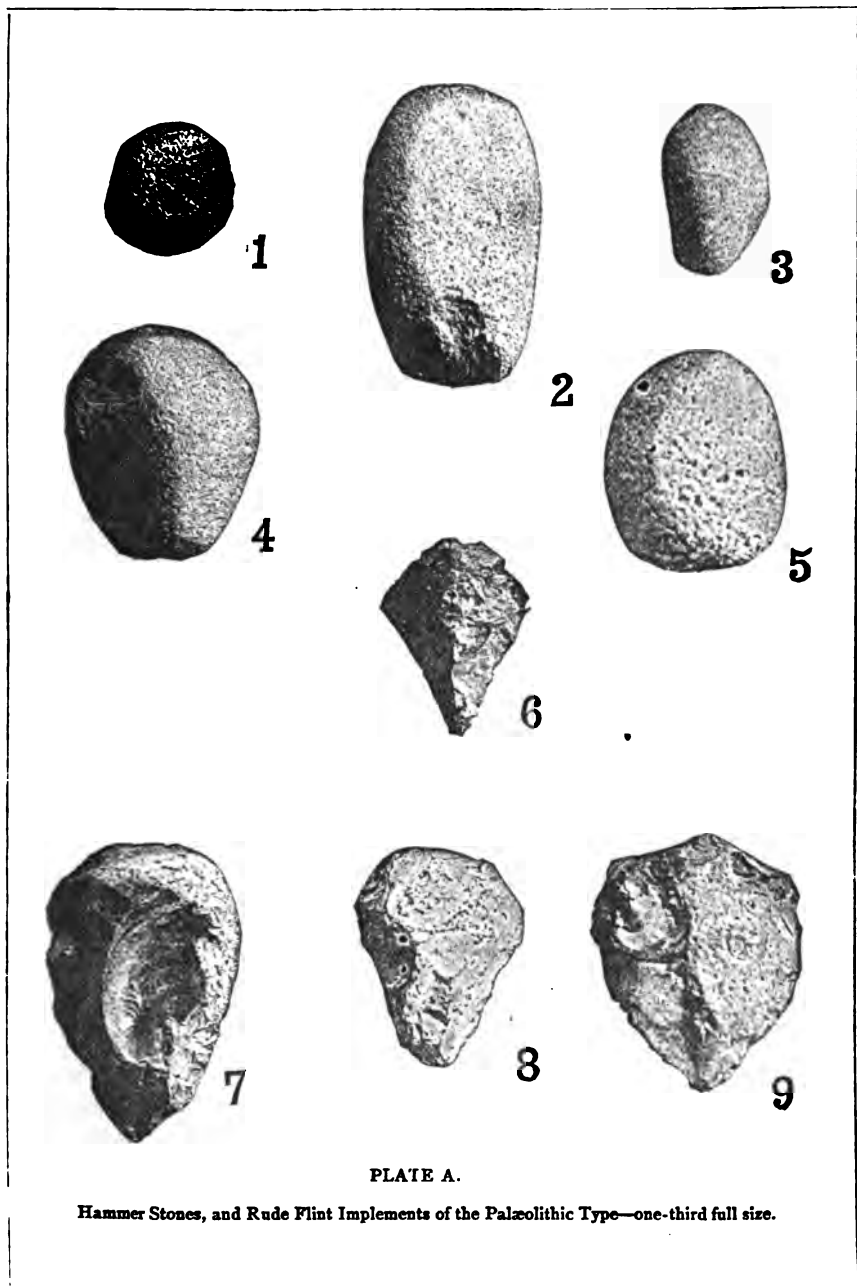
The following year (1867) the late Mr. G. V. Du Noyer came to reside in Carrickfergus, and I was the first to tell him that worked flints occurred all round the neighbourhood. During my first interview with him I engaged to procure worked flints within a few yards of where we stood, and I did so, to his surprise. At first he was so struck with their abundance, that he was disposed to attribute them to natural causes; but afterwards detecting their true artificial character, he described them in the *Journal of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland* and elsewhere. Other observers have also published the results of their investigations on the subject. The following are the principal authors, with the dates of their respective Papers, in the order of publication:—

Robert Day,	Proceedings Kilkenny Archæological Society,	Jan., 1865.
E. Benn,	Proceedings Kilkenny Archæological Society,	April, 1865.
W. Gray,	Belfast Naturalist Field Club Report,	April, 1867.
R. Day,	Proceedings Kilkenny Archæological Society,	Oct., 1868.
J. Evans,	Archæologia, Vol. xli.,	1868.
G. V. Du Noyer,	Journal Royal Geological Society of Ireland,	1868.
J. H. Staples,	Belfast Naturalist Field Club Report,	1869.
W. H. Trail,	Geological Survey Memoir, Sheets 49 and 50,	1871.
W. J. Knowles,	British Association Meeting, Belfast,	1874.
W. Gray, ²	British Association Meeting, Belfast,	1874.
W. Gray,	Belfast Naturalist Field Club Report,	1875.
Professor Hull,	Geological Survey Memoir, Sheets 21, 28, 29,	1876.
W. J. Knowles,	British Association Meeting, Dublin,	1878.
W. J. Knowles,	British Association Meeting, Sheffield,	1879.

¹ See Report of B. N. F. C. for year ending 31st March, 1867.

² The Paper I read at the British Association contained the substance of the

present communication. All the other Papers above enumerated were descriptive of limited areas.—W. G.



DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERS.

We now come to consider the character of our worked flints, the simplest form of which is the Flint flake; and as this term is often improperly used in works treating of geology and the antiquity of man, it will be necessary to define what a flint flake really is before we proceed farther. The term "flint flake" should only be employed to denote certain forms of flint, the characters of which prove them to be the result of human workmanship, and as such, "flakes" differ from mere "chips," "spalls," or "splinters," the separate fragments of which show no evidence of design.

In Fig. 2 I give a sketch of a typical flint flake, which always should have the following characters:—

- A. The flat end; being a portion of the face of the flint core from which the flake was struck;
- B. The bulb of percussion, showing the point that received the blow;
- C. The conchoidal face as the result of the blow;
- D. One or more ridges at the back;
- E. The inclining surfaces or facets;

all showing that the intention of the maker was—first to strike off the flakes, so as to form a ridge on the core, and then, by a dexterous blow inside the ridge, to strike off a flake that will be long and thin, tapering to a point at the end farthest from the bulb of percussion.

Every "flake" may not have all these characteristic features; indeed, the outside flakes from the flint nodule could not have the ridge at the back; but the nearer the "flake" conforms to the above description, or the more of the above characters it possesses, the more likely is it to be the result of manipulative skill, because the series of operations necessary to produce those features could not well be repeated so uniformly by any natural cause, and must, therefore, be the result of some fairly intelligent human skill.

At the same time the process by which the characters described are produced are so simple, that they may be

often closely imitated by natural causes, and occasionally one or more of the resulting features may be found on mere chips of flint; but those accidents will not affect the general conclusion, for to all intelligent observers the special characters of every true flint flake are as evidently the result of human skill as a watch, a penknife, or a pair of spectacles.

It will not be necessary for me to insist further upon the artificial character of those flakes. I will assume this admitted; but I may state, that if it was

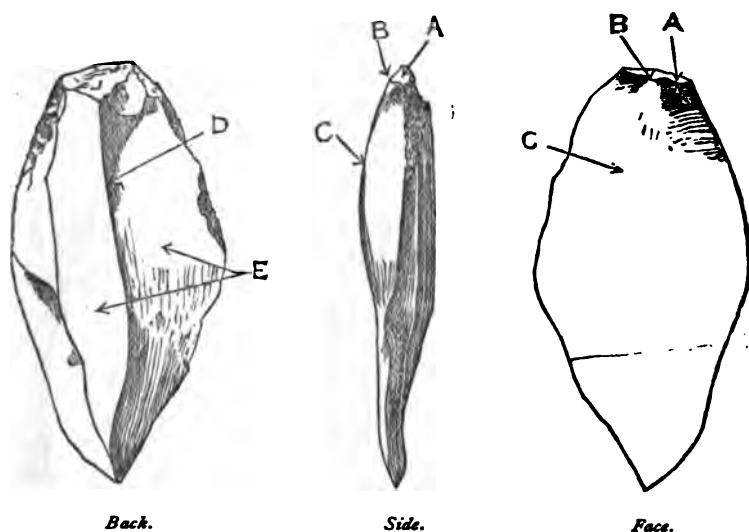


Fig. 2.—Typical Flint Flake—half full size.

possible to produce those flakes by any natural agency, we should find them so produced in Antrim, where we have such quantities of flints exposed to all sorts of natural forces, which have crushed, splintered, and chipped them into an endless variety of forms. And yet it has been carefully ascertained that worked flints do not occur in any of those natural accumulations.

In Fig. 1 I have endeavoured to depict the crushed flints that appear in great abundance in the hollow, irregular surface of the chalk below the basaltic rocks. I have examined thousands of tons of those crushed

flints, but never found anything like a flake through them, or in any natural or accidental gathering of flint *debris*. We have several Tertiary and Post-Tertiary deposits of flint gravels, but they contain no flint flakes. The inter-glacial gravels cut through by the railway near Antrim, or the Esker ridge of flint gravel near Lisburn, contain no flint flakes wherever they occur; they are only found on the surface: even when associated with gravels, the worked flints are only found at or near the surface, and are not mixed up with the gravel.

CLASSIFICATION OF FLAKES.

The flint flakes are so very abundant, they furnish evidence of various degrees of manipulative skill. Some produced by a few blows are extremely symmetrical,

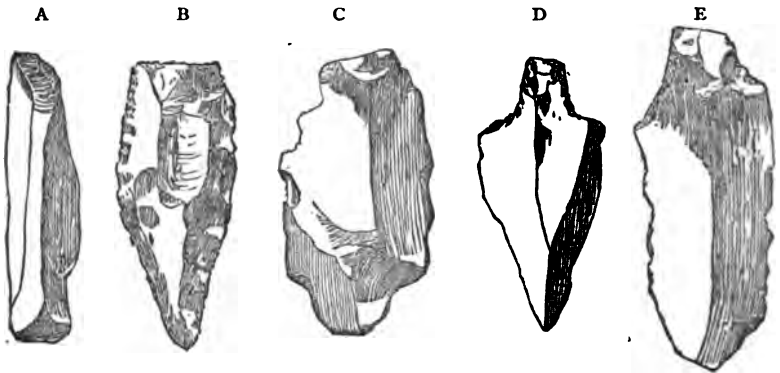


Fig. 3.—Flint Flakes—half full size.

such as our type specimen, Fig. 2; others are chipped to form by no small amount of labour, such as Fig. 3, B; while the great majority of the flakes are very rude indeed, such as Fig. 3, C, apparently clumsy failures, but showing that they are the result of attempts to produce the typical form already described. Some are so small and delicate, thin and transparent, that they may be mounted as slides for the microscopic examination of the organic remains in the flint. As a rule, the flakes are opaque, the exterior being converted into a kind of porcelain, which is generally white, particularly in the speci-

mens from open gravels; and as this crust is absorbent, the flakes become stained more or less when in contact with ferruginous clays or carbonaceous deposits. This external coating, the result of age and decomposition, often penetrates to a depth of an eighth of an inch or more, and if the flake is broken across the unaltered flint will be seen below the crust. Thus the general form, as well as the lithological character of our north of Ireland flakes, are identical with those of the very oldest flakes from the caverns of France, Belgium, or England. Flakes manufactured by the pre-historic Irish may be picked up from building sites within the Belfast Borough boundary, that do not differ in any essential character from the flakes found in the ossiferous caverns of the south of France, where they are associated with the remains of extinct animals and other evidences of remote antiquity. Indeed, the description of the worked flints from the caves of Aquitania, published by Messrs. Lartet and Christy, in their valuable work *Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ* applies with the greatest accuracy to many of the characteristic forms of worked flints of Antrim and Down. Therefore, upon the evidence of the flakes themselves we are forced to the conclusion that they belong to a very early age of this country's history, and are not the refuse chips of gun-flint factories. It is quite true that itinerant flint-nappers formerly went through the country making gun-flints; and there are still living at Larne, Glenarm, and Portglenone the immediate relations of men, who, from forty to sixty years ago, followed the trade of gun-flint makers; but in some cases those very flint-nappers made their gun-flints from the then existing flint flakes. Forty years ago the brick land along the Bann above Portglenone was famous for the excellent flint it yielded, but no flint occurs there naturally. The flints the nappers used were the well-formed sharp thin "flakes" to be found still in the same locality.

If we attempt to classify our flint flakes, we will soon discover that the several characteristic forms merge into each other in every degree. We may pick a group, and call them "knives," and another "saws," and a third "picks" or "lances," but all this classification must be

governed more by our own speculative theories than by any positive evidence we possess as to the real uses of those ancient implements. It is more than probable that the ancient folk made their implements serve for a great variety of purposes; and the forms the worked flints assumed depended upon many accidents, such as the skill of the manipulator, and the nature, or fracture, of the material, rather than upon the intention of the workman himself. We cannot, therefore, say with anything like certainty that this was a "knife," this a "lance," and this a "saw," much less account for the chipping of any special form. We sometimes find similar implements employed by modern savages, and it is interesting to trace their uses, but we cannot with certainty say that the ancients used their implements for the same purposes as the moderns do.

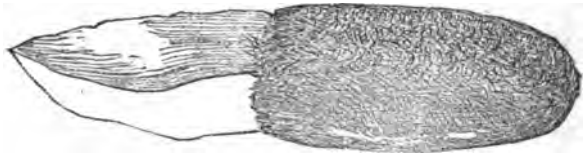


Fig. 4.—Flake mounted as a Knife, South Australia—half full size.

As an example of the use of flakes in modern times, I give a sketch (Fig. 4) of an implement in my collection from South Australia. It was sent me by a gentleman engaged in the Trans-continental Telegraph service. He had read some of my published descriptions, and noticing the implements in use among the natives of South Australia, he sent me one. This knife seems to be an ordinary chert flake, mounted in a handle of some kind of fibre, made solid by pitch-like cement. The implement is now used by the natives in a certain form of circumcision,¹ through which the boys, as they grew up to manhood, were initiated into the tribal councils.

Many of our worked flakes are dressed at the bulb end, like as if prepared for a handle such as that of the

¹ Arnobius says, "*Pessinuntios silicem pro deum matre coluisse.*"—*Adv. Gentes*, lib. vi. 2.

Australian knife just described. I call those "tanged flakes" (see Fig. 3, D and E). This must have been a recognised pattern, because they are found in so many places, such as Toomebridge, Ballintoy, Ballygally, Islandmagee, Larne, Holywood, Belfast, &c.

The "flake" was, doubtless, most frequently used as the first step towards the manufacture of more elaborate implements, such as the arrowhead and scraper; but the flake must have been used in its simplest form as an implement, because we find examples of that form made from other materials, such as chert or basalt. Fig. 5 is a drawing of a stone flake (not flint) from Toomebridge, half full size.

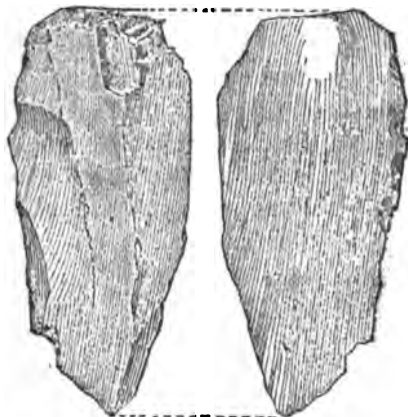


Fig. 5.—Flake, of Basalt, from Toomebridge.

Undressed flakes are sometimes found in crannoges. Fig. 6 is a sketch, half full size, of flakes found, with

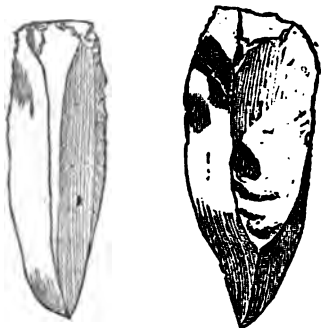


Fig. 6.—Flakes from the Crannoge at Loughravel, Co. Antrim.

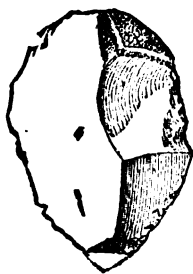


Fig. 7.—Rude Flakes from an Ancient Grave near Glenarm.

several others, in the crannoge of Loughravel, between Randalstown and Toomebridge, Co. Antrim.

Even very rude flakes were considered of such value as to be deposited in ancient graves.

Several ancient graves were found above a quarry face on the Antrim coast, near Glenarm. The bodies were enclosed in rudely-formed cists, and with each were found a large number of flint flakes, such as I show, half full size, by Fig. 7. In the same graves were also many other flint chips, such as constitute the refuse of a flint factory.

CORES.

There were several ancient flint factories in the north of Ireland, as is proved by the number of flakes, cores, hammers, &c., that so frequently occur together. It is at such centres we most commonly find the "cores," or the remains of the flint nodules from which the flakes

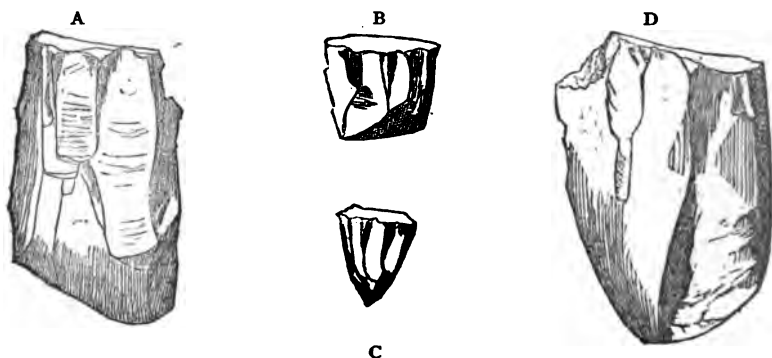


Fig. 8.—Cores from which Flakes were struck—half full size.

were struck. Cores vary very much in size and shape, usually taking the form of a truncated cone (see Fig. 8, A, B, C, D), the base of the cone being the original flat fractured surface of the flint, and the sides developed by a series of facets, showing where the flakes were struck off. Many of the cores are large and rough: more frequently they are about four inches long; and sometimes they are very small—not longer than an inch—as B and C, Fig. 8.

HAMMERS.

Ancient flint factory sites also yield a large number of hammer-stones, supposed to be the implements used in striking off the flakes. They are commonly mere

pebbles of any kind of hard stone : most frequently they are quartzite pebbles ; but they are also formed of basalt, granite, syenite, indurated slate, milky quartz, and flint. See Fig. 9, showing a quartzite pebble hammer-stone bruised and chipped by use. Other forms are illustrated by Plate A. Nos. 1 and 5, granite; No. 2, dolerite; No. 3, quartzite; No. 4, red syenite. Similar pebbles occur in the boulder clay adjoining the stations from which the hammers were collected.

I have found those hammer-stones most commonly in the sand dunes, particularly at Dundrum, Co. Down; Ballintoy, Co. Antrim, and Castlerock, Co. Londonderry. I have observed that hammer-stones with the crushed

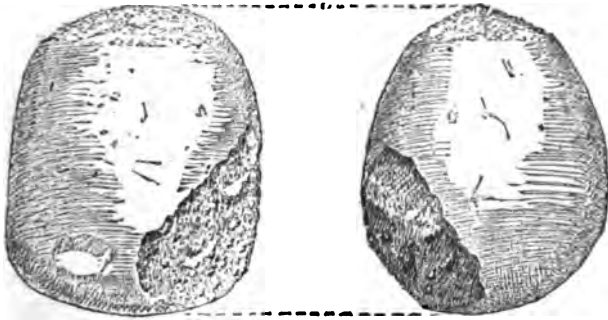


Fig. 9.—Hammer-stone, bruised at one end, and chipped at the other, by use.

ends, indicative of use, are not so common in the localities where silicious nodules occur in abundance from natural causes; hammers are most frequently found where the silicious nodules are not common naturally. For example, hammer-stones are rare in the Larne gravels, otherwise rich in worked flints and silicious nodules; whereas in the sand dunes, that contain no nodules, hammer-stones are usually common. Possibly at Larne, where almost every pebble was suitable for a hammer, no single stone used as a hammer was retained, as such, long enough to become crushed by use, whereas in the sand dunes, where silicious materials were scarce, each hammer was retained so long in service that it

received those permanent marks of use, by which it is now distinguished.

SCRAPERS.

The "scraper," which has such a wide geographical distribution, is another form found very commonly among the worked flints of Antrim and Down, many of them almost identical with the forms so common in England, France, Denmark, and Belgium. Some of the scrapers from near Belfast can scarcely be distinguished from those taken from the ossiferous caves in the south of France, and we find representatives of every form described by Mr. Evans in his work on the *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, or by Messrs. Lartet and Christie in *Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ*. Even at the same station,

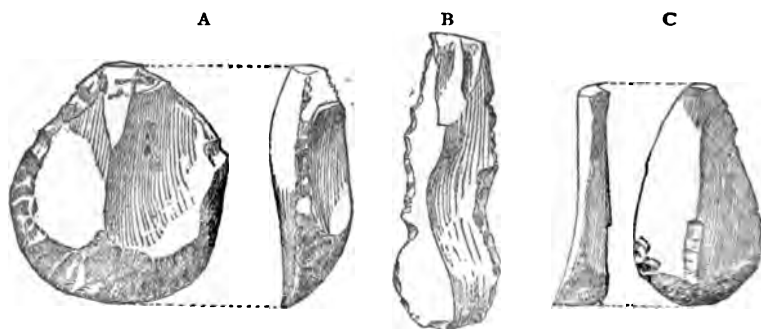


Fig. 10.—Scrapers—half full size.

or in the same gathering, the character of the scrapers is as varied as the flakes from which they were made.

Fig. 10 illustrates some of the forms. A is an example of the round form, B the long scraper, and C is an example of those that are broad at the base and narrow at the bulb.

A further illustrates those that are carefully chipped to a very uniform and thin edge. B shows that the edge was not always uniform; they are very often notched and rough; and C shows that the edge was not always thin, as a great many scrapers are very blunt and thick at the edge.

It is not at all probable that the so-called "scraper"

was ever used as strike-a-lights in the north of Ireland. They are not the best suited for that purpose, nor is it likely that so much care would be taken in chipping them to form, particularly where we have thin flint chips in such vast quantities produced naturally. Many of the neatly chipped scrapers are not larger than a finger-nail—so small that they could not possibly be used for strike-a-lights.

The “scraper,” like the “tanged flake” and “core,” is found in Antrim and Down wherever the flakes are common, and show, by having the “bulb of percussion” and other features, that they were made from ordinary flakes. The best examples of scrapers have been found at Ballintoy, Bannmouth, Ballygally, Belfast, Dundrum, and Toomebridge.

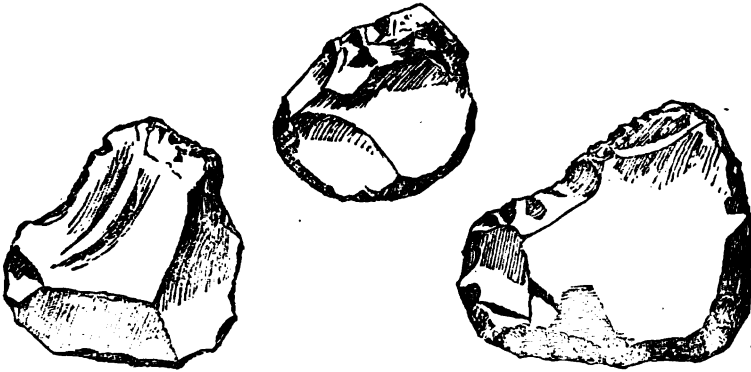


Fig. 11.—Irregular-shaped Scrapers—half full size.

The irregular form of scrapers shown by Fig. 11 are not very common, but they are sufficiently numerous to prove that the ancient flint workers made use of any irregular-shaped flint that the accident of fracture placed in their hands. Those specimens are as carefully worked as the more orthodox forms.

The hollow scrapers, or saws, Fig. 12, are usually formed from very thin flakes. The hollow is sometimes very carefully worked, so as to furnish a neatly serrated edge, the chipping being sometimes from the bulb side of the flake, as A; and in other cases the chipping is towards the bulb side, as B. Some forms, like C, have

two and three hollows in the same specimen. They are often found in the sand dunes, and are occasionally met

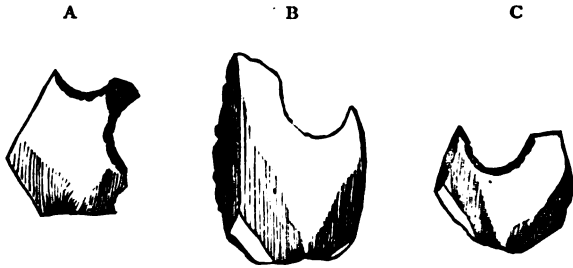


Fig. 12.—Hollow Scrapers, or Saws—half full size.

with in ancient graves. In January, 1870, the Earl of Antrim and Dr. Holden (then of Glenarm) explored a series of “kistveans,” or “giants’ graves,” which occur in the glens of Antrim, and in one of them the explorers found no less than thirteen of these implements, together with broken urns and flint implements.

SPECIAL FORMS.

Another form of worked flint found in the sand dunes is shown by Fig. 13, for which it would be difficult to

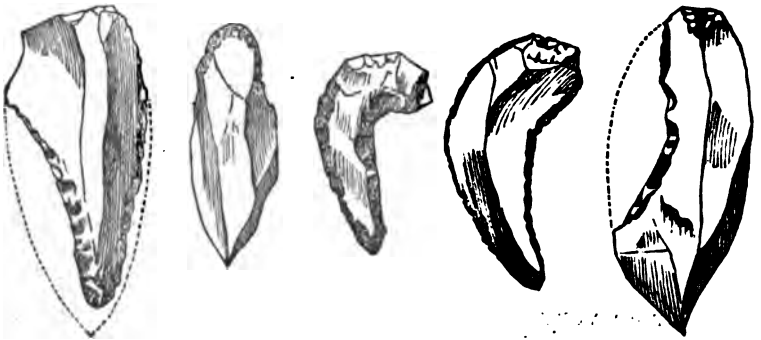


Fig. 13.—Flakes chipped to Special Forms—half full size.

assign a use. Most likely this, with the forms shown by Fig. 11, are the result of accidental fracture, rather than

the intention of the manipulator; but it is curious to find the same peculiar forms repeated.¹

I have picked up several borers (Fig. 14) in the sand dunes. Sometimes they are very neatly chipped to a

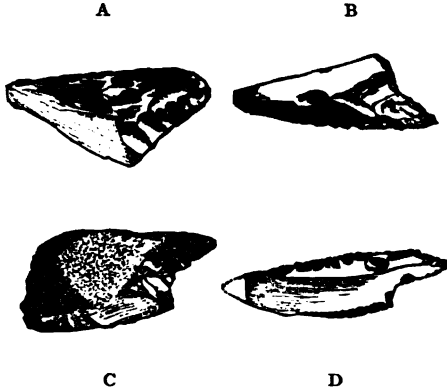


Fig. 14.—A, Triangular-shaped Arrow-head; B, C, D, Flint Borers—half full size.

sharp point, and occasionally they assume the form of single-barbed arrow-points.

ARROW-HEADS.

Beautifully worked arrow-heads have been found in the sand dunes of Dundrum, Ballintoy, Portstewart, &c.

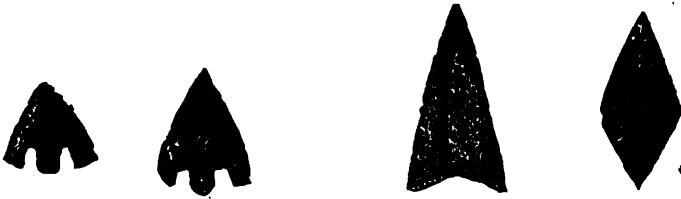


Fig. 15.—Flint Arrow-heads—half full size.

Fig. 15 shows examples I have picked up in the sand dunes at Castle-rock, or Bannmouth West.²

¹ See figure and description of a fish-hook of flint in Nilsson's *Stone Age*, edited by Sir John Lubbock.

² The examples of superior manipulative skill, such as arrow-heads and fine scrapers, are scarce, except about the sand dunes. I never found an arrow-head in

the gravels of raised beaches, although chipped flakes are extremely common; but in the sand dunes, and in the Bann, at Toome, examples of worked flints are found, graduating from the simplest form up to the highest type of finely-chipped arrow-heads.

FLINT CELTS.

Roughly-chipped unpolished flint celts, having all the characteristics of extreme age, are also found in

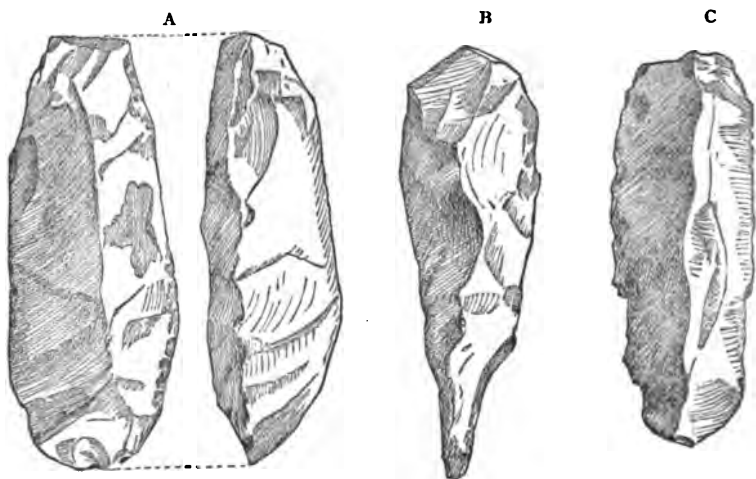


Fig. 16.—Rudely-worked Flint Celts—half full size.

every locality where flakes are abundant. They are usually small—from three to six inches long—highly



Fig. 17.—Discoidal Flint—half full size.



Fig. 18.—Flint Ball, or Shot—half full size.

porcelainous, and rounded by age (*see* Figs. 16). A, from Craigavad, Co. Down (*see* also Plate B. No. 4), from Cultra, Co. Down; No. 6, Larne; 7, Larne; 8, Ballintoy; 9, Lisdoonan, Co. Down; 10, Ballygally; 11, Carnlough.

Roughly-chipped pick-like forms are also found, such

as are shown by Fig. 16, B, Holywood; and Plate B, Nos. 2, 3, and 5, from Toomebridge.¹

PALÆOLITHIC TYPES.

We now come to a group of implements that approach nearest the palæolithic forms of England and the Continent. They are shown by Nos. 6, 7, 8, and 9 (Plate A), and by Nos. 1 to 11 (Plate B). They are very roughly chipped to form, and usually retain some portion of the external crust of the flint nodules from which they were formed, and are more or less flat on one side.

POLISHED CELTS.

The ordinary polished stone celts are also very frequently found in connexion with flint flakes, particularly at Belfast, Ballintoy, Islandmagee, Dundrum, and Toomebridge. At the latter station they have been found in great abundance. The highly finished polished flint celts are not so common: I have only found them on the "Plains," Belfast, and at Bannmouth West.

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF RAISED BEACHES.

If we examine the shore at both sides of Belfast Lough, we will find in several places true raised beaches, or thick beds of gravel, once forming the beach that fringed the harbour, but now raised far above high-water level, in some places as much as 20 feet.

The lower portion of the town of Carrickfergus, on the Co. Antrim side, and Holywood, on the Co. Down side, seem to have been built upon this ancient beach. On the Down side it is occasionally met with along the shore as far as Groomsport. At Ballyhome Bay, near

¹ The discoidal implements (Fig. 17), such as are so common in the Yorkshire Wolds, and described by Mr. Evans, are not by any means numerous. I have only found them at Larne and Ballintoy.

In the sand dunes of Dundrum, Ballintoy, and Bannmouth, I have picked up rounded balls of flint (Fig. 18), evidently

chipped to form. In ancient graves and in crannoges rounded water-worn beach pebbles are often found; but the flint balls I refer to are not worn, but chipped with more or less care to a globular form, and about two inches in diameter. They may have been used as sling-stones by the ancients. I have in my collection a form of this kind from Cornwall.

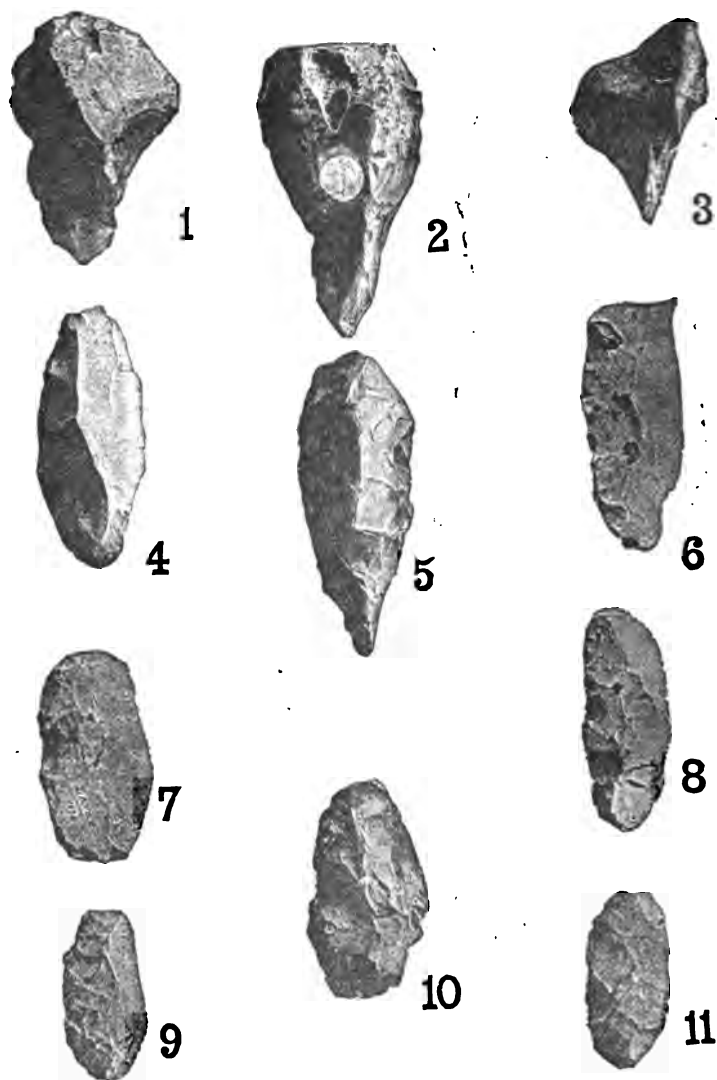


PLATE B.

Rude Flint Implements of the Palaeolithic Type—one-third full size.

Bangor, the raised beach gravels form the steep bank that lines the inner curve of the bay, and they extend over the site of the terraces of houses above the bank.

At the Antrim side the raised beach gravels are represented along the shore to Carrickfergus, and cover a considerable area at Kilroot: they occur also at Whitehead, Glinn, and at Larne. The Curren of Larne is covered by the raised beach gravels; and near the harbour, where they are procured for ballast, they attain a considerable thickness. On the east coast they are found at Ballygally and at Carnlough. At the latter place they fringe the shore for the distance of a mile, and cover a considerable area inland, towards the rising ground.

The surface of all those gravels yields an immense quantity of worked flints, chiefly in the form of flakes. At some of those places hundreds may be gathered in an hour, and the flakes are not confined to the actual surface of the raised beaches; they commonly cap over the adjoining land as well. Nearly all the specimens found in the gravels are very rude—something like Fig. 3, C. They are more or less rounded and worn, from being rolled in the gravel, often so much so as to have all the usual characteristics almost obliterated, while the flakes in the adjoining clay lands are quite sharp. Other forms of worked flints are rare in the raised beaches, and all are roughly formed, and approach nearer to the true palæolithic forms than any other of our northern flints.

There is nothing in worked flints themselves to determine their age, but this geological zone of the gravels is very clearly marked.

At Cultra the raised beach gravels occur decidedly over the boulder clay. At Ballyhome there is a capital section, showing the boulder clay resting upon ice-marked rocks; and the blue estuarine clay of the harbour above the boulder clay; and over the estuarine clay comes the raised beach gravels.

Then at the Antrim side we have the raised beach gravels at Kilroot resting upon the estuarine clay (*see* Fig. 19), showing the raised beach to the right, inside

the railway, looking from Kilroot to Carrickfergus. Then at Glinn and at Larne also the gravels are deposited upon the estuarine clays, so that the gravels are the most recent of all those deposits.

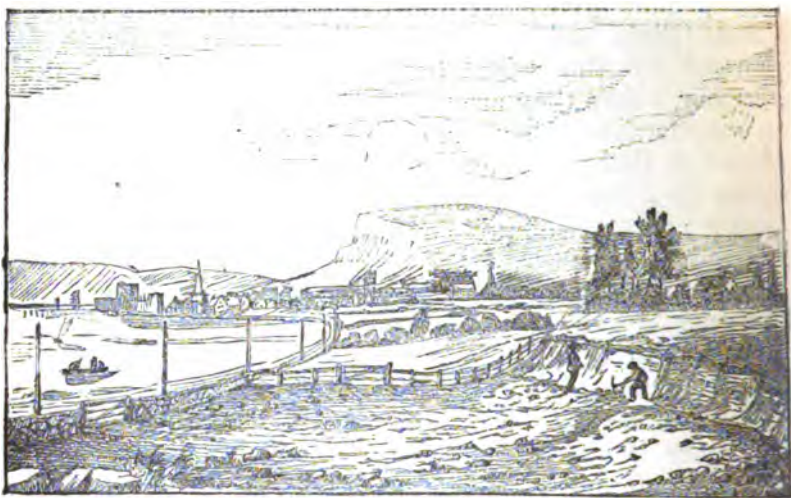


Fig. 19.—Raised Beach, Kilroot, looking towards Carrickfergus and Belfast.

The following diagram will explain more clearly the relative positions of the several beds referred to, and consequently the relative ages of the deposits yielding worked flints :—

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| 1. Raised beach gravels. | 2. Sand dunes. | } 3. Peat, and |
| 5. Estuarine clays. | 6. Submerged peat. | |
| <hr/> | | |
| 7. Boulder clay. | | |
| <hr/> | | |
| 8. Inter-glacial gravels. | | |
| <hr/> | | |

Rocks *in situ* sometimes glacially striated.

No. 1 occurs over No. 5, at Larne, Co. Antrim, and Ballyhome, Co. Down. No. 2 over No. 6, at Portrush. Nos. 3 and 4 are mixed along the valley of the Bann,

and probably overlie the boulder clay. No. 5 occurs over No. 7, at Ballyhome, Co. Down; and Nos. 5 and 6 are mixed in Belfast harbour. No. 7 occurs over No. 8, at Ballyrudder, on the east coast of Co. Antrim.

Worked flints are only found in, or on the surface of, beds Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

We have now to consider the very important question, Are the worked flints found throughout the gravels, or are they only on the surface?

Professor Hull, Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland, in his work on *The Physical Geography of Ireland*, refers to the worked flints of Larne and Kilroot as "palæolithic." He further describes the raised beach of Larne as "*composed of stratified and water-worn gravel, with numerous bleached marine shells, and flint flakes of human workmanship*," and concludes, from "*the presence of worked flints, associated with the shells, in the stratified gravels at Larne and Kilroot, that the coast has been raised since the occupation of the British Islands by the ancient Celtic tribes*." In my opinion, all this is untenable, and for the very simple reason, that the gravels are *not* mixed throughout with worked flints, nor are the latter associated with the marine shells of this or any other raised beach along the coast. The worked flints of all those beach gravels are only found in the surface soil, which in some hollows may be a few feet deep. I may add, that there is no evidence whatever to show that the worked flints of Larne, Kilroot, or indeed any other portion of Ireland, are of the Palæolithic age.

In a Paper "On the Fossils of the Post-Tertiary Deposits of Ireland," read before the Belfast Meeting of the British Association by the Rev. Dr. Grainger, the author stated, that during the year 1869, "when workmen were removing gravel for ballast from the Curran at Larne, the upper part of the thigh-bone of a mammoth was found." If this statement was correct, it would have a very important bearing on the question of man's antiquity in Ireland, particularly when taken in connexion with Mr. Hull's description of the flint-bearing gravels; but, as a fact, no mammoth's bone, or any other indication of that creature, has been found in

the Larne, or in any beach gravels in the north of Ireland. A mammoth's tooth, now in the collection of Canon Grainger, Broughshane, was picked up by a country farmer or his labourer near Ballyruder, on the coast road, but the tooth had no connexion with any worked flints. The tooth was not even found in the shell gravels, as has been described by Dr. Grainger¹ and Professor Leith Adams.² It was really found in a bank next the road, some distance from the gravels, and near Glenarm, and the farmer had it for several months before Dr. Grainger saw it.

The only bones discovered in any of our North of Ireland gravels are those of whales. Fragments of deer's antlers also occur in the same gravels. Both have been found at the Curran of Larne in the shell-bearing gravels, on the surface of which the worked flints are found.

SAND DUNES.

Next to the raised beach gravels, the sand dunes have yielded the largest quantity of rudely-worked flints. Sand dunes are heaps of blown or drifted sand that occur at several places on the coast of Ireland. They are favourite resorts for rabbits, and are sometimes converted into rabbit warrens, for the purpose of trade. When sand dunes occur, as they frequently do, at the mouth of a river, or on prominent points near natural harbours, they become good stations for fishing, as well as for rabbit-hunting.³ For this reason, probably, sand dunes were selected as camping-grounds by the ancient inhabitants of Ireland, as well as of England and Scotland. In Antrim and Down we have proof of this early occupation in the quantity and variety of ancient stone implements, charcoal, and pottery, so frequently found in the sheltered hollows of the sand dunes. Those hollows

¹ *Report of the Belfast Meeting of the British Association*, 1874—"On the Post-Tertiary Fossils of Ireland." By the Rev. Canon Grainger, D.D.

² *Journal of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland*, vol. v., 1876-7—"Observations on the Remains of Mammals." By A. Leith Adams, F.R.S., F.G.S. *Pro-*

ceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. III., sec. ii., 1878—"Report on the History of Irish Fossil Mammals." By A. Leith Adams, F.R.S., F.G.S.

³ See "Reports of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey."—P. Schomacher on the Kjökkenmoddings of Oregon.

are of various dimensions and forms—some are regular basins; some are flat at the bottom, and bounded all round by irregular heaps of sand.¹

Going over the sand dunes, we will find here and there bared spots or hollows where the characteristic vegetation of the dunes is entirely removed, and the bare sand is exposed all round in irregular and often fantastic forms. Sometimes the thick capping of the surface bent-grass so protects the under sand, that a steep section is exposed, marked by thin, irregular, dark layers of carbonaceous sand, resulting from the vegetable remains of former surfaces. Being tougher than the loose sand, those layers sometimes stand out as ledges and terraces from the sand, cleared of everything except what the wind could not blow away. Hence, it is on those ledges chiefly we find the remains of worked flints and other heavy materials, that are constantly slipping down from the top; and, as the black layers give way, all fall to the bottom of the hollow basin in the sand.

Now, if we brush through the bent-grass, ferns, moss, and other vegetation of the sand dunes, and reach the edge of a bare sandy basin, we will probably see at the bottom—from fifteen to thirty feet below—loose stones and other accumulations. It is in this gathering at the bottom the ancient implements of flint and stone are usually found; but as they have slipped down from higher levels, a careful search may result in the discovery of one or more spots, usually on the old surface black layer, which seem to have been the sites of ancient habitations; burnt stones may be observed; fragments of charcoal have been washed or trampled into the black layer; pieces of rude pottery are scattered around; and flint flakes, scrapers, hammer-stones, and other evidences of human workmanship, occur in more or less abundance. On one occasion at Ballintoy I picked up as many as twenty-eight hammer-stones; and in one hollow, in the sand dunes of Bannmouth West,

¹ Sand-hills occur about the mouth of the River Mersey, and are called "Meols," a Celtic term expressive of their bald appearance. They have yielded a large

number of Roman antiquities: see *Ancient Meols*, by the Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., D.C.L.

on a similar occasion I picked up over three dozen good scrapers.

A great variety of bones are found in the sand dunes, all of existing species: many of them are, doubtless, the remains of animals that were contemporary with the ancient human settlers; but the scattered bones found in ancient camping-grounds have become so mixed up with the bones of recent rabbits, dogs, rats, sea-birds, horses, cows, and even the bones of modern human beings, that they are now of little historic value, and give no satisfactory evidence of their age.

In the Orkney Islands, Cromarty Frith, and Ayrshire,¹ sand dunes occur, similar, in every respect, to those of the North of Ireland, and yield similar evidences of ancient occupation.²

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAND DUNES.

The principal sand dunes in the North of Ireland, that have yielded worked flints in quantity, are the following:—

Co. LONDONDERRY, . . The sand dunes at both sides of the mouth of the Bann, near Castlerock, on the one side, and near Portstewart on the other.

Co. ANTRIM, Portrush, Bushfoot, Ballintoy.

Co. DOWN, Tyrella, Dundrum, Cranfield.

MOUTH OF THE BANN.—The river Bann falls into the sea a few miles north of Coleraine. Sand dunes extend for a considerable distance along the shore, and the river divides them into two groups—one group to the west, or Castlerock side, and the other to the east, or Portstewart side (*see* No. 7, one-inch Ordnance Map).

In both those groups large quantities of worked flints occur. The greater part are mere flakes; but I have found numbers of hammers, cores, scrapers, arrow-heads, and pottery, at both sides, particularly at the Castlerock

¹ *Popular Lectures on Geology*, p. 11. By Hugh Miller, 1859.

² Geological Society of Glasgow, 1879. "On the occurrence of Flint Nodules and

Worked Flints in the Post-Tertiary Sands of the Ayrshire Coast, between Saltcoats and Troon." By John Smith, of Kilwinning.

side. On one occasion I collected, in less than two hours, no less than three dozen scrapers in one hollow, in addition to flakes and other worked forms; and almost every sheltered hollow throughout the dunes contained worked flints; indicating long-continued occupation of the station, and the probability of its being one of the early flint factories. The abundance of rabbits in the dunes, and fish in the river, would render this locality a very desirable camping-ground for the early settlers.

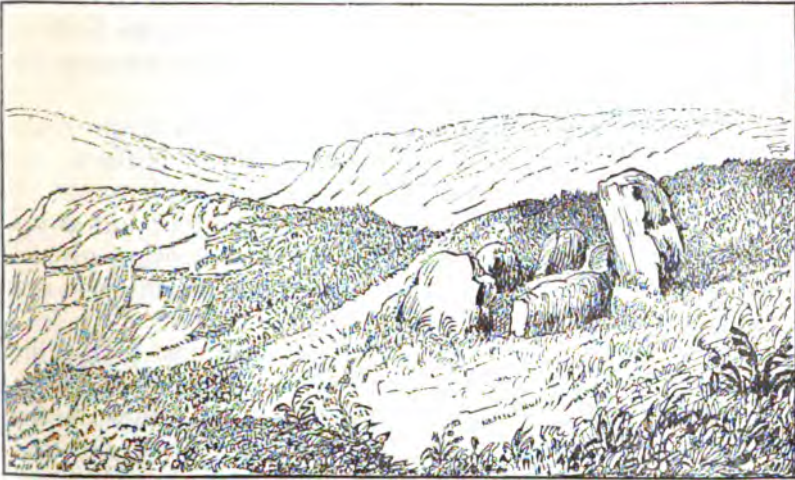


Fig. 20.—Rude Stone Circle on the Sand Dunes, West Bannmouth, near Castlerock.

Mr. W. J. Knowles, of Cullybackey, has been hunting the Portstewart sand dunes for years, and has collected a very large number of worked flints, and other objects of very great interest, which he has described in a Paper read before the Belfast Meeting of the British Association in 1874.¹

¹ At the Dublin Meeting, in 1878, the British Association made a grant of money towards "excavations at Portstewart and elsewhere in the North of Ireland," and a Committee was appointed to conduct the work. The Committee did not communicate with the local investigators, nor did they accept the tendered co-operation of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club. Their Report was read at the Sheffield Meeting of the Association, but it added no new

facts to those already published: the Committee stated that they collected a very large number of worked flints. It is to be hoped that all the implements, and those collected under the auspices of the Association, and referred to in their Report, will be deposited in the Belfast, or other Public Museum, for future reference. Unless this is done, the Report is practically of no value.

PORTRUSH.—The sand dunes along the coast, to the east and west of Portrush (Ordnance Map, Sheet No. 7), have yielded a very large number of flakes, scrapers, and cores; but, owing to the number of visitors to this popular watering-place, the variety of implements recorded from the station is not so great as from the more isolated neighbourhood of Bannmouth.

The Portrush sand dunes are, however, interesting to the geologist, as they overlie the submerged peat that occurs along the beach to the west of the town of Portrush. In this respect the dunes here are like the raised beaches of Carrickfergus and Carnlough, where beds of peat occur under low water, from fifteen to twenty-five feet below the level of the gravels.¹

BUSHFOOT.—Sand dunes line the beach from Bushfoot to the black rocks of the Causeway cliffs to the west, and have yielded a fair number of implements. I have collected flakes, scrapers, and cores here; but as the Causeway guides have made this their collecting-ground for years, the better forms of implements are more scarce here.

BALLINTOY.—The extensive sand dunes along the beach at Whitepark Bay have been extremely rich in worked flints and other implements, of almost every variety. On more than one occasion I have collected dozens of hammer-stones at this station, and the quantity of flakes, cores, burnt stones, pottery, as well as hammers, found here clearly indicate that the slopes of the talus, under the bluff cliffs that enclose this picturesque bay, as well as the sand dunes between the talus and the sea, formed for a long time the camping-ground of the pre-historic Irish settlers.

Like the ancient camping-grounds of North America, the kitchen middens of Denmark, and the lake dwellings of Switzerland, I find there are usually sepulchral monuments in the neighbourhood of implement-bearing sand dunes in the North of Ireland.

I found a very rude stone circle on the sand dunes near Castlerock; it was formed of six stones each about four

¹ See Diagram, p. 128.

feet high (*see* fig. No. 20). I opened the circle without removing the stones, and I found several small cists, or



Fig. 21.—Whitepark Bay: looking West. Stone Circle on mound in foreground.

little box-like chambers, formed of rounded boulders, and in each cist a quantity of burnt human bones, such as are usually enclosed in cinerary urns.

Some years ago a similar monument was found near Bushfoot, having been exposed by a storm that stripped off the sand. In this case the remains of a human skeleton were found within a rude stone enclosure.

At Ballintoy, also, there is a stone circle perched on one of the talus heaps on the slope from the cliffs above the sand dunes of Whitepark Bay (*see* fig. No. 21). I had this opened, and found the remains of a skeleton laid on a rude pavement of flat stones: as the remains were found within about two feet of the surface, I consider that this may have been a secondary burial; and that the mound contained other remains of the primary burial. Several urns have been found along the undercliffs of this bay, and a large quantity of fragments of pottery, with the worked flints, in the dunes. Fig. No. 22 is a sketch of one of those fragments of very rude, thick pottery, and yet its markings on the external surface, as well as on its internal margin, show it

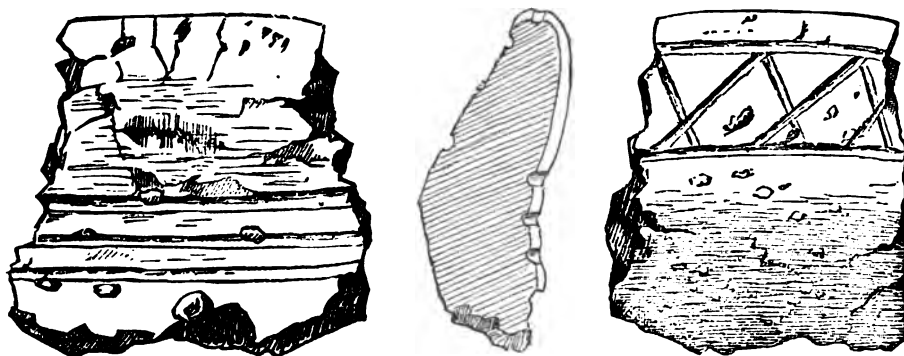


Fig. 22.—Fragment of Pottery from the sand dunes of Ballintoy—three-quarters full size.

was not a food vessel, but a cinerary urn. Numerous fragments of this rude pottery occur with the worked flints of the sand dunes at Ballintoy, and there are no less than three cromlechs on the slopes of the hills above the bay.

DUNDRUM, CO. DOWN.—At the land side of the sand dunes at Dundrum there is a very fine cromlech. The sand dunes extend along the inner curve of the extensive bay of Dundrum (*see* one-inch Ordnance Sheet, No. 61), from Tyrella to Newcastle, and are, in every respect,

similar to the dunes at Bannmouth and Ballintoy, and have yielded similar implements, flakes, scrapers, hammer-stones, and pottery.¹

CRANFIELD.—At Cranfield point, forming the northern

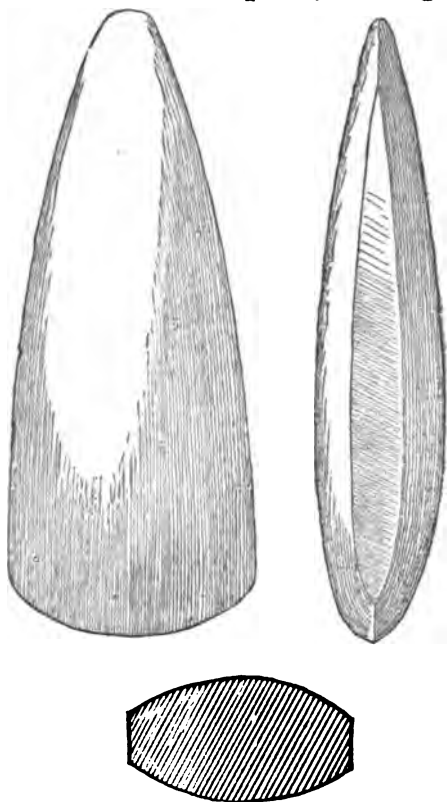


Fig. 23.—Polished Stone Celt from the Sand Dunes, Murlough, Dundrum, Co. Down—half full size.

boundary of Carlingford Bay, and the extreme south-eastern corner of the Co. Down, a series of sand dunes occur (*see* Ordnance Map, Sheet No. 71). Here cores, flakes, scrapers, and a few arrow-heads have been collected. It will be observed that this station is a long way from the

¹ Since the reading of this Paper, the Marchioness of Downshire formed a small exploring party, to have a few hours' hunting for antiquities over the sand dunes surrounding her marine residence at Murlough, on Dundrum Bay, Co. Down. The party were engaged for about three hours, and during that time they collected in the

dunes several dozen flint flakes, a large number of scrapers, nine hammer-stones, six cores, two stone celts, one flint arrow-head, one pierced stone ornament, dozens of fragments of rude pottery, and a silver sixpence of Queen Elizabeth. As the celts are not of a common type, I give a drawing of one (*see* Fig. No. 23).

flint-bearing rocks of Antrim or Down. The nearest quarry being at Moira, fully thirty miles off as the crow flies.

DETACHED STATIONS.

In addition to the raised beaches and sand dunes, worked flints are more or less abundant all over the outcrop of the chalk or white limestone. They are also distributed over the Trappean plateau that covers the county of Antrim, half of Derry, and portions of Down, Armagh, and Tyrone. They occur on the bleak hill sides that slope down to Torr point, and along the cliff heads near Ballintoy. They are common over Island Magee, and are found on some of the islands of Strangford Lough; and over the Ards, as far south as Ballyquintin point, far removed from any flint-bearing rocks.¹

While they have thus a very wide geographical distribution, they are often most abundant in patches of very limited area. I have found them in very great abundance in a small field on the Co. Down shore, near the transported block that gives the townland of Leestone its name. They were also confined to a portion of a field on Magee Island, Strangford Lough, and at Annadale, overlooking the Lagan, above Belfast. A single field also at Rosemount, Ballinderry, yielded flakes, scrapers, cores, and stone celts.² The flat meadow land next Ormeau Bridge, on the Lagan, near Belfast, and "the Plains," now covered with streets, yielded worked implements in abundance. Flakes, scrapers, stone celts, cores, and arrow-heads were represented. I have also collected them over the brickfields at the opposite side of the river Lagan, and I have found them sparingly at both sides of the same river up as far as Moira.

I have already mentioned their occurrence along the shores of Lough Neagh, and in the Bann, from Toome-

¹ See Spence Bates, F.R.S., on "Flint Flakes in Devon and Cornwall." *Popular Science Review*.

Rev. W. Howchin, F.G.S., on "Pre-historic Implements in Allendale," *Natural History Transactions of Northumberland, &c.*, vol. vii., 1879.

N. Whitley on "The Palæolithic Age Examined," *Transactions, Victoria Insti-*

tute, vol. viii.

² In a small field at the foot of a glen near the fishing station at Torr Head, and in another field below an old fort, or rath, on the cliff-heads at Ballintoy, I collected a large number of flakes and other worked flints. In each case the principal gatherings were limited to a small area.

bridge to Portglenone. At some spots—evidently the sites of ancient fords—implements of all kinds have been very abundant. Near Portglenone the flint implements are found in the white “Bann clay,” a deposit of the same geological age as the peat of our bogs, and mainly composed of the silicious valves of a group of fresh-water algæ known as Diatomaceæ. This Bann earth is interstratified with the peat, and the process of formation continues to the present time; and, therefore, it cannot possibly be considered the Irish representative of the river gravels of England, as suggested by Mr. Knowles at the Dublin Meeting of the British Association.

In former times—probably sixty years ago—when gun-flints and strike-a-lights were used, the Bann clay, from New Ferry to Portglenone, yielded the materials from which those implements were manufactured in that locality; but it is not clearly ascertained whether this practice was a *survival*, or a *revival* of the stone age.

At Toomebridge, where the lower Bann leaves Lough Neagh, the implements and worked flints have been found on the site of one of the ancient fords that crossed the Bann, as it traced its way through the then famous Glenconcein—a glen in ancient times environed with woods and bogs, forming an almost inaccessible fastness, and a secure shelter for outlaws and rebels. The old ford at Toome was, in all probability, the scene of many a sanguinary battle between the native Irish, from the very earliest times down to the bloody contests between the O’Cahans of Tir Eogain and the O’Neills of Clannaboy, in the sixteenth century. This station has been particularly rich in all kinds of implements, including those of flint, stone, bronze, and iron. During the progress of the works made for the improvement of the navigation of the river Bann, several years ago, an immense quantity of stone celts and bronze articles were found here. Many of them were secured by the Board of Works, and presented to the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and similar objects continue to be picked up from time to time. Since attention has been directed to the ruder or simpler form of flakes, an immense quantity of them has been collected here during the summer

months, when the water is low, and the gravel beds above the weir are exposed. There are great varieties of forms of worked flints found here, but they are all represented in other localities. Perhaps the rarest are those represented on Plate B, Nos. 2, 3, and 5. Mr. John Evans has published an elaborate description of the Toomebridge worked flints in the *Archæologia*, vol. xli., 1868.

Similar implements are found on the Bann clay, near Newferry, farther down the river, in the direction of Portglenone, and although they are extremely rude, and closely approaching the palæolithic type, yet they are found associated with implements of a higher form and superior workmanship.

TABULATED VIEW of the distribution of Ancient Flint and Stone Implements of the North of Ireland, chiefly in Antrim and Down.

[R, rare; F, few; C, common; V C, very common.]

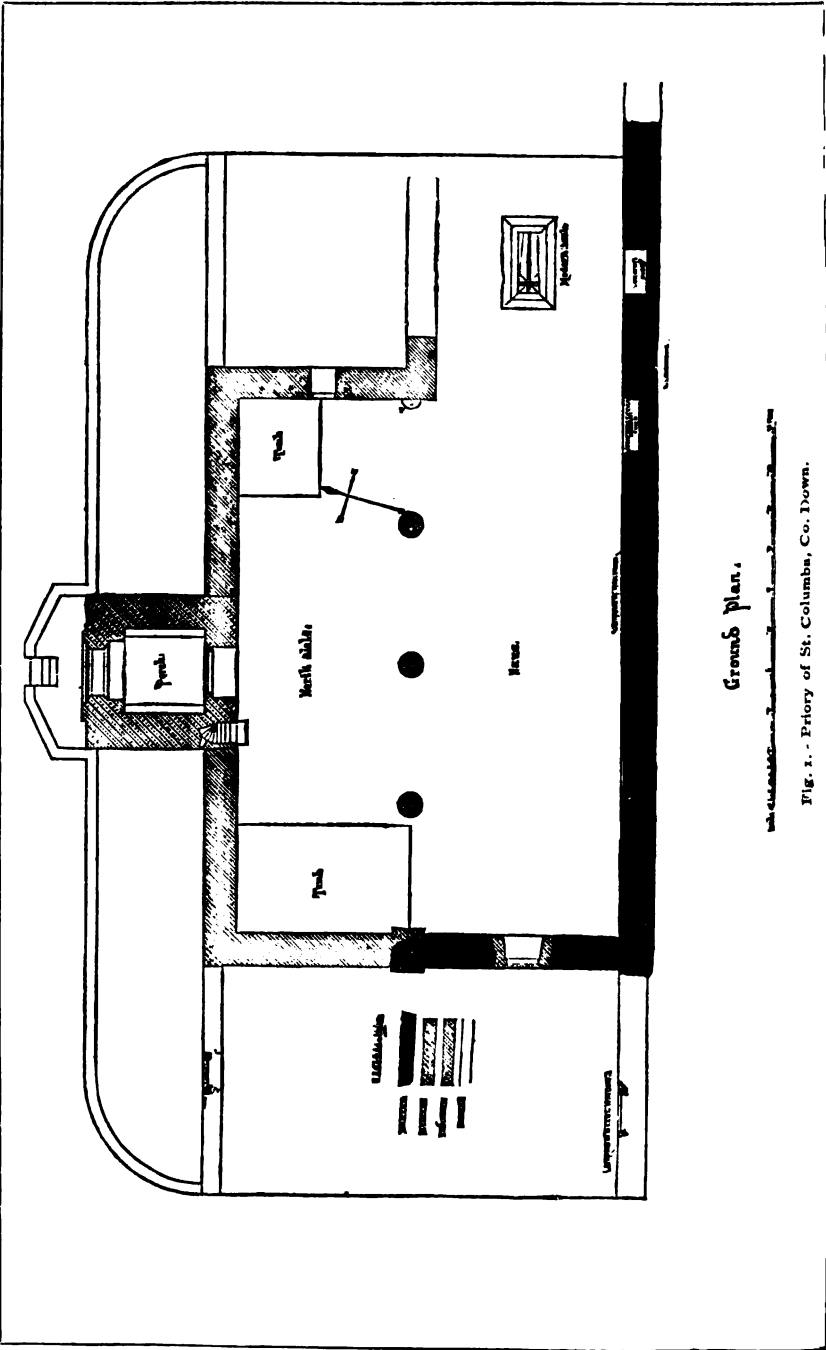
		Flakes.	Worked Flakes.	Scrapers.	Cores.	Hammers.	Rough Flint Celta.	Polished Flint Celta.	Pottery.	Arrow-heads.	Stone Celta.
SAND DUNES.	Bannmouth West, .	V C	C	C	F	F	R	R	C	F	—
	Bannmouth East, .	V C	C	C	F	F	R	—	C	F	—
	Portrush, Co. Antrim,	C	F	C	F	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Bushfoot, "	C	—	F	—	—	—	—	F	—	—
	Ballintoy, "	V C	C	V C	C	V C	F	—	V C	F	—
	Dundrum, Co. Down,	C	F	C	C	C	—	—	C	F	F
	Newcastle, "	C	—	C	C	F	—	—	F	—	—
RAISED BEACHES.	Cranfield, "	C	—	F	F	—	—	—	—	R	—
	Holywood, Co. Down,	V C	C	F	C	—	F	—	—	—	—
	Ballyhome, "	V C	C	F	C	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Kilroot, Co. Antrim,	V C	C	F	C	—	F	—	—	—	—
	Carrickfergus, "	V C	C	R	C	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Larne, "	V C	C	F	C	R	F	—	—	—	—
	Glynn, "	V C	F	—	C	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Ballygally, "	V C	F	F	C	—	F	—	—	—	—
DETACHED STATIONS.	Carnlough, "	V C	C	F	C	F	F	—	—	—	—
	Ormeau, Belfast, .	V C	C	C	C	F	F	F	—	F	F
	Toomebridge, . . .	V C	V C	C	F	—	F	—	—	F	V C
	Ballinderry, . . .	V C	F	F	F	F	—	—	—	—	—
	Ballintoy, Cliffheads,	V C	F	F	F	—	R	—	—	—	C
	Torr Head, . . .	V C	—	F	F	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Leestown, . . .	V C	—	—	F	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Island Magee, . . .	C	C	F	F	—	—	—	—	F	F
	Island Reagh, . . .	C	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Glenarm, . . .	V C	F	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Garron Tower, . . .	C	F	F	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Portglenone, . . .	C	F	F	F	—	F	—	—	—	F

Bronze articles are not commonly found associated with surface finds of rude flint implements. This is only what we may reasonably expect. Articles of that material are so well known, and so highly prized, that they are more likely to be picked up than rude stone implements. I have, however, picked up fragments of bronze on the sand dunes of Bannmouth, and at Toomebridge, where implements of all kinds are covered by the water. A very large number of bronze articles have been found intimately associated with the stone weapons; so much so, that during dredging operations the buckets of the dredge sometimes brought up articles of stone and bronze together. Recently a beautiful bronze spearhead, 21' long, two swords, and the central boss of a shield were dredged up, with polished celts and flint flakes.¹

CONCLUSION.

The results of my investigations, as above detailed, excites a strong temptation to dilate upon the period at which this country was first inhabited, and the character of the first settlers—Were they savages, or cannibals, or hunters of the Irish elk? but I will not enter upon this unprofitable speculation, assured that the bare recital of observed facts is far more desirable in the interests of our Association than any amount of theory, no matter with what ingenuity or plausibility it may be presented for our acceptance.

¹ As these articles are in my collection, "Journal" of the Association.
I will be happy to describe them in the



THE PRIORY OF ST. COLUMBA, NEWTOWNARDS, COUNTY
DOWN.

BY R. M. YOUNG, B. A., ARCHITECT.

THE remains of ecclesiastical buildings in Ulster are for the most part of a mean description, which must be attributed to the poverty of the native Irish, and the disturbed condition of the country, lying, as it did, without the Pale. Besides, as Dr. Reeves shows, the Scotch settlers began early to obliterate all traces of antiquity, and hence it is that Down and Antrim are so barren in architectural remains of any kind. The central portion of Down forms rather an exception, as in a compass of a few miles may still be found the well-preserved and beautiful remains of Grey Abbey, the less extensive Abbey of Inch, the church, now the Cathedral of Downpatrick, and the Priory of Newtownards, the subject of the present notice. Newtownards, now a flourishing town, is chiefly known in mediæval times through its connexion with ecclesiastical matters. It is sometimes referred to in the Latin form *Villa Nova*; sometimes in Irish, as *Ballynoe*, and even as *Bally-lisnevan*. The chief object of interest in the place is the building popularly known as the "Old Church," situated on the south side of the town, on what must have been at one time the margin of Strangford Lough. This ancient edifice—of which tradition has preserved so little record that in the excellent guide descriptive of the neighbourhood of Belfast, published in 1874, it is described as one of the finest post-Reformation churches erected in the county before the present century—mainly consists of the original church belonging to the Priory of St. Columba; the only existing portion erected in post-Reformation times being the tower. In Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*, the foundation of the Priory is ascribed to Walter de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, in the year 1244. This is confirmed by Dr. Reeves in his *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*. It was dedicated to St. Columba,

and occupied by monks of the Order of St. Dominic. Provincial chapters of the Order were held here in 1298, and again in 1312. Patrick O'Doran, the last Prior, voluntarily surrendered the Priory on the 1st February, 32nd year of King Henry VIII., being then seised of the same, and of the townlands of Newton, Kilcowmon, and Bearness, all in this county, of the annual value of 13s. 6d. Refections (fees payable as a commutation for the entertainment which the clergy were expected to provide for the bishop and archdeacon when they presided at their rural chapters) were payable by the Priory.—“Dominicani de Villa Nova debebant Refectionem episcopo, videlicet, esculenta et potulenta.”—*Terrier of Down and Connor*, 1615. The rectory of Newton was appropriate to the Dominican Priory. King James I. granted the Priory and lands to James Viscount Clancaboy, and afterwards by assignment to Montgomery, Viscount Ards, who built a house in connexion with the church in 1618. It was burnt by servants' carelessness in 1664, and the whole manor sold to Sir Robert Colvil in 1675. The church now consists of a nave and north aisle, with a tower projecting from the centre of the external side-wall of the latter. There are also traces of a chancel. The nave is the only existing part of the church, which dates back to the foundation in the year 1244. The west and south walls remain tolerably perfect; the eastern extremity of the latter has formed a portion of the choir or chancel, as a hagioscope or leeper's window with a priest's door adjacent, both now built up, indicate. There is a recess in the interior, near these, which seems to have been a wall tomb of the thirteenth century. The windows lighting nave, the string-course and eave-moulding on the south side, with the chamfered buttress and window on the west side, exhibit in an unmistakable manner, the peculiar treatment of the thirteenth century. A number of simply-moulded corbels placed below the windows on the exterior of the south wall seem to have supported a pent roof, which, perhaps, formed a covered passage or cloister, for the monks coming from the domestic buildings to the church. This

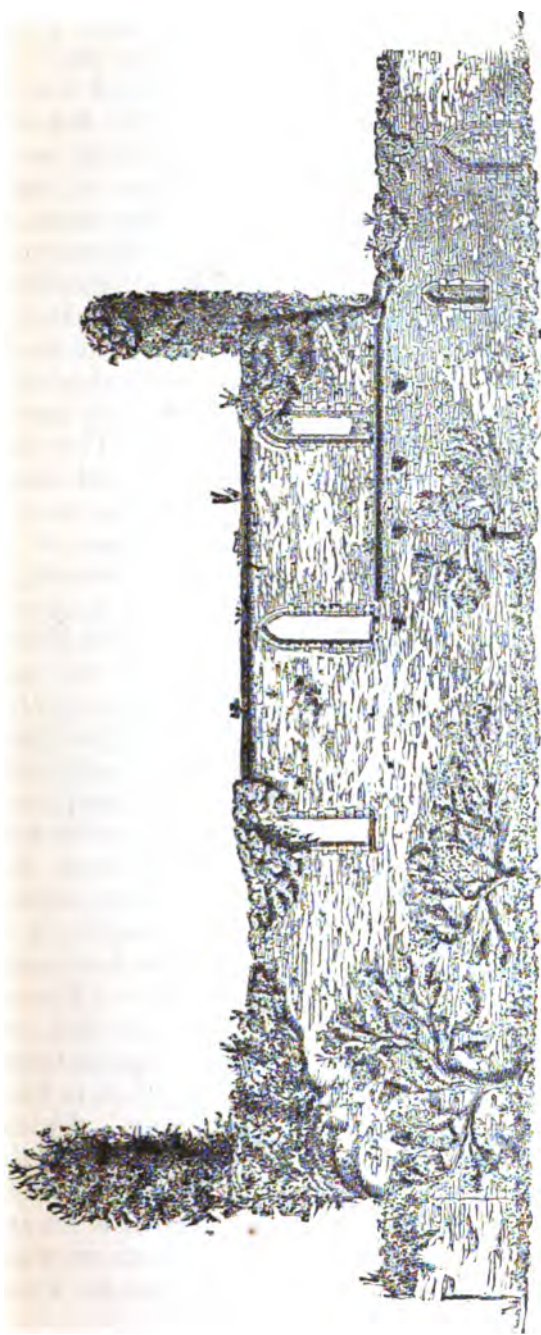


Fig. 2.—Priory of St. Columba, Co. Down.

[SOUTH ELEVATION.]

passage-way, with some slight remains to the westward of the church, form the sole vestiges now visible of the connexion of the building with the once extensive monastery. It was probably found in the fifteenth century that the accommodation for the laity as distinguished from the clergy was insufficient, as the north aisle then added extends only four bays in length, and is conterminous with the nave. At this time, the western doorway, with its characteristic Irish treatment of the label terminations, superseded in all likelihood an earlier opening, as may be seen by the disturbed appearance of the stonework. The columns and arches forming the nave arcade are excellent examples of fifteenth-century work, the capitals and arch mouldings being well designed for their position. The bases of the columns are completely covered up with earth. The windows have their jambs rebated for wooden frames, being in this respect similar to those of the thirteenth century portion, but have label mouldings, which the others have not. The windows in the tower, about to be described, have grooved jambs to receive glass. It should be stated in connexion with this aisle of the fifteenth century, that in the Montgomery MSS. it is related that—"Here (in Newtownards) is also a fair long church, part whereof were the walls of a Priory, but new walls were erected, and a new church, which hath a square tower five storeys high, and a great bell in it, joined without any partition, but large free-stone pillars and arches, all which now roofed, slated, and made by the said first Lord Montgomery, in his lifetime, and by his order and legacys after his death." Harris, in his *Description of Down*, says:—"The old Church of Newtown is a large building, divided into isles by four handsome stone arches of the Dorick Order. It was finished, or at least repaired and adorned, in 1632, as appears by an inscription on the pulpit. Another inscription on a stone over the north entrance shows that the steeple was finished in the year 1366. The door, which affords an entrance under the steeple, is an arch curiously ornamented with carved work in stone, where may be seen the arms of the Montgomerys, under which,

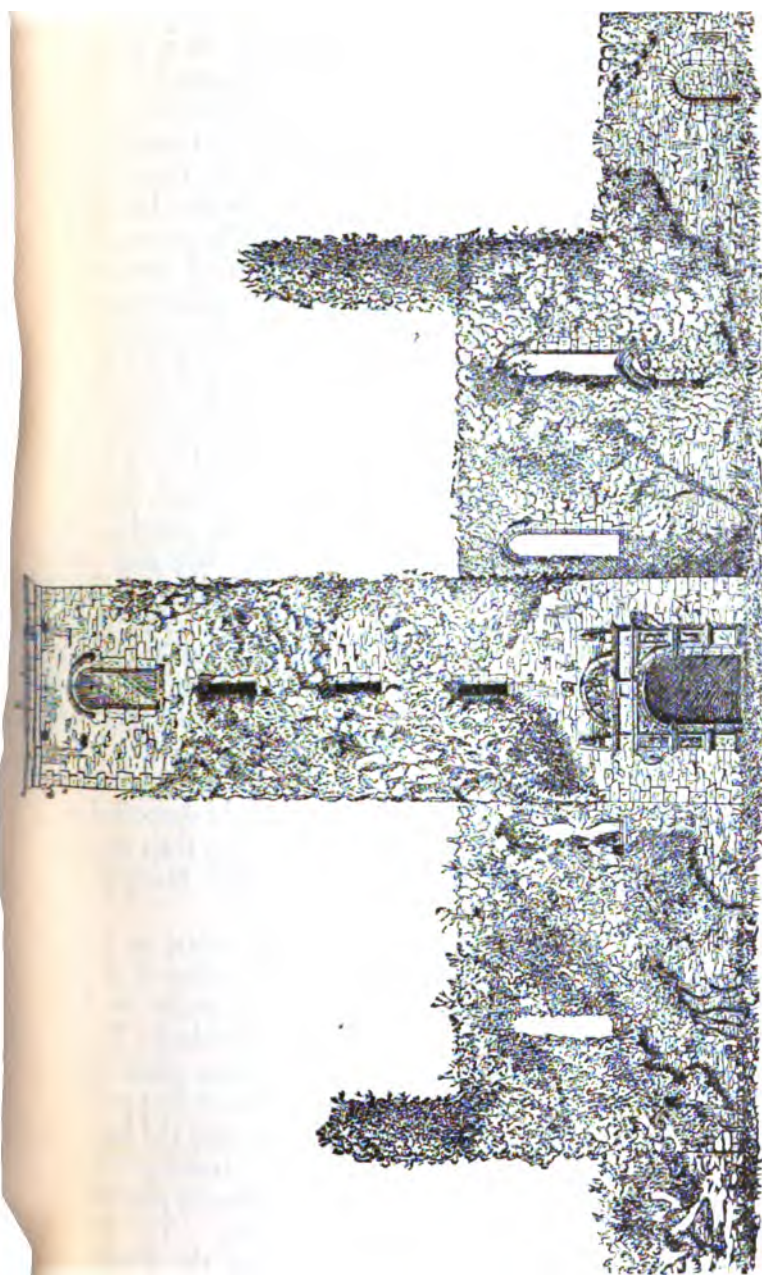


Fig. 3.—Priory of St. Columba, Co. Down.

[NORTH ELEVATION.]

and over the portal, are these letters in cypher, "N.A." The steeple is but moderately high, yet neatly built, and a spire of hewn stone erected lately on it gives it a handsome appearance." Both these statements seem impossible, by a comparison with the architecture of the edifice as it exists. The tower added by Lord Montgomery is in quite a different and later style than either the nave or aisle. It is a square erection in the Jacobean taste, and has lost the spire which originally crowned it. The doorway is a characteristic example of the style, with an elliptic arched head flanked by pilasters, and surmounted by a kind of pediment profusely sculptured with foliage and strapwork. On each jamb of the inner doorway is a small head cleverly incised, in profile, possibly meant for likenessess of the architect and the contractor. The upper stages are approached by a small winding stair in one angle. The belfry stage, lighted by four semicircular-headed windows with labels, still contains the bell, which is of considerable size and graceful form, and is ornamented by a band of foliage cast upon the exterior. The church contains three interesting tombs of the Colvil family, with incised coats of arms filled in with lead, dating from the commencement of the eighteenth century. The vault of the Londonderry family is within the buildings. The church, which in 1854 is mentioned by Dr. Reeves as used for a courthouse, was soon afterwards despoiled of its roof, and completely dismantled by the then rector. It is now kept in excellent order by the Marquis of Londonderry.

The accompanying illustrations will assist in comprehending the principal features of the church as at present existing. The shading of the walls on the ground plan is explained by the index attached. From this it is seen how much alteration has taken place since the thirteenth century, the existing walls of that period being coloured black. The priests' door and the hagioscope are seen to the right-hand of the drawing of the south elevation, which shows the most perfectly preserved portion of the thirteenth century church. The west elevation shows the inserted doorway of the fifteenth

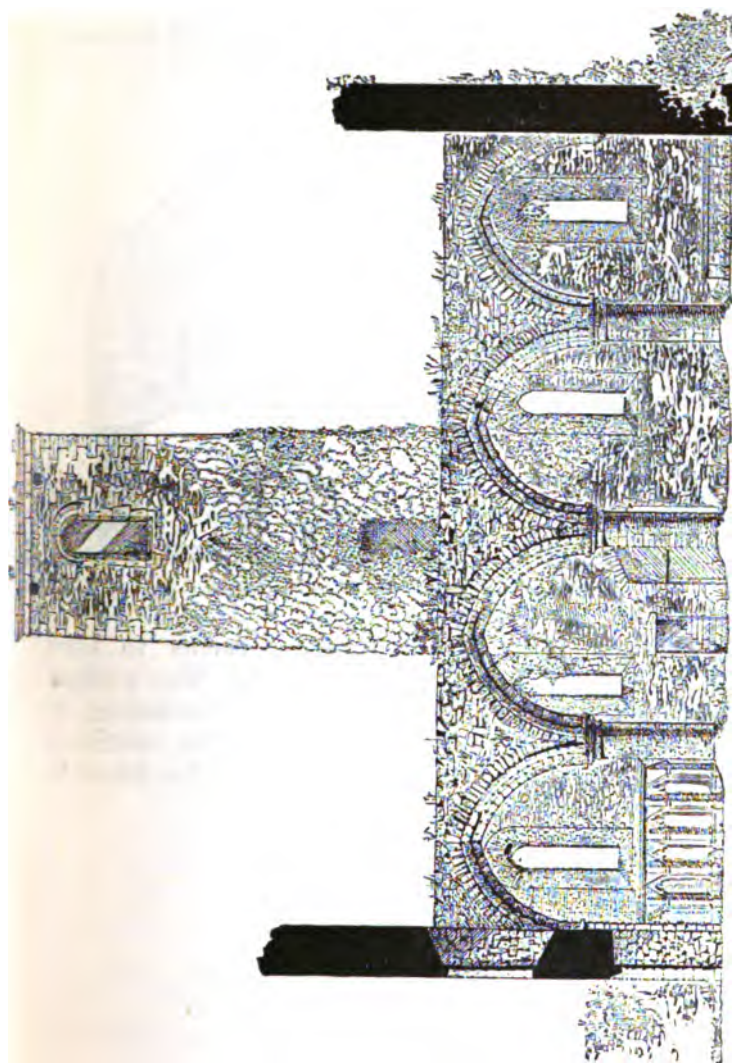


Fig. 4.—Priory of St. Columba, Co. Down.

[SECTION LOOKING NORTH.]

century in the original west gable, with its flat chamfered buttress of the thirteenth century separating it from the fifteenth century gable of the aisle. The north elevation shows the position of the tower added by Lord Montgomery, with its debased classic doorway previously mentioned. The segmental-headed doorway

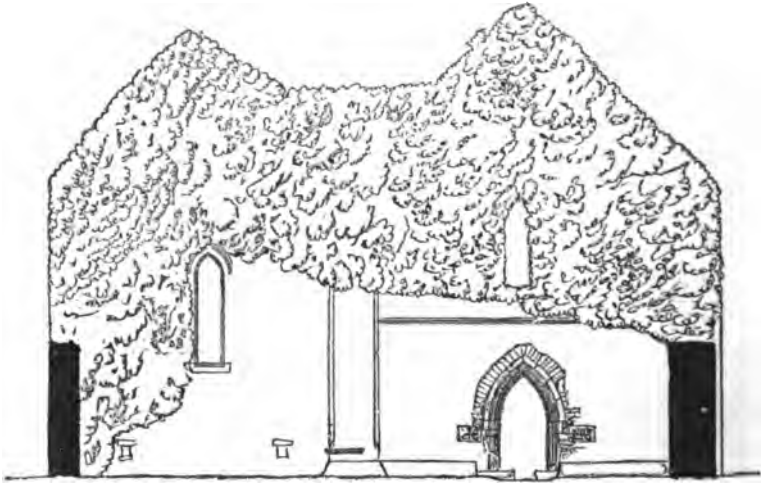


Fig. 5.—Priory of St. Columba, Co. Down.—West Elevation.

at the extreme right of the drawing seems to have formed part of the house built in 1618. The vertical slab built into the wall beside it is a tombstone of probably the fifteenth century work. The sectional elevation shows the arcade and pillars of the fifteenth century.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT A QUARTERLY MEETING, held in the Royal Institution, Cork, on Wednesday, October the 15th, 1879 ;

M. LENIHAN, J.P., M.R.I.A., in the Chair ;

The following new Members were elected :—

Walter Myers, F.S.A., M.R.I.A, Gloucester Crescent, London.

Miss Alicia M. Kearney, Grace Dieu, Waterford.

Charles Brooke Jones, B.A., L.E.E., The Mall, Sligo.

John Egan, Richmond-hill, Cork.

Mr. J. H. Kinahan wrote, directing attention to the state of the ecclesiastical ruins at Devenish. The Board of Works had lately raised a number of carved stones there, which were now being knocked about and broken—some of them evidently with the intention of carrying bits of them away. If something were not done, those stones would be all destroyed. He suggested that they should be built into one of the walls, or, if not, buried. They evidently belonged to the older church near the lake shore, and it was there they ought to be placed. He also called attention to the state of the cross at the same place, which was of the most friable stone, and he suggested that it should be washed with the composition used to preserve sandstone. He also reported that near Bundoran there existed not long ago extensive stone forts, earthworks, and tumuli, in which there were large

kistvains and standing stones, and in one a cairn. They had been most shamefully treated—all more or less broken down, and in some cases the stones carried away. It was a shame that those old structures should be wantonly destroyed, more especially as other stones could have been easily procured to build the walls in the locality. He had heard that in the cairn various human remains were found, but none of them were preserved, except some bits of a skull, which were rescued by Mr. Wakeman.

The Rev. Canon Hayman submitted to the meeting a drawing of the submarine crannoge discovered on the peat under high water-mark at Ardmore Bay by Mr. R. J. Ussher. He had a communication from Mr. Ussher, which was one of exceeding interest. The letter stated:—

“The crannoge is on the shore close to Ardmore, where a small stream runs into the sea between Ardmore Chapel and the old Coastguard houses. This little stream describes a semicircle around the crannoge at low water, but at high water the whole thing is covered by the sea. When I was a boy a great bank of shingle covered the crannoge in whole or in part, but the rapid denudation going on there, from the action of the sea, has removed the shingle, and is wearing down the bed of turf, so that ere many years elapse no crannoge may be left. The turf is over nine feet deep still in places where the poles are driven into it. These are of oak, and are rudely pointed with a hatchet, and form a double *enciente* or ring fence. They are, for the most part, large—as thick as a man's thigh—and stand in many cases above the turf. There are many more small piles. Those piles I have especially seen in the south-east quarter of the crannoge. The rows of small piles of which I saw the indications were probably the remains of wattled partitions. Whatever implements or other loose relics may have been in the crannoge have probably been long since washed away with the surface of the turf. I dug in several places, and found no traces of man, but some charcoal two feet below the surface in one spot. There is a rule of the estate against allowing the turf to be cut, and I fear that permission for further excavation could not be obtained, and I don't see much use in digging more. Professor A. Leith Adams is coming to stay here to determine the animal remains found in my cave, for the purpose of our report to the Royal Irish Academy.”

Canon Hayman continued to say, that it was a singular thing to have a crannoge on the sea shore. He had an idea that it must have existed when Ireland was not in its present insular position, but when it was part

of the Continent. A good many eminent geologists considered that their present harbours were lakes in the prehistoric times. He was himself aware that that particular part of the shore near Youghal was a submerged forest, and no matter where they might dig they would find the remains of trees. He was glad to see, by an announcement in a local paper the other day, that the discovery of this crannoge was exercising the English archæological societies a good deal at present, and that there was a probability of their investigating it fully in conjunction with other kindred societies of France and Germany.

Canon Hayman also presented to the Association an impression on wax from a seal of the Dean and Chapter of Ross, bearing the date of 1661. It was engraved very successfully in Dr. Caulfield's book, Pl. vi., Fig. 15, which he brought with him. The seal represented a round tower, existing to the west of the church, and Dr. Caulfield stated, and no doubt it must be the case, that there was a round tower at the Ross Cathedral in ancient times.

Dr. Caulfield said that he had some evidence of there having been a round tower at the Ross Cathedral.

Rev. Canon Hayman—This seal is very interesting, for it preserves the chief evidence of the existence of a round tower which is at present available.

The following communication relative to Megalithic remains at Carrowmore was addressed to the Rev. James Graves, Hon. Sec.:—

“MARRKEE CASTLE, COLLOONEY, IRELAND,
“*9th August, 1879.*”

“DEAR SIR,—Your letter only reached me a short time before I left London, and after the meeting of the R. H. A. Association in Belfast; but even if it had reached me sooner, I could not have furnished you with the information you required from London.

“Since my return here, and for the last fortnight, I have been very busy driving about the country with Mr. Wakeman, who I have employed to examine and make drawings of those abbeys and churches, &c., which he was unable to complete last year. We devoted Thursday last to a careful examination of the megalithic remains at Carrowmore, and I now send you a copy of our notes, following the order as given in Dr. Petrie's

report, dated August 12th, 1837, p. 433, 'Ordnance Survey Papers of the County of Sligo,' Vol. ii. :—

- "No. 1. No further injury.
- "No. 2. Only 7 stones remain, partly built into a wall.
- "No. 3. Only 29 stones of the outer circle remain, and one stone in the middle; all the upright stones forming the carved circle have been carried away.
- "No. 4. Cromleac uninjured; but one stone of the outer circle remains (drawn by Mr. Wakeman).
- "Nos. 5, 6. Destroyed.
- "No. 7. Uninjured, 34 stones in outer circle; 7 stones, including the covering-stone, form the cromleac.
- "Nos. 8, 9. Uninjured.
- "No. 10. 7 large stones remain of the outer circle, and one stone in the centre.
- "No. 11. Uninjured.
- "Nos. 12, 13. Uninjured. Cromleac (drawn by Mr. Wakeman).
- "No. 14. Only one stone now remains.
- "No. 15. Uninjured (drawn by Mr. Wakeman).
- "No. 16. Only 3 stones of the outer circle remain; covering of the cromleac gone; 2 upright stones in the centre remain.
- "No. 17. Covering-stone of the cromleac removed; 13 stones of the outer circle remain.
- "No. 18. Mr. Wakeman calls this a sepulchral mound, about 5 feet high, surrounded by a circle of 18 stones; uninjured.
- "No. 19. 5 stones on the N. side have fallen out and have rolled into a sand-pit—a danger which threatens the S. side from the working of another sand-pit, which is being pushed in between this and the next circle. The stones forming the centre grave remain. (Drawn by Mr. Wakeman; and the tenant, a very civil old man, cautioned not to allow any one to dig for gravel near these circles.)
- "No. 20. Uninjured.
- "No. 21. Only one stone now remains.
- "No. 22. Cromleac entirely removed; about 38 stones of the outer circle remain.
- "No. 23. Cromleac destroyed; 5 of the supporters remain; the outer circle uninjured. (These three included in one sketch by Mr. Wakeman.)
- "No. 24. Uninjured.
- "No. 25. Destroyed.
- "Nos. 26, 27. Uninjured.
- "Nos. 28, 29. Both destroyed.
- "No. 30. One stone remains to show the place.
- "No. 31. Destroyed.
- "No. 32. Uninjured.
- "Nos. 33, 34. Quite destroyed.
- "No. 35. One or two stones only remain.
- "No. 36. Only one upright stone of the cromleac remains; the outer circle uninjured.
- "No. 37. Uninjured (drawn by Mr. Wakeman).

- "Nos. 38, 39. In the same state as seen by Dr. Petrie.
 "Nos. 40, 41. Completely destroyed.
 "Nos. 42, 43, 44, 45. Nearly in same state as seen by Dr. Petrie.
 "[Note by Mr. Wakeman.—Straight lines of stones between these circles, which appear to partake of the alignment class.]
 "No. 46. Not much altered since Dr. Petrie's time.
 "No. 47. do. do.
 "No. 48. Cromleac uninjured, but much sunk in the ground; only one stone, very large, of the outer circle remains.
 "No. 49. Cromleac destroyed; only one of the upright stones remains; outer circle nearly uninjured.
 "No. 50. Destroyed.
 "No. 51. The stones of the cairn nearly all carried away; the original dimensions, however, can still be traced. The central cromleac chamber, which is said by the old people in the neighbourhood to be very large and deep, has been nearly filled with stones thrown in by boys, but is otherwise uninjured.

"As by this time it was getting late in the afternoon, we were unable to identify Nos. 52-59. There, however, remain uninjured one cromleac without a circle (drawn by Mr. Wakeman); one circle without a cromleac; and one so-called giant's grave, without covering-stones or circle; and a circle in great part buried in stones collected to clear the field. There are the remains of two or three other circles, but until the crops are carried away, it will not be possible to lay them down correctly on the map.

"No. 60. The Caltragh. Uninjured.

"This completes the series of monuments grouped together round Listoghill. We had not time to visit those further north on the townlands of Barnescraca and Grange. The grave from which Mr. Wakeman sent you the rubbings is about one mile to the S. E., and does not appear to have been seen or known to Dr. Petrie. Mr. Wakeman seems to think it belongs to another time and people; but he will probably write to you on the subject.

"With regard to the monument in Mr. Wynne's deer-park, which you told me had much interested Mr. Hardman, it appears that there is an incorrect model of it in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and consequently an incorrect wood-cut in Wilde's 'Catalogue,' as Mr. Wakeman drew it from the model. Mr. Wakeman has now drawn it on the spot, and his sketch will show that there are three lintels in their original positions.

"Yours very truly,

"EDWARD H. COOPER."

Mr. Day exhibited to the Association a bronze pectoral cross, found at Armagh Cathedral, accompanied by the following observations:—

"In the year 1814, at St. Mary's Church, Youghal, and in the tomb of Bishop Bennett, of Cloyne, a bronze pectoral cross was found by the workmen. This has been fully described by our learned Associate, the Rev. Canon Hayman, and figured by him in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. ii., p. 114.

"At the recent meeting of the British Medical Association, in Cork, one of its members, M. A. Bazille Corbin, Esq., Inspector-General, Militia, Medical Department, Guernsey, having heard of the Youghal cross, brought with him another, similar in material and external outline, but differing in the figures and inscription upon its obverse and reverse faces, which, at about the same time, was found near the ruined chapel of St. Appoline, in Guernsey. This he wished to compare with the Youghal cross, but he had to leave Cork without being able to glean any information upon the subject. I had not the pleasure of making Dr. Corbin's personal acquaintance when in Cork, but we have since then corresponded, and he has sent me photographs of his cross, which I am enabled to lay before you, with his letter describing it, which I quote at length, as the archæological information it contains will prove interesting to many of our Members:—

"The cross is of bell-metal, strongly gilt, and on one side represents the miraculous conversion of the Moorish governor of Carravacca. The Chapel of St. Appoline, near where it was found, is the oldest Christian place of worship now existing in Guernsey—supposed date eighth century—and although desecrated since the Reformation, is, as far as the building is concerned, in good preservation. It was purchased by "the States" some ten or twelve years ago, to ensure its not being destroyed. It is situated near Perelle Bay, on the west coast, about 500 yards from the beach. The whole neighbourhood is replete with interest to the archæologist. About a quarter of a mile to the north is the Mont-Saint: the name indicates some former connexion with religious rites, although at present there are no remains of any religious structure, either Christian or pagan. A little to the south is the Hill of Catiorec. When I was a boy no peasant would have crossed this hill on a Friday night, witches being supposed to hold their Sabbaths there. A little nearer the sea is a very perfect cromlech, called "le Trepied." Jutting out into the sea is a ledge of rocks called "la Chapelle Dom Hus." From the quantity of flint chippings found there, it must have been a manufactory of flint implements from imported materials, as the formation of Guernsey is granite. A little further south is another cromlech and a fine pillar-stone, or menhir, upwards of ten feet high."

"We now have the cross of Bishop Bennett and this Guernsey cross before us. There is, however, yet another in my collection, which these help to illustrate, and which I now exhibit. This cross is identical with the others in size and shape, and in the material used in its construction. Some years ago a valuable collection of antiquities was disposed of by private sale in the Co. Carlow, a portion of which was purchased for me by our fellow-member, W. J. Gillespie, Esq., of Whitehall, Co. Dublin. One of the choicest objects in this purchase is this Episcopal cross. All I know of its history is, that it was found some thirty or forty years ago in the graveyard at Armagh adjoining the Cathedral, and was purchased by Mr. Kelly, s.r., r.i.c., in whose collection it remained for many years. It is made of bronze, and, like the Youghal cross, has a hinged back, which closes down, and forms a secure resting place for relics, some of which may still be seen through the rose and cross-shaped piercings of the cover. It differs, however, in the lettering upon the obverse and in the figures displayed upon it. The Youghal cross has a figure of the Crucified Redeemer, with the

prayer of the penitent thief, 'Domine memento mei,' and at the foot a morte head; it is not so elaborate in its symbols as the Armagh crucifix, which, like it, has the INRI above the Saviour's head. Beneath His feet is a small figure of the Blessed Virgin, standing in the crescent moon. While on the reverse of the Guernsey cross is a large figure of the Madonna standing on an *inverted* crescent—a mode of treating the subject which I have no recollection of meeting before. Beneath all is a death's head and cross bones. This cross of mine differs from the others in having an angel at each side of the upright limb, supporting it. But, like the others, it is Episcopal in form, *i.e.* with a double cross-beam: to the upper and shorter the figure is nailed, and on the lower and longer cross-beam are two raised stars of eight points, and what appear to be minor emblems of the Passion.

"Canon Hayman assigns the Youghal cross to the reign of Henry VIII., from which period it is more than probable all three may date."

Mr. Westrop exhibited a bronze medal, which was found some years ago at Glanmire. *Obv.*—The angel delivering the message of our Saviour's birth to the B. V. M. *Rev.*—A shield charged with five flags wavy, with letters V. D.; beneath the date 1605; the entire surmounted with a crown.

Mr. G. J. Hewson sent the following note on an Irish Penny of Edward IV.:

"The coin of which I enclose a drawing has come into my possession within the last fortnight. I do not know where it was found, having got it from a gentleman in Scotland who is a collector of Scotch coins, and who sometimes sends me Irish or English coins when he happens to get them. It is a Dublin penny of Edward IV. of a rather unusual type, the three pellets in each quarter of the cross on reverse, which had been in use for centuries, being entirely replaced by the same number of other objects: an annulet, in two of the quarters is not unusual on the coins of Edward IV., as well as of the previous Lancastrian kings; and the substitution of some other object for one of the pellets in two opposite quarters is not unusual on the coins of Edward IV. and Richard III.; but this penny belongs to the only coinage with which I am acquainted, on which *all* the pellets are replaced by other objects. I have given enlarged figures of those objects. No. 1 is a cinquefoil with a very distinct circular hole in the centre; it is quite plain, and is not a pierced mullet or star. No. 2 is a circular object with a number of very small rays or prongs round it, but whether it is intended for a star, a sun, or what, I cannot say; but it certainly is not a rose. Those two objects are arranged symmetrically in the quarters of the



Dublin Penny, Ed. IV.

reverse—one of No. 1 and two of No. 2 in two opposite quarters; and one of No. 2 and two of No. 1 in the alternate quarters;—there is a rose on centre of cross. No. 1 also appears on obverse at right side of neck and left side of crown, and No. 2 at left side of neck and right side of crown. The coin is greatly clipped, and the only letters which I can make out are DWA on obverse and VBLIN C on reverse, but they are fortunately quite enough to show exactly what the coin is; it weighs seven grains. I strongly suspect that this is the same penny which is mentioned in Snelling's Supplement to Simon, page 4, and figured from a very poor specimen at Fig. 26 of his first additional plate. I am not at present able to refer to Dr. Aquilla Smith's Papers on the Irish coins of Edward IV., published in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*. I send the drawing and description of this coin, in the hope that it may prove interesting to some of my brother members of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland who have made a study, or are inclined to make a study, of Irish coins. I would feel very much obliged to anyone who could give me a reference to the vol., page, and plate of *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, if this penny or the corresponding groat or half-groat is described and figured by Dr. Smith."

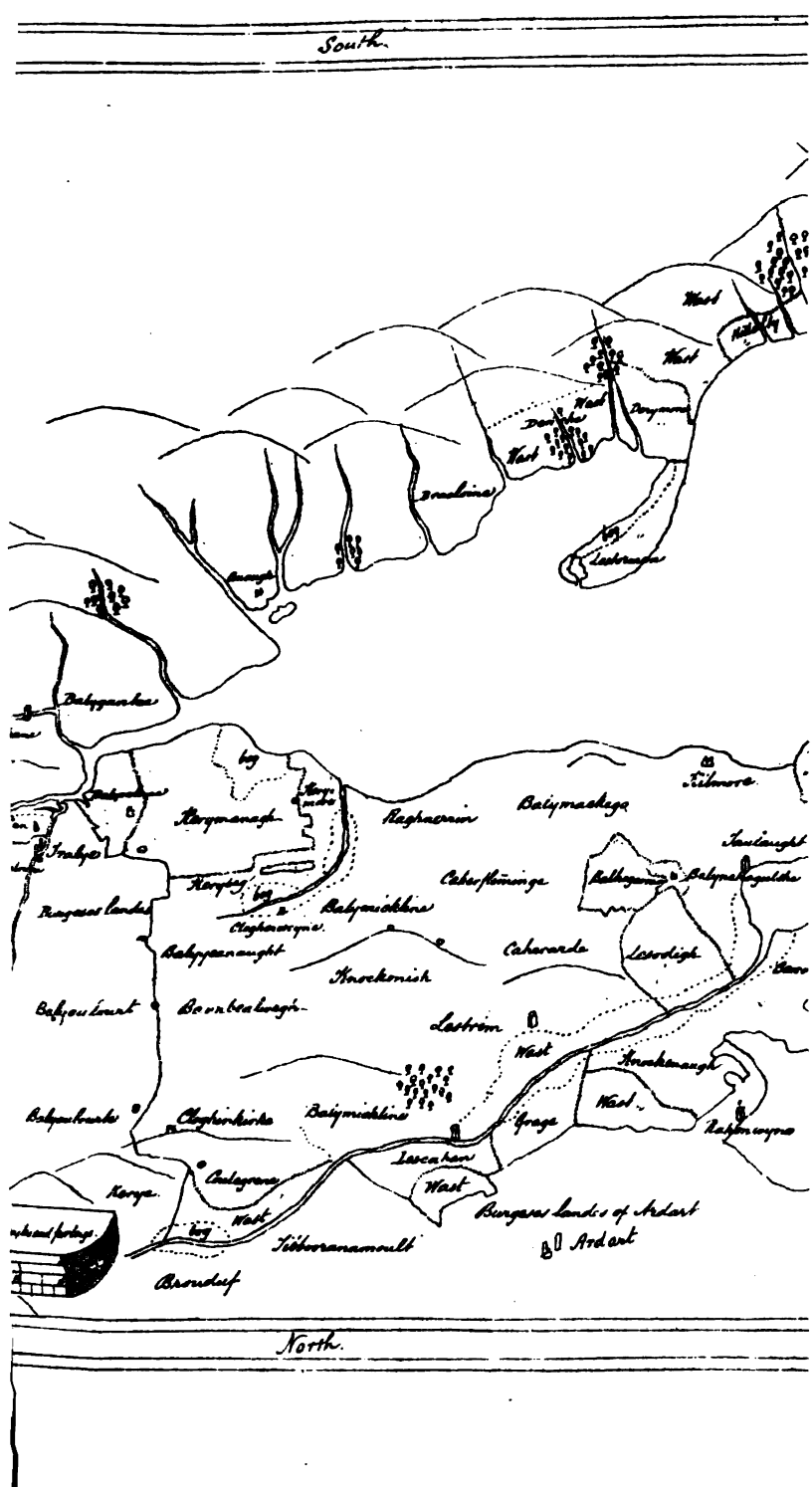
The following is the reference desired:—

"There are several Dublin pennies, which were probably coined about this time (1470); they rarely exhibit the legends entire, but may be readily recognised by their reverses, which bear a cross, having a small rose in its centre, and the legend CIVITAS DUBLIN. In the quarters of the cross there are alternately two roses and a sun, and two suns and a rose, instead of pellets, as in the coins of the next section. The former weighs nine grains; the latter only six."—*Trans. R. I. A.*, Vol. xix., Antiq. p. 20, Plate II., Figs. 34, 35, 36, 37. No. 36, Plate II., seems to correspond with the specimen engraved with this Paper.—ED.

The following Papers were read:—



South.



The description of the manner and of
Travels in the lands adjoining Pak
not to his own⁴ included in a list
containing of English measures &c
The probable intermingled
are different
but with a kind
of good



NOTES ON KERRY TOPOGRAPHY, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

BY MISS HICKSON.

On the 8th of March, 1587, three years after the death, in rebellion, of Gerald FitzGerald, the great Palatine Earl of Desmond, when his vast principality, as it may be called, was being broken up, and, under the new regime, divided amongst scores of knights and gentlemen of English blood, whose descendants, with plenty of Geraldine and Celtic blood¹ in their veins, form no inconsiderable portion of the nobility and gentry of Munster at this day, Sir Thomas Norreys, Vice-President of Munster, wrote to Lord Burghley a letter, still to be seen in the London Record Office, announcing that he had "delyvered the possession of Traly to Mr. Denny." By "Traly" Sir Thomas meant not merely the borough, with its ruined castles, abbey, and burgess lands, but a wide district around it, stretching for miles along the north and south sides of Tralee Bay, and extending inland eastward towards Castle Island and Killarney. The accompanying map, made in September, 1587, of this fair estate, with its picturesque mountain-ranges and bays, its woods, rich lowland pastures, and moors, thickly dotted with little ancient cells or churches and prehistoric monuments, which Queen Elizabeth granted to Edward (afterwards Sir Edward) Denny, the younger son of her father's best friend, Sir Anthony Denny, and his Champernoun wife (the aunt of Raleigh and Gilbert), is evidently for the time a fairly accurate one, and a full one for its dimensions. The manor of Traly is sometimes called in

¹ In no part of Ireland has the fusion of English and old Irish blood been more complete than in Kerry. The present owner of Tralee, Sir Edward Denny, Bart., and the Earl of Kenmare descend from the third and fifth daughters of Gerald, Earl of Desmond, part of whose palatinate Sir Edward Denny and Sir Valentine Browne (ancestor of the Earls

of Kenmare), of 1584, obtained from Elizabeth. As the rebel Earl's only son died unmarried, his daughters, but for the attainder and forfeiture, would have been his heirs. Lord Kenmare and Sir Edward Denny also descend from the O'Sullivan, MacCarthys, O'Briens, O'Carrolls, O'Connors, and other Irish septa.

the old records the Manor of Tallaght and the Seignory of Dennyvale. The following extracts relating to some of its chief divisions, and the rents and tributes payable out of them in and before 1584, are taken from a copy made by the Record Office of portion of the Inquisition by the "Commissioners authorised for surveying and extending all the possessions of Gerald, late Earl of Desmond, and others attainted, by virtue of a Commission under the Great Seal, dated xxiv^o August, anno xxvi, Elizabeth," which copy is amongst the Denny muniments. These extracts are interesting, not only as illustrations of the social state of the palatinate, its rents, customary dues, &c., but for the light which they throw on some hitherto obscure points of Irish topography:—

"Rents called Chief Rents issuing out of the lands of divers free tenants of the half barony or cantred called the half Toaghkahedde¹ of Offariba, otherwise ffarbowe, arising from the towns and lands following, namely, from the town and lands called Ballymdromagh² 9"; the town and lands called Cahirvisilly³ 4"; the town and lands of Loghorte Cananne, otherwise Loughlancannane 10"; the town and lands of Ballinawl⁴ 8"; the lands of Knockynagh⁵ 10"; from the town and lands of Thomastowne 4"; and the town and lands of Ballylodyny 4"; and so on the entire money called halface (*sic*) annually, to be paid at the feasts of Easter and of Saint Michael the archangel, in equal portions, 40^o 9^d. halface, making of lawful money of England, liv."

"Rents of the customary lands called chargeable lands, issuing annually out of all the chargeable lands within the aforesaid half barony or Tuoghkahede of Offariba, otherwise ffarbowe, namely, in money called halface, 96 marks, at the aforesaid feasts of Easter and of Saint Michael the archangel, making of lawful money of

¹ Toaghkahedde seems a corruption of the Irish *tricha cede*, thirty hundreds, but it is spelt in three different ways in the official transcript signed by Sir James Ware (*Joyce's Irish Names of Places*, vol. i. pp. 116, 221).

² This name is now unknown, unless Ballybroman, a farm near Ardfert, be a corruption of it.

³ Cahirvisilly may have been the place near Tralee now known as Cahirslee, the residence of William Hilliard, Esq., J.P.,

but the Cahir has disappeared.

⁴ Ballinawl, as well as Thomastowne and Ballolydny, have changed names, and their situation is now unknown.

⁵ Knockynagh is marked Knockenaugh on the accompanying map and on the Ordnance Sheet (No. 28) a little to the north-west of Listrim. There are several *Liasses*, or forts, on this farm, but none of them to be compared in size with a triple fort on Barrow, to be noticed hereafter.

England 85^l. 6^s. 8^d., and 48 cows, to be delivered yearly on the first day of May: the which cows are valued by the Commissioners at the rate of 13^s. 4^d. for each cow, that is, 32^l., and so in all by the year, . . . cxviii^l. vi^s. viii^d.

"Rents of divers other customary lands issuing out of the half Troghkahedde of Browne Contlow, and Cologohay, being chargeable lands, out of which there were rendered to the aforesaid late Earl annually 96 marks in money called halface, making of money of England 85^l. 6^s. 8^d., to be paid yearly as above, and 48 cows, large and fat, at the rate of 13^s. 4^d. sterling for each cow, to be delivered as before, amounting to 32^l. of lawful money of England. And further, the tenants of the said lands were held chargeable to supply victuals to the retainers and servants of the aforesaid late Earl of Desmond, so often and so long as he shall pass through and remain within the barony aforesaid, with food and lodging, as well for horsemen as for footmen, and his followers, called horseboys, galloglasses, and kernes. And also the aforesaid whole Toghe was charged with lodging and victuals for 48 galloglasses and 48 boys attending upon the said galloglasses, who were retained throughout the whole year, at the charges and expenses of the whole barony aforesaid, the which charges and expenses, together with the other charges aforesaid, are valued by the aforesaid Commissioners, in lawful money of England, by the year, at the rate of three pence by the day for one galloglas and his boy, at 219^l. And so, in the whole, by the year in money aforesaid, to be paid at the said feasts of Easter and of Saint Michael the archangel, equally, . . . cccxxxviii^l. vi^s. viii^d.

BARONY OR CANTRED OF OFFARIBA, O'RWIS ARBOWE.

"fee ffarms of divers castles, towns, and tenements being within the barony or cantred aforesaid, namely, the castle and town of Listroan, otherwise Lystrime, containing one quarter of land worth by the year 66^s. 8^d.; the castle, town, and land of Ballinroe,¹ with their appurtenances, which are now ruinous and waste, containing by estimation 60 acres of arable land, meadows, feedings, pastures, boggs, and other waste lands, lately in the tenure of Thomas Browne attainted, worth by the year 40^s.; one parcel of land called Cloghanin ffynalymore,² containing 280 acres of land, whereof 260 are of the lands chargeable

¹ Ballinroe, now called Ballyroe, is a farm between Tralee and Ardfer.

² Cloghanin Fynalymore is not now found on any map of Kerry, but the place

is probably either Cloneen, in Killahan parish, or Cloonafneela, in Kilfyn parish, both in Clanmaurice barony.

with the Shraghe¹ and Marte² to the Troghkahedde of Offariba, otherwise ffarbowe, in Creoghe Brownoghe, and there above charged in the Toghe aforesaid within the sum of 117^l. 6^s. 8^d., and the residue containing 20 acres of free land is worth by the year 13^l. 4^s.; the village of Ballyshymykin,³ containing of the like lands 60 acres of free land, which are worth by the year 40^l.; one parcell of the like free land called Ballinglanybegg,⁴ containing 40 acres, which are worth by the year 26^l. 8^s.; one parcel of the like land called [], containing 40 acres, worth by the year 26^l. 8^s.; one parcel called Ballineskrine,⁵ containing 40 acres, worth by the year 26^l. 8^s.; one parcel of land called Nyneen Connyn,⁶ containing 40 acres of land, worth by the year 26^l. 8^s.; and also the town with the lands called Knockpoke,⁷ containing 240 acres of arable land, meadow pasture, the bogs and other waste lands, worth by the year 8^l.; the which castle, towns, and parcels aforesaid, namely, Cloghanin ffynallymore, Ballyshymykin, Ballyglanybegg, Ballyneragh,⁸ Ballyneskrine, Nyneen, Connyn, and Knockpoke, lately likewise were in the possession of the said Thomas Browne attainted, and do lie in the country of Clanmorris, except the aforesaid towns of [],⁹ which do lie in the said cantred of Offariba; one other parcel of land lately parcel of the possessions of the said Earl of Desmond, called Killballelahyff, containing five carucates of land, worth by the year 10^l.; one parcel of land with the appurtenances in the town of Killowrye, lately in the occupation of Edmond Mac Morris, containing by estimation one half quarter of land, worth by the year 30^l. 4^s.; and other burgages and waste lands within the late burgage of Ardarte, escheated for want of heirs, namely, one house with a garden in the town of Ardarte, and one new castle lately built with stones and lime; and also one parcel of land called Clonemore, containing by estimation 15 acres of land; and one parcel of land called

¹ *Shraghe* was a yearly rent in money.

² *Marte*, a yearly rent in beeves.

³ Ballyshymykin is evidently the modern Ballyhemickin, in Kilmoyley parish, Clanmaurice barony.

⁴ Ballyglanybeg seems to be the present Ballinglanna, in Killury parish.

⁵ Ballineskrine is evidently the modern Ballynaskreena, also in Killury parish, which parish is now in Clanmaurice, but in ancient times it was certainly part of Offariba.

⁶ Nyneen Connyn is evidently the present Been Conneen, in the parish of Killury. The O'Connyns were fosterers of

the ancestors of the White Knight (*ante*, vol. iv., p. 28).

⁷ Knockpoke is probably the modern Knoppoge, in Killury parish.

⁸ Ballyneragh seems to be now Ballynegerah, in Kilcarra parish, barony of Clanmaurice.

⁹ There is a blank here, as if the copyist had found the words illegible in the original, but since Ballinglanybeg, Knoppoge, and Ballineskreene lay in the ancient Offariba, they must have been the lands mentioned. The other places mentioned in this extract will be noticed hereafter.

Garrymagh, otherwise the great garden, containing by estimation one rood, the which same parcels were lately John Mac Andrew's, and are worth together by the year 66^l. 8^s.; one burgage, with one tenement and garden, in the said town of Ardarte; also one parcel of land called Knockannissiogh, containing by estimation 40 acres of land; one other parcel of land called Lysinyereigh, containing 15 acres of land; one other parcel of land called Lohellogh, containing two acres; one parcel called Cornekrysh, containing four acres; and one other parcel of land called Crushenveagh, otherwise Symon's lands, 10 acres, which are worth together by the year 8^l.; one parcel of land called Burser's lands, lately John Mac Redmond's, containing 10 acres of land, worth by the year 16^l. 8^s.; one burgage there, lately John Termyn's, with a garden containing one rood of land, worth by the year 3^l. 4^s.; one tenement in Ardarte, with one parcel of land called Gortneshehie, containing one acre and a half of land, lately John Mac Collane's, worth by the year 5^l.; and one ruinous tenement there called Nabolyen, containing by estimation 15 acres of land, lying in the fields of Ardarte, lately John fitz William fitz Patrick's, worth by the year 30^l.; and one tenement with a garden in Ardarte aforesaid, containing by estimation one half of one rood of land; and of four parcels of land lying in Ardarte aforesaid, called the Cragg, the Tarrieght, Gurteclogh, and Gurtespodell, which lately were in the possession of Morris Mac Shane and of other burgesses of the said borough, being rebels, containing in themselves by estimation 240 acres of land, worth by the year 8^l. and so in the whole by the year in lawful money of England to be paid at the aforesaid feasts equally, 1v^l. 0^s. xx^s.

"An old castle called Tawlaght, otherwise Towlaght, and Knocknidge, with the appurtenances, and a parcel of land called Knockatten, containing by estimation four quarters, and in Ballinhaglas two quarters, all which were lately in the occupation of Morrogh mac Rory ni Owen, late constable of the aforesaid castle, worth by the year 20^l.; certain parcels lying together in the parish of Ardarte; and one rabbit warren called Barrowe and Knockenaght adjoining the aforesaid, containing 8 carucates of land, worth by the year 26^l. 13^s. 4^d.; and certain lands in a rabbit warren in a certain island in the parish of Annagh Ambrose called Dirremore, containing four carucates of land on the northern side of the mountain of Slievemiasse, worth by the year 8^l. and so in the whole in lawful money of England by the year, liv^l. xiii^s. iv^d.

"A certain fishery in the water or port of ffynett, near the aforesaid Castle of Towlaghte, in which port a vessel of the burthen of 80 tons can cast anchor at low water,

worth by the year, as appears to the aforesaid Commissioners, x^s ster.

"The sum of the yearly value of the aforesaid barony or cantred of Offariba, otherwise ffarbowe, cccclvi^s xiii^d iv^d.

In O'Heerin's Topographical Poem, translated and edited for the Royal Irish Academy by John O'Donovan, LL.D., the bard, describing what is now the County of Kerry, says:—

"O'Laoghain, hero of renown,
Over Ui Fearba I have found."

The learned editor and translator, in his note to these lines, says that the situation of the ancient Ui Fearba is "not proved," but the above extracts prove it plainly enough, although they do not of course give us the exact boundaries of the district. Thus, in the list "of fee farms of divers castles, towns, and tenements" within Offeriba, which is unmistakeably the Elizabethan Commissioners' mis-spelling of the Irish Ui Fearba, we find the "castle and town of Listroan, otherwise Lys-tryme." Castle and town have long since vanished—their very sites are now unknown; but the farm of Listrim has been for two centuries one of the finest on the Denny estate. Loghorte Cannaan, now known as Logher Cannan, another fine farm close to Tralee, with good trees and pastures, commanding a beautiful view of its bay and the Sliabhmis and Brandon mountain ranges, the shores of Tralee Spa, and the picturesque harbour and rocky promontory of Barrow, crowned with a curious ancient ruined castle (of which more hereafter), must have also formed part of the territory of Ui Fearba. The name is variously spelt, or rather misspelt, in old documents. Archdall, in his revised edition of *Lodge's Peerage* (Vol. ii., p. 185), quotes an old MS. pedigree of the Fitz Maurices, which says that King John granted to Thomas first lord of Kerry, the founder of the Franciscan Friary at Ardfert, "ten knights' fees in Ivefarba and Iveforna in Kerry"; and amongst the Carew MSS. there is a list of the king's rents in that

county, which mentions as due from "*Galfr. De Clahull dñ marc pro wrecco maris habendo in terris suis Offerbe.*"

Robert De Clahull was sheriff of Kerry in 1314, and in 1330 he is returned in the Exchequer Records relating to the county as paying £6 10s., "for having the wrecks of the sea of Offerbe for many years." They were probably only too profitable; for until late in the last century the north-west coast of Kerry was, as Dr. Smith tells us, "infamous for shipwrecks." From an old deed of A.D. 1441, between Thomas, eighth Earl of Desmond, and Edmund, son of Maurice Cantillon, or Cantlon, Lord of Ballyheigue, otherwise Heyston, we find that that place was also part of Offeriba. The cantred seems, in fact, to have included a small portion of the south shore of Tralee Bay, in the parish of Annagh, and the whole of its northern shore, the shores of Ballyheigue Bay, and Killury, north of Kerry Head, towards the Cashen and the Shannon, extending three or four miles inland. It has been sometimes said that Ui Fearba included Listowel, at present the chief town in Clanmaurice barony, but this cannot have been the case after the twelfth century at least, for the above extracts from the Desmond Survey distinctly say of the forfeitures of Thomas Brown, that they lay "within the country of Clanmaurice, *except*" certain towns specified, which "do lie within the said cantred of Offeriba."

The half of the Tuaghkahedde of Browne-Cantlon (*i.e.* the thirty hundreds of Browne-Cantlon) and Cologhay lay around the north side of Kerry Head, and the west coast of Killury, and across the central portion of Clanmaurice, through Kilflyn and Kilcarragh parishes, to Duagh parish, on the borders of the county of Limerick, where the attainted Thomas Brown, or Broun, as the name is generally spelt in the early records, had also considerable estates. On a large map of Munster in the London Record Office, with a schedule of the chief proprietors' names attached, and a complimentary dedication, in gold letters, to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, on its margin, the Kerry territories of Crioeh Brouneh and Crioeh Concloneh (a corruption of Cantillon) are clearly marked. The conjunction of the names of

Brown and Cantlon appear to indicate an heiress marriage between these two ancient families, who held a high position in north-west Kerry before the fall of the Desmond earl, but of whose chiefs there are only a few memorials left, in the shape of a ruined castle or two, an old gravestone in Ardfert Cathedral, and a weird legend connected with an island cemetery in Ballyheigue Bay.

(To be continued.)

ON THE SITE OF THE BATTLE OF CLONTARF.

BY THOMAS O'GORMAN.

IN reading the account of the Battle of Clontarf given in the *War of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*, which is accounted one of the most reliable of our ancient authorities, a question as to the exact site of this famous engagement presents itself, which appears to be difficult to reconcile with local tradition and general opinion, both of which suppose it to have taken place along the north shore of Dublin Bay, from the range of houses called the "Crescent," near Annesley Bridge, to a spot known as "Conquer Hill," at Dollymount, a distance of about a mile and a-half from point to point.

Along this line many relics have been found, and some still remain, which are said to have relation to the battle. At the digging of the foundations of the first built of the Crescent houses, at the end of last century, some human bones and other ancient remains were turned up.¹ The well from which the Irish chiefs are said to have refreshed themselves during the fight² is still pointed out in Castle-avenue, Clontarf: it has been lately re-edified with a handsome metal front and inscription, describing it as King Brian's Well, and it is still of public use. Castle-avenue may possibly occupy the site of the ancient village of Clontarf. There is another well close to the new Protestant church, which some of the inhabitants hold to be King Brian's. Then there are a couple of earthen mounds, or tumuli, close to the shore, which evidently were of greater height and size than they are at present, and in which some say the bodies of those slain in the battle were buried. There is another mound in the grounds of the adjoining convent, but it is much smaller than either of the above.³ At Conquer

¹ Mentioned to the writer many years ago by the party who built the houses.

² *Annals of Innisfallen*, quoted in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, No. 17.

³ It is not unlikely that these mounds, which appear to be sepulchral, were ancient on the day of the battle.

Hill is the spot on which King Brian is said to have been murdered—the people do not say killed—and it is remarkable that the death of Brian has more of murder about it than of the soldier's fate. This hill is also said to have been the scene of the last stand made by the Danes previous to their utter rout.

Such is the local tradition respecting the site of this battle, and an account something similar has found its way into general history. It is so far circumstantial, and would certainly be interesting if it were correct.

The old authority mentioned shows very clearly that a portion of the fight, if not the entire of it, was witnessed from an early hour of the day till its close by the inhabitants of Dublin, standing on their ramparts, and so clearly were its movements seen that friends could be distinguished from foes during its progress.

The following are the words which show that the action, or a great part of it, was visible from the walls of Dublin:—"And it was attested by the foreigners and foreign women who were watching from the battlements of Ath-Cliath as they beheld, that they used to see flashes of fire from them (the combatants) in the expanse of air on all sides";¹ that friends could be distinguished from foes, and the length of time during which they could be so distinguished will appear from the conversation of the Danish King of Dublin and his wife, who were watching the progress of the fight from the battlements of their watch-tower. The former said: "Well do the foreigners reap the field; many is the sheaf they let go from them." His wife, who was the daughter of King Brian, made the following answer: "It will be at the end of the day that will be seen"—showing clearly that these words were spoken at an early period of the combat. Then at sunset, when the defeat of the Danish army was complete, and the fugitives were being driven into the sea by the Irish, she remarked sarcastically to her husband—"It appears to me the foreigners have gained their inheritance." "What meanest thou, O woman?" said

¹ *War of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*, p. 181.

he. "The foreigners are going into the sea, their natural inheritance," said she; "I wonder is it heat that is upon them, but they tarry not to be milked if it is."¹ The answer was a blow, which is said to have knocked out one of the lady's teeth.

These extracts are conclusive that the battle was seen from an early period of the day till sunset from the walls of Dublin, and that friends could be distinguished from foes.

Now, the line indicated by tradition extends from two to three and a-half miles from Dublin Castle, which is erected on the site of the Danish dun or fort, and is the nearest point of the old fortress to Clontarf; and without noticing any of the inequalities of the ground which still exist, or the trees or other obstructions to sight which are likely to have existed at the time, it is safe to say that the distance alone would prevent the naked eye from discerning friend or foe through the dust and turmoil of a battle; but when we consider the obstruction caused by the high grounds on the north side of the Liffey, it is very evident no such inspection as noted by the annalist could have been possible, and consequently that the battle could not have taken place on the site pointed out by tradition.

Tending to the same conclusion, it is to be observed that this battle is not always called that of Clontarf by ancient writers: with some it is the "Battle of Brian,"² with others it is the "Battle of the Fishing Weir of Clontarf."³ This fishing weir is believed to have been situated on the river Tolka, close to the sea, and about where Ballybough Bridge now stands, and it is quite possible it was from it the battle first got its name, which was afterwards shortened to its present form by dropping the words "fishing weir."⁴

If, then, the battle could not have taken place on the site indicated by local tradition—and it appears evident

¹ *War of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*, p. 193.

² *Niala Saga*. In *Historical Memoir of the O'Briens*.

³ *War of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*,

Introduction, clxxxiv. n.

⁴ A writer in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* for 1858, p. 311, considers it was an attempt to destroy this weir that brought on the battle.

from the foregoing extracts, from the ancient authority mentioned, that it could not—can we form any idea as to its probable locality?

In considering the question, we will require to take into account such circumstances of the previous movements of the opposing armies as appear to bear on it, or to have been probable.

War having broken out in the year 1013 between the Ard-righ Brian and his tributaries, the Irish King of Leinster and the Danish King of Dublin, Brian invaded Leinster, and, advancing to Dublin, blockaded that fortress till the festival of Christmas, when scarcity of provisions obliged him to break up his camp and return to Kincora. Early in the following spring (1014) we learn that Brian again encamped before the walls of Dublin at the head of the forces of Munster and Connaught, numbering some eighteen or twenty thousand men, when the blockade appears to have been renewed.

The Danes of Dublin and their Irish allies had in the meantime spared no efforts with their friends, at home and abroad, to muster a force sufficient to meet the Ard-righ, and accordingly we are told that a numerous army of Northmen landed to their assistance on Palm Sunday, and entered Dublin, when the united forces amounted to over twenty thousand men.

The head-quarters of King Brian were on the "Plain of Ath-Cliath," which, according to the late Rev. Dr. Todd, was "probably the plain between Kilmainham and the city."¹ From hence he despatched a strong

¹ *War of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*, Introduction, clxvii.:—

THE PLAIN OF ATH CLIATH.—There are very few who would not be diffident of canvassing any opinion put forth by the late Reverend and learned Dr. Todd on Irish historical matters, but as he has left a loophole in the word—"probably"—in the sentence above quoted, the writer hopes he may be pardoned for an attempt to insert through it the following suggestion:—

The locality answering to Dr. Todd's description appears to be that on which the Terminus of the Great Southern and Western Railway has been erected, at

foot of the rising ground of Kilmainham, a portion of which extends along the base of that on which James and Thomas streets now stand, and bounded on the northern side by the River Liffey, to the then walls of the fortress of Dublin.

This position does not appear to be a very suitable one for the head-quarters of a blockading force, inasmuch as its situation is low, confined in extent, flanked by a deep river, and liable to sudden surprises from a strong and warlike garrison close at hand. But within an arrow's flight or so lay another position, which afforded the protection of the river from sudden assault, with equal facilities for

force under his son, Prince Donnchad, to operate against the territory of the King of Leinster, while foray parties from his own command plundered and burned all the Danish settlements around Dublin.

Fingall and Howth felt this visitation severely; the smoke and fires of which being visible to the leaders in Dublin, they sent a force into the district, to protect the inhabitants. This protecting force must have been carried to its destination in ships, as it could not otherwise have got out from Dublin without attracting the attention of the blockaders, and bringing on an engagement in which it would have fought at a serious disadvantage. Immediately on landing, we are told, they advanced into Magh-n-Ealta, "raised their standards of battle on high,"¹ and had some slight brush with the

siege or blockade operations, besides commanding Dubghall's Bridge, the only exit by land from the fortress into the Danish settlement of Fingall. This was the village of Ath-Cliath, with its plain, or green, known in after-times as Oxmantown Green; and it is not improbable when the "Plain of Ath-Cliath" is mentioned in the *War of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*, it is this very plain, or green, which is intended to be named.

We learn from Jocenein (*Life of St. Patrick*) that when he wrote, in the twelfth century, Ath-Cliath and Dublinne, though closely adjoining, were two distinct localities, the River Liffey running between them. Ath-Cliath was a village which grew up around the only passage over the river in early days. This passage was formed of hurdles laid down where the water was shallow, and hence its name—Ath-Cliath—"the ford of hurdles." Dublinne was the fortress a little to the east, on the opposite side, so named from the "dark-pool"—*dubh-linne**—over which it frowned. In a little time both places came to be looked upon as one and the same, mention being made of them as Ath-Cliath-Dublinne. Thus, though Kilmainham and the adjoining strip of low ground may have been occupied by

Brian's troops, the village of Ath-Cliath and its plain were more likely to have been selected as his head-quarters.

Independent of name, there is another item in favour of this locality having been known as the Plain of Ath-Cliath. When Donnchad the son of Brian returned from his foray into Leinster, two days after the Battle of Clontarf, he brought with him a great spoil of cattle, which he proceeded to slaughter on the "Plain of Ath-Cliath." The Danish King of Dublin saw the proceeding, and, considering it as an insult, sent a message to the Irish prince, requiring a share of the spoil, but Donnchad returned such an answer as, bearing in mind the recent defeat and destruction of his countrymen, effectually cowed the Dane, and the slaughter continued.

Now the village of Ath-Cliath was very nearly opposite to, and quite sufficiently near, the fortress of Dublin, for the killing of the animals to be seen and understood from its walls, which would not be the case if the Plain of Ath-Cliath was that lying at the foot of Kilmainham, fully a mile or more distant from the fortress.

¹ Magh-n-Ealta—"Plain of the Flocks." This was the ancient name of the great plain lying between the Hill of Howth and the Hill of Tallaght, Co. Dublin. Part of it afterwards got the name of Clontarf.—Introduction to *War of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*, clxxi.

* This view would explain the seeming error of Jocenein, at one moment speaking of Ath-Cliath, or Dublin, as a village, and the next as a grand city.

Irish, in which they were probably more than a match for the latter.

Our old authority informs us that King Brian held a council of war with his chiefs on Holy Thursday, immediately after which his army marched out of camp. It is not straining probability to suppose that the proceedings of the Danish force sent into Fingall had been communicated to the king, upon which he called a council, and the result was a determination to march to the assistance of his forayers, and measure swords with his enemy on the Plain of Magh-n-Ealta.¹ When Brian moved out from his camp, we must suppose he left a sufficient force to carry on the blockade of Dublin, and keep its garrison in check. In such disposition his headquarters would not be forgotten, and hence we can easily understand how, at the close of the day, the Irish forces interposed between the flying Danes and Dubhgall's Bridge.

Meantime, according to the Niala Saga (the Norse account of the battle), on that same Holy Thursday another council of war was held in Dublin—for we are told by it that “a certain warrior, in full armour, held a long conference with Kormlod² and her party” on that day. He is supposed to have urged the Danish chiefs to take advantage of the absence of Prince Donnchad and his force to make an immediate attack on King Brian's camp.³ This advice was evidently well received, and the result of the conference was that “the whole army was drawn out in order of battle on the Friday.”⁴

Thus, it is evident the leaders on both sides were determined on immediate battle. The Danes recalled the force sent into Magh-n-Ealta, and drew out that

¹ It has been stated by some authorities, that a regular challenge to fight on the Plain of Clontarf was given to Brian by the Leinster King, to which the course of events gives some confirmation; but there is too much of the romantic about the statement to permit us to couple it with the name of a tried soldier, as King Brian was.

² Gormlaith, the repudiated wife of

Brian. Her conduct and her beauty had much to say in causing the war.

³ Who was this warrior? Evidently an Irish traitor, a character of which our history has been only too prolific at all periods. Whoever he was, his presence amongst the Danes has caused King Malachy of Meath to be accused of treason to his country.

⁴ Niala Saga.

which remained in Dublin, leaving of course a sufficient garrison in the fortress. We are told: "But now the fleet returned, and came to one place, both the foreigners of Ath-Cliath and the Laighin (Leinster men), and they formed seven great battalions,"¹ by which we may understand the two forces to have landed at an appointed place, and effected a junction. This junction must have taken place somewhere on the north shore of Dublin Bay, and its object was evidently to carry out the strange warrior's advice of making an unexpected attack on Brian's camp before the return of the force under his son Donnchad.

It is, however, hard to say whether Brian's council of war or that of the Danes was the first held, or which first gave effect to its deliberations, and hence we are greatly in the dark as to the after movements. It may be that Brian's was the first to exhibit this effect, and if so, we may assume that both armies were now in motion, each ignorant of the movements of the other—the Danes marching by the most direct route on Brian's camp; the Irish by that leading into the district around Howth. The ground to be traversed by both being more or less the same, rendered a meeting unavoidable, upon which, as a matter of course, they must have halted, and formed in order of battle on the line of march they had been pursuing.

These, or any other movements that were made by the armies, must have taken place during the afternoon of Holy Thursday, as we know that the engagement began with sunrise the next morning.

It would appear that by the time the opposing forces came in contact, the day was too far advanced to permit the encounter beginning, and consequently they passed the night in presence of each other. That they did so, we know from the account given of the single combat of Domhnall, son of Eimin, and the Danish warrior, Plait, of whom it is said:—"The first combat of the day was between these two warriors, and it arose

¹ *War of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*, p. 159.

because of Plait having said, *the night before*, that there was not a man in Erinn who was able to fight him. Domhnall, son of Eimin, immediately took him up, and each of them remembered this in the morning.”¹

We have now the two armies face to face, waiting the signal to engage, and the question is, upon what portion of the ground, on the north of Dublin, did they stand?

We know that the Danes must have marched inland from the shore of Dublin Bay, and we assume that Brian had marched to the assistance of his forayers, who were operating around Howth. By what exact route he marched is immaterial—the forces appear to have first come in contact somewhere in the locality now known as Clonliffe.

According to the Irish account, both armies were placed in three lines, or divisions, drawn up one after the other. Thus the “front” division of the Danes was formed of the foreign Danars, under the command of Brodar, whose name is so well known as the slayer of the aged King Brian: in it were the celebrated thousand men sheathed in iron. The foreigners of Ath-Cliath, under Dubhgall, son of Amlaf, were “placed after the above,” “behind” whom came the Leinstermen, under their king, Maelmordha.

In like manner, we are told that the Dalcassian tribes formed the “front of Brian’s battalion,” under the leading of his son, Prince Murchad. In “the rear” of the Dal-Cass a second battalion was formed of the other forces of Munster, under the command of the King of the Decies, while the troops of Connaught, under O’Heyne and O’Kelly, formed another battalion, and we are led to consider that in this formation they engaged.

But such would be a very unlikely disposition for battle, for by it a large portion of each army should remain inactive till the first division was disposed of. If, however, the ancient writer intended to convey that it was in this formation they marched, it can well be

¹ *War of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*, p. 176.

understood, as it would enable them, without any great trouble or confusion, to form into line of battle, the first and third divisions becoming the wings, and the second the centre of each line, while the entire force acquired freedom of action and ability to engage.

Whatever was intended, this is the most feasible construction which can be put on the words of the writer, and it is in accordance with the Niala Saga, which, noticing the different commands in the Danish army, describes that of Brodar as one of the wings.

In the accounts of this battle, besides the fact of some portion of it having been visible from the walls of Dublin, there are one or two other items mentioned, which may help the inquirer in his attempt to fix upon its site. Thus we have "Dubhgall's Bridge" given, the exact position of which is uncertain, but it is considered by competent authorities to have stood at the end either of the present Bridge-street or Bridgefoot-street, leading over the Liffey to the fortress of Dublin, from the village of Ath-Cliath, afterwards known as Ostmanstown, or Oxmantown. This bridge, during the Danish occupation of Dublin, appears to have taken the place of the primitive "Ford of Hurdles." To the east we have the River "Tulcain" (Tolka) and the "Weir of Clontarf" noted—the first of which requires no comment; the other, as already mentioned, is believed to have been where Ballybough Bridge now stands. Then we have "Tomar's Wood," which is said to have extended from "the Plain of Clontarf," along the north side of the river Liffey, to near Dublin.¹ These are the only landmarks of the fight left us by such authorities as are of easy approach.

Adhering to the view taken of the words of the Irish historian, the following appears to have been the order of battle taken up by the rival forces:—The division commanded by Brodar, and which, when halted, became the right wing of the Danish army, rested on the river

¹ The exact position of this Plain of Clontarf is uncertain. The Wood of Tomar possibly extended from the Weir of Clontarf, along the North Strand, to where Lower Gardiner-street now stands.

Tolka, near to the then fishing weir of Clontarf. Opposite to it stood the left wing of the Irish, which, on the line of march, had been their vanguard. The likelihood of this appears from the fact that Brodar and Murchad were the commanders of the vans of their respective armies, which bodies, on the line of march, as pointed out, were the most likely to have first come into contact, the other divisions taking up ground in front of the enemy as they came up. Then we know that the divisions of Brodar and Murchad were opposed to each other during the fight, and that neither are to be found operating on the opposite side of the field—that in the direction of Dubhgall's Bridge; and further, that the young Turlough, the son of Prince Murchad, fought in his father's division, and was found dead in the weir of Clontarf. These facts make the positions assigned to the right and left wings of the two armies pretty sure.¹

Having fixed the position of one of the wings of the contending armies, and aware that a portion of the battle was seen from the walls of Dublin, the ground occupied by the two centre bodies and the other wings can be very safely laid down. The former must have been posted on the high grounds on which Mountjoy-square and Summer-hill now stand; the latter stretching across the present Granby-row, Great Britain-street, Mary-street, and on to Mary's Abbey, being a distance from wing to wing of something more than a mile and a-half.

If we suppose the Danes to have been the first to move after their council of war on Holy Thursday, and

¹ Following the interpretation put on the words of our old writer, which assumes the vanguards of the two armies to have formed their right and left wings, the centre of the Danes must have been composed of the Danes of Dublin, that of the Irish of the other forces of Munster, while the Danish rear-guard, composed of the men of Leinster, became their left wing, opposed to the Irish right wing, which was formed by the forces of Connaught, the third division of Brian's army.

But some modification of this disposi-

tion appears to have taken place, either when forming the line of battle, or during the progress of the fight, for we find the Connaught battalion, which, according to the position occupied by it during the march, should have been the right wing of the Irish, attacking the Danes of Dublin, who, on the same view, formed the Danish centre. This, however, may be accounted for by the Connacians having dispersed or defeated the wing opposed to them, and then turning their arms against the centre.

that Brian, having heard of the return of their forces from Howth, and subsequent landing, called his council, and then marched out from his camp to meet them, it will not affect the positions laid down as having been occupied by the two armies—they must still have been the same.

Having regard to all the circumstances given by our ancient authorities respecting this celebrated engagement, and the probabilities arising from them, the ground now pointed out appears most likely to have been that on which it took place. Though this position would not have brought the entire of the battle under the view of the spectators on the walls of Dublin, it would have brought the whole of one wing and a portion of the centre of each of them, so far as to enable the lookers-on to take cognizance of its different phases, and to distinguish friend from foe over an important portion of the line, and during the entire of the day; and all things considered, it appears difficult to suggest any other site which would accommodate itself so well with all the circumstances given as this does.

The locality here pointed out is not contradicted by such of our ancient historians as have been translated, and the translations held to be reliable—thus the *Annals of Loch Cé* (vol. i., p. 1) tell us that, preparatory to the battle, “Brian took up a position in Cluain-tarbh, in old Magh Ealta, to the north of Ath-Cliath.” Now, the site laid down is certainly to the north of Ath-Cliath, and further, is very possibly within the district called Magh Ealta. In another ancient authority, the *Chronicon Scottorum* (p. 253), the site appears to be in full accord with us: it says—“The battle raged, viz., from the Tulcadh (Tolka) to Ath-Cliath, and the victory was gained over the foreigners.” Even the Four Masters, though they say the battle took place at Clontarf, close their account with the following:—“The forces were afterwards routed by dint of battling, bravery, and striking by Maelseachlainn, from Tulcainn to Ath-Cliath.” If the Four Masters mean that the battle took place at the locality now known as Clontarf, it must be remarked that it could not be seen from the walls of Dublin, which

a contemporary authority says was the case, while their concluding sentence appears to be in accord with the *Chronicon Scotorum* and the view here put forth.

When the morning of the eventful 23rd April, 1014, dawned, its rays fell on the Danish fleet lying along the north shore of Dublin Bay and the mouth of the River Liffey, while the two hosts stood awaiting the signal to engage. With the progress of the fight our inquiry has nothing to say, beyond calling attention to such statements made by the old authority mentioned as appear to confirm the view here taken up regarding its site.

Brian, we are told, was not actually engaged in the battle, his great age precluding the possibility of such. He was a little way retired from it, surrounded by a bodyguard, for his protection. The position occupied by the king would likely be on a rising ground, in rear of the centre of his army, and, therefore, in the neighbourhood of the present Mountjoy-square. Confirmatory of this view, it may be mentioned that the square stands on the highest portion of the presumed battlefield, and that the Niala Saga tells us the royal standard was displayed in front of the Irish centre. During the battle, when Brian inquired how the day was going, his attendant told him the armies were "closely confounded," and added, "not louder in my ears would be the echoes of blows from Tomar's Wood if seven battalions were cutting it down, than are the resounding blows upon heads and bones and skulls on both sides." This allusion to Tomar's Wood shows that the position of Brian must have been near to it; otherwise his attendant could not have likened the blows of the combatants to such as he would have heard from workmen in cutting it down. This wood, as already mentioned, fringed the shore of Dublin Bay, from the Plain of Clontarf to near Dublin, and evidently ran at the foot of the high ground on which we have placed Brian. Then, when his attendant reported to him that Prince Murchad's banner was pressing westwards—from Ballybough Bridge towards Dublin would be in accordance—and so far confirms the positions here assigned to the Irish monarch and his son. Even if we are to give credence to the statement in the

Dublin Penny Journal for 1832, taken from the Cath-Chluana-Tarbh, the Annals of Innisfallen, &c., of the Irish chiefs resorting to a well in their vicinity, to refresh themselves during the fight, we can quote Mr. Clibborn's interesting Paper on the "Springs of Dublin," to show that the high grounds about Mountjoy-square and Summer-hill could furnish such, while the locality would agree better with our old authority than that in Castle-avenue, Clontarf.¹

A kind of secondary evidence in favour of the ground proposed in this Paper being that on which the battle took place is to be found in the *Dublin Magazine* for June, 1763, which tells us, that at the formation of the New Gardens, Cavendish-row and Granby-row, large quantities of human bones were found in a trench, "running from east to west, and cut by others from north to south. The earth in the trench was remarkably white and dry. A large sword, with a spear of about two feet in length, together with numberless pieces of iron resembling broad rivets, have been found along with the bones." The writer of the notice considers that these relics mark the site of the Battle of Clontarf, and in all probability he is correct in his view. It is to be regretted that he did not give a more minute description of the sword and spear, as it would have enabled us to form an idea as to the period to which they belonged. The pieces of iron are, however, confirmatory of his opinion, as we know it was in use with our Danish invaders.

As the views put forth in this Paper are founded entirely on the veracity of the writer of the history entitled *War of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*, it may be well to mention that the truth of one of his statements has been tested. He tells us that the battle lasted "from

¹ It is also to be noted, that in the grounds of the Catholic College of Clonliffe there is a well, which is traditionally said to have refreshed the Irish chiefs during the battle, and that it was on these grounds the slaughter of Brian took place.

The chief objection to Clonliffe having been the station occupied by Brian during

the battle appears to be its low situation, from which little could be seen, while we know that he caused his attendant to report frequently as to its progress. The well, however, might have been the one which Prince Murchad is said to have used, being situated close to the ground on which his division fought.

sunrise to evening. This is the same length of time as that which the tide takes to go to flood and to fill." The Rev. Dr. Haughton, F.T.C.D., &c., made the calculations necessary to an examination of this statement, and he pronounces it to be correct. He is further of opinion that the writer of the book was either an eyewitness of the battle himself, or he derived his information respecting it from those who were, for none other could have been aware of the above circumstance.

The late Professor O'Curry, in his "MS. Materials for Irish History," writing of this book, says, it "must be nearly as old as the chief events towards the conclusion of the war, or the time of the decisive Battle of Clontarf." And further, that it is "the most valuable, because the most complete and detailed, account of it (the war with the Danes) remaining," as it is proved to have been in existence at a time when the events of the battle must have been fresh in the minds of men.

Though it has been shown that the battle proper could not have taken place on the site indicated by local tradition, still the popular belief may have some foundation in truth. When the Danes broke into rout, finding their ships had been carried by the rising tide beyond their reach, that the shelter of Tomar's Wood on one side, and the chances of escape from Dubhgall's Bridge on the other, were cut off by the victorious Irish interposing at each, it is very probable a large number of them may have burst through the ranks of their enemy, and fled towards the Danish districts of Fingall and Howth, and that, being pursued, a running fight was kept up along the margin of Dublin Bay, and over the ground mentioned, the remembrance of which may have given rise to the tradition. A Howth tradition has it that the Danes were pursued to the spot now occupied by the Baily lighthouse, where, owing to its then impregnable position, they were enabled to defend themselves till taken off by their ships.

ON SOME RECENT ANTIQUARIAN DISCOVERIES AT TOAM
AND KILLICARNEY, NEAR BLACKLION, IN THE COUNTY
OF CAVAN.

BY W. F. WAKEMAN.

In May last it was reported in Enniskillen that when a line of railway, then, as now, was under course of formation between that town and Sligo, not a few memorials of a battle-field of the time of Cromwell had just been brought to light. Rumour stated that a large cannon ball, as well as a bullet composed of stone, had been found amongst the human skeletons which the site presented. It was also popularly reported that a quantity of gunpowder might still be seen in near proximity to the remains of humanity. I had scarcely heard of this "find," from Mr. James Plews, Manager of the Railway, which had just been extended from Enniskillen to Belcoo; as also from Mr. Allan Mahood, of Enniskillen, who was able to produce some specimens of the so-called "gunpowder" for my inspection, when I proceeded per rail to Belcoo, and thence on foot to the scene of the digging, a distance of about one mile and a-half. There I found what presented the appearance of an ordinary tumulus, the base of which was partially surrounded by a low rampart. The line of railway had been cut right through its centre, leaving nice clear sections, from the slopes of which, in their upper portions, numerous bones, which, upon investigation, were shown to be human, more or less projected. The body of the mound, it should be observed, was clearly of glacial origin. There were also black spots and darkish stains in many parts of the sides of the cutting. These, upon examination, proved to be deposits of wood charcoal, containing minute fragments of bones, apparently human. The deposits had evidently been laid in somewhat shallow hollows in the mound. In one of these little pits, or kists, a portion of a well-baked earthen vessel, which had probably been a food-holder or sepulchral urn, had been discovered by Mr. Allan Mahood; and I, myself, on a subsequent visit to the place, procured a decorated

specimen of the same description. Some bones, probably those of a pig, were found in the immediate vicinity of the chief charcoal pit. One of them had been split, evidently for the purpose of getting at the marrow. This depository, or kist, was seemingly the only discovered feature of its class left by the navvies intact. It was covered very closely by a red sandstone block, one foot eight inches in length, one foot in breadth, and five and a-half inches in thickness. The under portion of the flag pressed hard upon the charcoal, &c., which filled this primitive earthy casket; so much so, that the surface was blackened, and in a great measure impregnated with



Fig. 1.—Inscribed Stone from the Toam Mound—Upper Surface.

carbon. The *leac*, upon even a cursory examination, was observed to be curiously marked upon its upper portion with lines, or scores, evidently intended to convey a meaning. These characters, for such I hold them to be, present a very Ogamic appearance. They cannot be plough marks, or chance scribings from the points of a harrow, inasmuch as it is evident that many human skeletons, hereafter to be noticed, found upon the same level had not been broken or disturbed. Moreover, several of the markings are curved. Under, and I may say upon, what was the eastern angle of the stone occurs an array of strokes and digits which present much the appearance of an inscription in the generally recognised Ogam.

It is greatly to be lamented that, apparently through the action of heat, this inscription, for all scientific purposes, appears to have been nearly lost. The fact, however, remains, that the angular scorings, which still more or less put in an appearance, at one time must have constituted a legend. Possibly experts may still elucidate a portion of this scribing. In the scorings upon the face of the stone, as upon its angle, we find work very similar to that first noticed by Sir Samuel Ferguson upon the cromleac monuments of Lennon and Castledearg. Bifurcated and apparently capricious strokes are not uncommonly found in connexion with several of our most

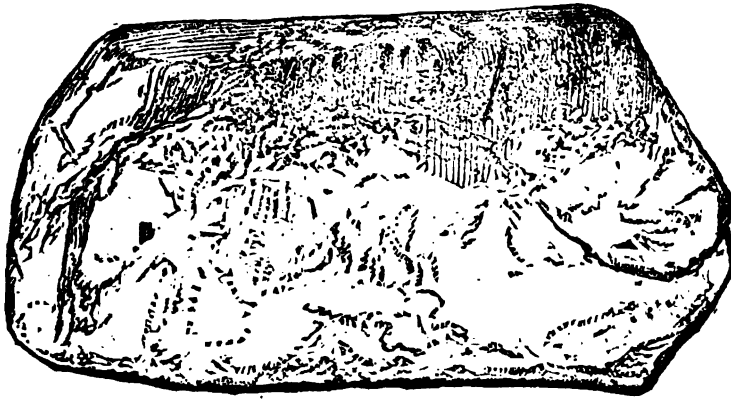


Fig. 2.—Inscribed Stone from the Toam Mound—Under Surface.

remarkable Ogams, as at Corkaboy, Co. Kerry, Green Hill, Co. Cork, and elsewhere. Several of the caves of Knockmore, and that of Loughnacloyduff, Co. Fermanagh, exhibit numerous markings of this mysterious kind, in conjunction with unmistakeable characters of more than one class of archaic scribing. We have at Toam perhaps one of those monuments referred to by old writers on Ogam, as intended to be hidden. This sort of earthen kist, covered by a flagstone, is not uncommon in the north of Ireland. A perfectly similar example, full of burnt bones and charcoal, was noticed last year by our Associate Mr. Athill and myself, immediately adjoining an unburnt skeleton, which lay upon the surface of the

earth, beneath a cairn of stones, in the Deerpark, Castle-archdall. It seems likely that the Toam mound was originally surrounded by a line of these soil-dug and stone-covered kists. In the notice of a very peculiar cairn which occurs near Trillick, Co. Tyrone, I have described a similar disposition of kists; but there the little chambers were lined with stone—see “Journal” for October, 1871. A similar circle would appear to have been formed in a cairn at Cavancarragh, near Topped Mountain, Co. Fermanagh.

The most singular circumstance in connexion with the Toam mound was the presence all over its surface, so far as explored, of a considerable number of fairly perfect human skeletons, and portions of others. As a rule, they appear to have belonged to men and women of various ages, and to children. Some few of the remains were in the last stages of decay, while others were firm, and but slightly brittle. No trace whatever of any metallic object appeared during the process of excavation, at least nothing which might seem to be connected with the interments. It may be observed, however, in passing, that near the surface of the tumulus a silver penny of King John, struck in Dublin, and bearing the usual shield, with sun, crescent, and star, &c., was unearthed. This coin, so discovered, conveys a meaning—it throws to the winds the idea of a Cromwellian age for the interments. From the facts of some burnt human bones; of entire human skeletons, of adults and children, male and female; together with the remains of pottery, kists, and scorings of a class known to belong to ante-Christian times in Ireland, having here occurred, there can be little question that the spot was used as a cemetery at least before our island had generally embraced the Faith. Could it have been a *keel*, or burial-place, for the common people during some portion of pre-historic time in Ireland? We already know that at one period the custom of cremation and of simple burial were simultaneously used. Perhaps in ancient days, as at present, only well-to-do people could indulge in the in-urning of deceased wives, relatives, or friends. Such a process would in any age be somewhat costly. In immediate

connexion with the unburnt remains, at least two globes composed of stone were discovered. The larger measures eighteen inches in diameter; the smaller is of the size of an old musket ball, or grape shot. They appear to be simply small boulders, rounded by the action of water, which held iron, to a considerable extent, in solution. The stones at first sight suggest the idea of their having been shot; but iron ore abounds in the district in which they were found; and similar balls of stone have not unfrequently been noticed in connexion with several of our most remarkable tumuli, as Newgrange and Dowth, upon the Boyne; Rathmullan, Co. Down (*see* the notice of explorations at Dowth in Wilde's "*Boyne and Blackwater*"; as also the writer's MS. Catalogue of the Petrie Collection in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin). Such objects may possibly have been used by our ancient people in the celebration of religious or sepulchral rites; or they may, indeed, have been shot, such as was used in slings, or some kind of primitive catapult. The story of the mound would seem to be simply this:—As in Scandinavia, Great Britain, and at home, an early people appear to have often selected natural sand, or gravel hills, as a place of sepulture, so here the mound may be considered by the geological mind as only partially artificial. It was, however, well trimmed round, "top-dressed" with mould, and possibly stones, and used as a general cemetery. It was shown to me by personal observation, and on the evidence of Dr. Mahood, of Enniskillen, that the Toam bones comprised those of persons of different sexes and ages; that some of them exhibited the action of fire; and also, that in a few instances bones of an animal, probably porcine, and split for the marrow, had occurred, in connexion with charcoal deposits, and fragments of fictile ware.

The land upon which this singular kist and skeleton-bearing tumulus was found is known by the very appropriate name of *Toam*, an Anglicised form of the old Irish word *túam*, which, as Dr. Joyce says, "was, like the cognate Latin word *tumulus*, primarily applied to a hillock or dyke, and in a secondary sense to a monumental mound or tomb." However, as far as my experience goes, there are

in Ireland few, if any, localities bearing the name of *Tuaim*, or any one of its derivatives, or corruptions, which do not, or may not, refer to a grave, or graves. The majority of names of places in Ireland in which the word appears pure or semi-disguised certainly refer to graves, and not to simple hillocks. Notwithstanding much that has been written upon the subject of the sepulchral usages of the primitive people of Erin, but little is accurately known concerning them. I refer especially to the period of cremation, which appears to be truly pre-historic—not one allusion to the burning of a body, or the practice of inclosing human or other ashes within an urn, having as yet been discovered in even such of our MSS. as refer to ante-Christian customs in Erin. Dr. Joyce, I believe, was the first to notice this fact. Seeing that this country was at an early period repeatedly invaded, and more or less occupied by more than one race of people; and seeing, as far as we can yet discern, that the sepulchral usages of these tribes were almost, or quite, identical, and that the peoples themselves not unfrequently commingled, it is hard to say to which family a skull found in a tumulus, or kist, should be definitely referred. The long and the globular skull often appear in the same class of cemetery. It is the same in English barrows. Look at the heads of a crowd in any modern assembly, and one will find every variety known to ethnologists as typical of the ancient Irish, British, or Teutonic cranium. There is but one unfailing evidence of the character of a grave of pagan times, viz., the presence of calcined bones, urns, and implements composed of flint, glass (such as beads, &c.), stone, or bone, or of some like deposits.

The local excitement which naturally arose in some parts of Fermanagh and Cavan upon the supposed discovery of evidence of Cromwellian atrocities—skeletons without number (“some of the very bones were split,” said a believer), cannon shot, bullets, and powder!—had scarcely subsided, when a second mound, situate at a distance of a mile and ten chains from the former, was opened by the engineering staff of the railway. This second discovery occurred in October, 1879. It appears

that early in that month "ballast" was required for the construction of a portion of the line, and a hillock, or *cnoc*—one of several—immediately adjoining the track, promised an abundant supply. "There is nothing sacred to a sapper," say our neighbours, the French. The same remark may apply to civil engineers all over the world. Yet once enlightened on the generally ruthless proceedings of their labourers when anything of interest is unearthed, our engineers, as a class, are ready



Fig. 3.—General View of Killicarney Tumulus.

to act as gentlemen of intelligence. I have to thank Mr. Logan, the clever and obliging officer of this portion of the line, for much of the information conveyed in the following portion of my Paper.

The name of the land upon which the tumulus now to be described stands is Killicarney. There is no tradition of a church or of a wood having been there, or in the neighbourhood. It is a very generally received opinion that all names of places in Ireland containing the word *kill*, or modifications of it, have reference either to a church, *cill*, or *coill*, a wood. Now, it is a most remarkable fact, as pointed out I believe originally by our late distinguished Associate, Richard Rolt Brash, that in many districts of Ireland, in fact all over the face of the country, are ancient cemeteries, usually of small dimensions, which "time out of mind" have not been used for the purposes of Christian burial. They were, and numbers of them are to this day, the depositories only of the re-

mains of still-born or unbaptized children and suicides. They are looked upon with horror by the modern Celt, who in no case will approach them after dark. These dreary and unhallowed places are generally designated by the name of *keel*, or *killeen*. It appears certain that in many such spots unmistakeable evidence of pagan sepulchral usages has been presented. It is far from my aim at present to enter into anything like an argument on an etymological subject; but I may say, by-the-bye, that it appears to me that Mr. Brash, in assigning the origin of many of our obscure and mysterious graveyards to pagan times, has opened a question which suggests much matter for investigation on the part of thoughtful antiquaries. Where on earth were our poor people buried? Surely not in the grand carns. Some time ago I had the honour of laying before a meeting of our Association an account of the discovery in a sand-hill surrounded by a bog, at Drumnakilly, near Omagh, of a large number of sepulchral urns, containing calcined human bones. There never had been a church or Christian cemetery on that desolate ridge. At Killibeg, near Garrison, Co. Fermanagh, are a number of so-called "Giants'" graves, and a *dallan*, popularly styled "Fin Macoul's finger-stone," but no sign or tradition of a Christian church or cemetery, or of a wood. Numerous other instances might be referred to where the word *cill*, *killeen*, or *keel* is incorporated with the name of a place associated exclusively, or almost entirely so, with pagan memorials.

The tumulus at Killicarney is, or rather was, in several respects one of the most remarkable in Ireland. Of its general appearance previous to the assault of the navvies, the Dallastype just given will convey a very correct idea. The circumference was twenty-seven yards; the height, as measured by railway authorities, fifteen feet and a-half. But man had nothing to do with the erection of the body of the mound, which is strictly of glacial formation, beyond heaping upon its surface a stratum of soil, varying in depth from four feet six inches to two feet, and covering the whole with a layer of stones, such as are usually found in carns. The line of demarcation between the old and what may be

styled the new soil was distinctly marked, always allowing that traces remained of an ancient vegetable *debris*, or "scraw," which indicated the junction of the natural and artificial. It was in removing a portion of the

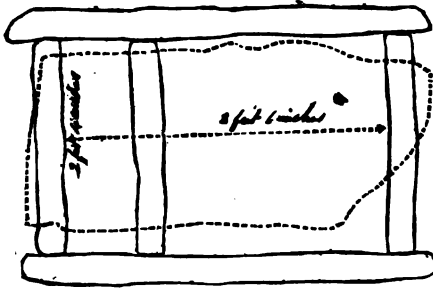


Fig. 4.—Double Kist, Killicarney. The dotted line shows the form of the Covering-stone.

covering of loose stones that, near the summit of the mound, at a depth of three feet from the surface, the



Fig. 5.—Urn found in the Double Kist, Killicarney.

workmen discovered the kist here figured. It measured internally exactly three feet six inches in length, by two feet four inches in breadth, and was one foot eleven

inches in depth. The flags composing the sides averaged about three inches in thickness, and the chamber itself was unequally divided into two compartments, each of which contained an urn. But one of these vessels was preserved. It measures six inches and a-half across the mouth, and is six inches in height. Its base is two inches and three-quarters in diameter. Both these urns are asserted to have been full of bones at the time of their discovery, but whether the remains were human or otherwise it is now impossible to say, no person qualified to form an opinion of their character having seen them. They have unfortunately been scattered and lost. The style of ornamentation exhibited on the remaining urn is somewhat rare. There are four projecting bands, which strengthen the central portion, or waist of the vessel, like so many belts. The rest of the decoration is indented, and is in design very similar to what has been noticed upon earthen vessels, which were certainly food-holders, found in connexion with objects composed of stone and flint, in crannogs, or lacustrine habitations of an early race in Ireland. It is said by persons who had seen them, that in size, general contour, and style of decoration, these two vessels were identical. Within one of the compartments of this little vase-bearing chamber was found a stone implement of a class well

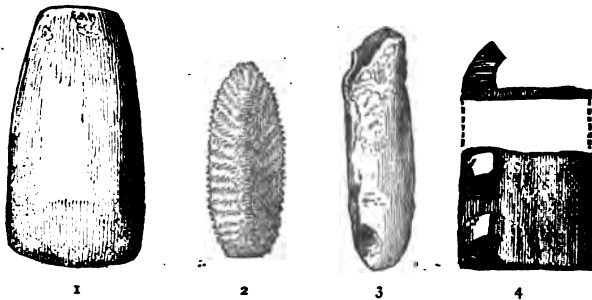


Fig. 6.—Implements of Stone, Flint, and Bone, found in Killicarney. Drawn half-size.

known to antiquaries, and generally styled a "*celt*" (see No. 1 in Fig. 6). The word has nothing whatever to do with the name of the Celts, or Kelts, a race of people among whom the *celt* was largely used. It is simply a

chisel, or hatchet, and its name is from the Latin *celtis*, a chisel. Implements of this kind are found all over the face of the country, particularly in connexion with river fords, the passage of which had, no doubt, in primitive times been often contested. The larger examples would serve well as battle-axes: the smaller were certainly tools answering the purpose of a chisel. Some few examples are of a gouge-shape, and were, no doubt, used in the manufacture of spear and arrow shafts, or in the process of hollowing the single-tree canoes which, together with the *curach*, or boat of wickerwork and hides, constituted the earliest effort of our remote predecessors to enable them to essay a passage on loch, river, or sea. Our early stone implements have of late years been usually classed under two general headings, viz., the Palæolithic and the Neolithic. An immense period of time, even geologically speaking, must have passed between the epochs which witnessed these two several branches of rude industry; and yet, as I hope presently to show, the Killicarney mound presented some evidence that the more primitive style of manufacture had, in Ireland at least, somewhat overlapped and commingled with that which is universally acknowledged to be almost incalculably later—I refer to the “Age of Polished Stone.” The Killicarney celt is a very perfect and highly finished example of the so-called Neolithic chisel, or axe-head.

Objects composed of bone, horn, or ivory, artificially worked, not unfrequently occur amongst our oldest sepulchral deposits. We have here an example (*see* No. 4, Fig. 6), unfortunately so imperfect that it seems impossible to suggest its original character or use. Nothing like it has, as far as I know, been previously found. It may be the hook of a buckle for a strap or belt, the face of a fibula, or, in short, anything. It is quite undecorated, but well wrought, and had evidently never been subject to the action of fire. It appears to be composed of the bone of some large mammal, and to have been worked into shape by the aid of a very minute file or scraper. It must have been highly esteemed by the deceased owner, or it would scarcely have been

deposited in his kist with the stone hatchet, and a richly decorated vase, which, for all that we know, and for much that we have a right to presume, was intended as a food-holder for the departed during the passage of his journey to *Tirnanog*, the Valhalla of the pagan Irish.

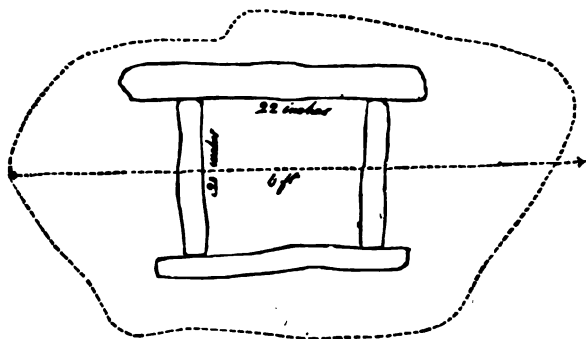


Fig. 7.—Single Kist at Killicarney. The surrounding dotted line shows the form of the Covering-stone.

Exactly twenty-four feet from the kist just described, a second, and somewhat smaller example, was subse-



Fig. 8.—Portion of Urn from Killicarney. Given half the real size.

quently discovered. It lay upon the southern slope of the tumulus, and measured internally twenty-two inches

by twenty. The four red sandstone flags of which its sides were composed measured from two and a-half to five inches in thickness. Its covering stone was, in length, six feet; in breadth, three feet six inches; its average thickness being nine inches. The contents of this chamber were very interesting, consisting of a very magnificent urn, and two flint implements, one exquisitely chipped, the other rude enough to be classed with objects of the Palæolithic age. These I shall presently describe. The urn, both in size and in style of ornamentation, was probably one of the most remarkable objects of its class hitherto noticed. It stood fully eighteen inches high, and measured three feet and a half inch in circumference at the mouth. All these measurements can be verified from existing remains. The thickness at the rim was one inch and a quarter. The diameter of the base was three inches and three-quarters: thickness one inch. It is most difficult to form an exact opinion as to the manner in which many of our larger and more decorated urns were manufactured. Here, as in numerous other examples, we find an outer surface, some eighth or so of an inch in depth, composed apparently of well-kneaded compost of yellow, or buff-coloured clay, which exhibits but few, or no traces of the action of fire. Underneath this envelope is a black highly-fused mass of coarser composition, which forms what may be called the strength of the vessel. It is a fact—strange, but true—that the majority of our cinerary vessels exhibit upon the interior indications of an intense action of fire, while in many examples the outer surface would seem to be simply sun-baked. From a most careful examination of a considerable number of vases found in Irish tumuli, or sand-hills, it seems to me manifest that at least three stages in the process of their formation are distinctly indicated. Firstly, the vessel appears to have been fashioned of a somewhat coarse gritty material; it was then baked in a strong fire, and burnt almost to blackness. It appears, upon cooling, to have been overlaid with a fine matter, generally buff or cream-coloured, soft enough to readily receive impressions from a tool formed of wood, horn, bone, or stone. Strips of

light material, like that of the coating or veneer already referred to, were then laid on, just (to use a homely simile) as a modern cook will embellish a piecrust. The overlayings, while still soft, were then indented with patterns, and the work either dried in the sun, or presented to the influence of a moderate degree of heat from a fire of wood or turf. Some of the decorative portions of this urn are of a very interesting character. Any advanced or semi-proficient student on the subject of pre-historic Irish art will acknowledge that, even at a time when truly considerable advancement had been made

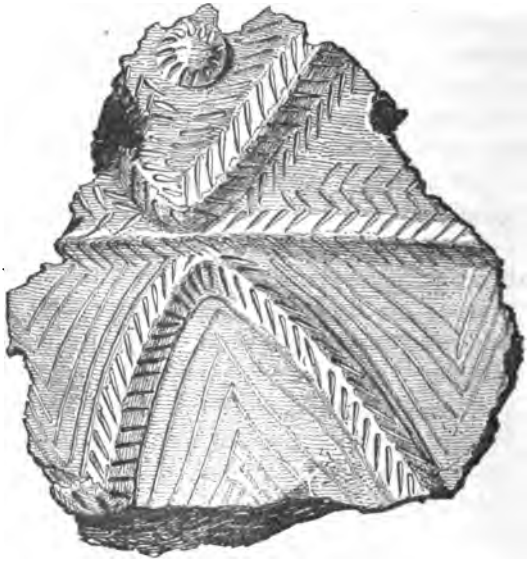


Fig. 9.—Middle portion of Urn from Killicarney. Given half the real size.

in many arts by our remote predecessors, they, as a rule, failed to represent anything living, either in the human form or any other form, even in the vegetable world. An earlier age had bequeathed no lesson, or example, in drawing from the life. Perhaps in time to come a still unborn cave-hunter may bring to light in Ireland an etching on bone or ivory not inferior to those which have been discovered upon the European continent, and which are certainly the work of men who were contemporary with the reindeer, mammoth, rhinoceros, and many other

animals long extinct in Western Europe. As it appears, the human figure is hardly ever, if indeed ever, expressed in our primitive sculpturings or carvings. We have perhaps a few attempted representations of animals, as in the antlered deer of the Slievenacalliagh "find," and possibly in some few instances on combs of bone, &c. The age

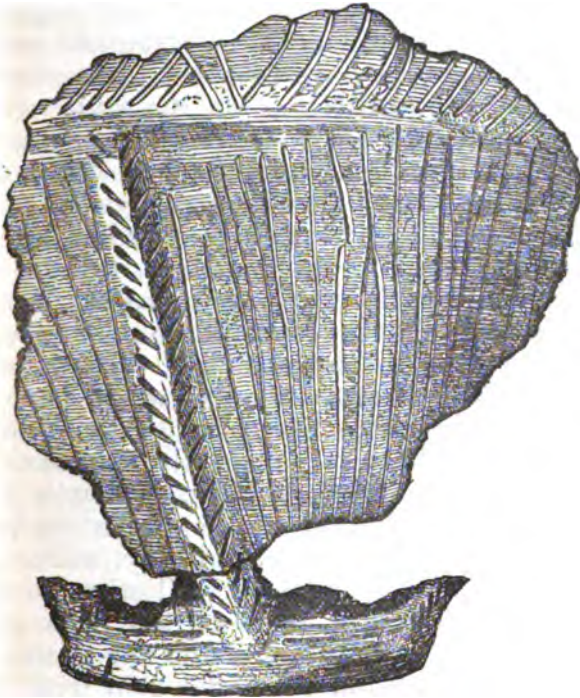


Fig. 10.—Lower portion of Urn from Killicarney. Given half the real size.

when the grand old bronze ornamentation prevailed was probably of considerable length, but it is evident, from many existing remains, that its artistic culture was certainly progressive, and that only in the later examples we may sometimes perceive animal forms, which usually consist of serpent designs, snake-head terminations for spiral and other generally more or less geometrical designs, and so forth. Such, no doubt, was the origin of the famous "*Opus Hibernicum*." The work was native to Erin, as can be proved from not a few

sculpturings appearing upon several of our monuments, which, there is every reason to believe, were erected in ante-Christian days. We have at Newgrange, Slievenacallagh, and Knockmore, Co. Fermanagh—perhaps elsewhere—certain scribings, bearing a rude, or conventional resemblance to willow or fern patterns. We have also in not a few instances symbols cut upon the face of a rock, or stone, which we may suppose the primitive artists had intended to represent severally sun, moon, or stars. I have been led to the foregoing digression by a consideration of the style of work represented upon a portion of the chief urn of the Killicarney deposit. Springing from the lowest rim, or base of the vessel, appeared a number of designs executed in relief, which were highly suggestive of willow branches. That they had been intended as ribs, to add to the strength of the vase, is extremely probable; but there can be little doubt that they had, at the same time, been used as a medium of ornamentation. They are not straight and stiff, as mere supports would have been moulded, presenting rather a slight and graceful branch-like curve, while foliage is not inaptly expressed upon their sides or edges. Between them, as may be judged from the accompanying illustration, is a variety of incised “hatchings,” as artists would say, which might well be supposed to represent a collection of water-weeds, reeds, or grasses: some of the little groups, indeed, look very like figurings of the flax plant. Fictile ware of the sepulchral class, found in Irish tumuli or kists, but rarely presents the rib feature, in this instance so strongly developed. It appears notably in only one other example, which at present I can refer to, viz., on an urn discovered in 1876 in the natural cavern of Knockninny, Co. Fermanagh, by some labourers, kindly lent by J. G. V. Porter, Esq., of Belleisle, Lisbellaw. This urn, which measured fourteen and a-half inches in height, fifteen in diameter, and three feet eleven inches round the mouth, was presented to me by the Right Hon. the Earl of Erne, upon whose property on the *cnoc* I had received permission from his Lordship to make excavations. It, with several other remains found in the cave,

are now deposited in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

Just as an art critic might fondly dwell over a miniature painting of a Commerford, a Lover, or upon one of our Petrie's exquisitely finished drawings, so may the student of works of the so-called "Stone Age" regard a little gem of flint, be it saw, knife, or arrow-head, which was found within this urn, or in the same kist with it (*see* Fig. 6, No. 2, *supra*). To say that it is exquisitely finished is to express nothing—it is in itself a mystery of delicate manipulation, looking almost as if, at the time of its formation, flint had partaken of the composition of wax, and that a tiny gouge had been used in the fashioning of its exquisitely symmetrical serrated edges. It presents the "bulb, or cone of percussion," usually found in implements of the Palæolithic class, but this feature seems to belong to all ages of flint manufacture in the west of Europe. The blade is extremely thin and semi-transparent, measuring little more than one eighth of an inch in depth, except at the bulb, where the thickness is slightly increased. It would be useless to conjecture how such work had been accomplished. Notwithstanding all that has been lately written upon the subject of the making of flint implements amongst modern savages, we possess no clue to the *modus operandi* of our early people, either in the manufacture of delicately-formed implements of flint, or in that of the personal decorations composed of bone, stone, glass, or shell, even of gold, with which, in tumuli, arrow-heads, &c., are often associated. To any thinking person it must appear quite evident that the period of flint and stone culture, if I may use the term, must have varied in Northern and Western Europe, just as it appears to have done in districts of the New World. There has been sometimes a sudden advance from stone to iron, and then, in a short time, to firearms. We of the beginning of the nineteenth century used roughly-chipped flints to enable us to kill, then we advanced to percussion caps, and now to needle guns, and all the rest of the recent modes of slaughter. After all, we are sepa-

rated but by a generation or so from what may be styled the close of the stone age in the civilized world. A knife-like implement, composed of flint, it appears, occurred in this kist (*see* Fig. 6, No. 3, *supra*). It was so encrusted with a deposit of lime that only a plain under-surface, presenting at one of its extremities the usual "bulb of percussion," gave it the appearance of an object certainly artificial. The edges were not serrated, and the flake presented a rude Palæolithic type. Like all the portable remains found here, and at the neighbouring tumulus at Toam, it is figured half the real size. It is much to be regretted that many small relics, such as beads of glass or amber, pins of bone, minute objects of stone, or shell, of a kind frequently noticed in our pre-historic graves, have not, in these "finds," been traced. The navvies appear to have gone to their work "with a will," and cleared out the contents of the kists, bones and all, retaining only such objects as from their bulk or artificial appearance might be supposed to excite curiosity. The loss of the mammal and probably other remains is much to be regretted. I have since heard from Mr. Logan, that a third little chamber was discovered in the Killicarney tumulus, and that it did not seem to contain any artificial deposit.

Loftus Tottenham, of Glenfarne Hall, Esq., M.P., the spirited projector of the Sligo, Leitrim, and Northern Counties Railway, exerted himself to save all that could be procured from the "finds," an account of which I have now the honour of laying before our Meeting. The remains, in some cases quite perfect, and in others unhappily but fragmentary, have been handed over to our noble and distinguished Associate the Earl of Enniskillen, and will be presented by his Lordship, in Mr. Tottenham's name, to our National Collection of Celtic Antiquities, preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL
HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
OF IRELAND,
FOR THE YEAR 1880.

AT the ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held in the Museum of Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January 21st, 1880;

THE RIGHT REV. W. P. WALSH, Bishop of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin, in the Chair :

The Rev. James Graves, Honorary General Secretary, read the Annual Report as follows :—

“With the year 1878 the third decade of the Association’s existence had closed. Three-tenths of a century had passed away since its foundation, showing good work done. Commencing with the past year, a new phase in the working of the Association has been the holding of its Meetings at Belfast and Cork as well as at Kilkenny. The result has been most satisfactory, and it is hoped that whilst retaining the Annual Meetings at Kilkenny, the plan of holding Meetings in each of the other provinces may be fully carried out during the year 1880.

“The number of Fellows’ names on the Roll at the close of 1879 was eighty-three. The Members amounted to four hundred and seventy-seven, making a total of five hundred and sixty. Six names have been removed from the list in consequence of owing more than three years’ arrears of subscriptions. On payment of the arrears due, the right of Membership can be reclaimed. Besides this, a large amount of arrears of two years and under is still due by Members, by which the receipts of three past years have been considerably diminished, and the resources of

the Association seriously crippled. The sale of the back volumes of the 'Journal' and 'Annual Volume' has, however, in some degree made amends for this deficiency. It is evident that the publications of the Association still remaining in stock, and already paid for, represent so much inert capital, and that the usefulness of the Association would be greatly increased if recently elected Members were to complete their sets of the 'Journal' and Annual Volumes. The price at which these publications are sold by the book trade, when they come into the market, shows that the rate charged to Members is below their average value.

"The Annual Volume for the years 1878 and 1879 will, it is hoped, shortly be issued—it is at press. It will consist of the ancient Irish historic tale, 'The Destruction of the Brenda da Derga,' edited by William M. Hennessy, M.R.I.A."

"The Irish histories of the Geraldines, from the MSS. of O'Clery and MacFirbis, are also in type, and will shortly be presented to the Members, through the munificence of the President of the Association, His Grace the Duke of Leinster."

The Treasurer's accounts for the past year were laid before the Meeting.

Mr. J. G. Robertson and Mr. J. Blair rowne were appointed Auditors of the accounts, to report to the next Quarterly Meeting.

The Officers and Committee were unanimously re-elected as follows.—

President.—His Grace the Duke of Leinster, M.R.I.A.

Vice-President.—Richard Langrishe, M.R.I.A.

Treasurer.—Rev. James Graves, A.B.

Honorary General Secretaries.—Rev. James Graves, A.B.; Richard Caulfield, LL.D., F.S.A.

Honorary Curator of the Museum and Library.—James G. Robertson.

Committee.—Peter Burtchaell, C.E.; Robert Day, M.R.I.A., F.S.A.; Barry Delany, M.D., C.M.; Rev. Canon Hayman, M.A.; Maurice Lenihan, J.P., M.R.I.A.; Robert Malcomson, A.M.; Rev. Philip Moore, P.P.; Rev. John O'Hanlon, M.R.I.A.; C. D. Purdon, M.B., F.R.C.S.I.; J. G. Robertson; Rev. John F. Shearman; Rev. C. A. Vignoles, A.M.

Trustees.—Patrick Watters, M.A.; Peter Burtchaell, C.E.

Honorary Provincial Secretaries.—Leinster: Rev. James Graves, Kilkenny. Ulster: C. Delacherois Purdon, M.B., F.R.C.S.I., Belfast. Munster: Maurice Lenihan,

J.P., M.R.I.A., Limerick. Connaught: The O'Connor
Don, M.R.I.A., Clonalis, Castlerea.

The following new Members were elected :—

Cecil Sp. Perceval, Henbury, Bristol.

Rev. James Goodman, M.A., Professor of Irish,
Trinity College, Dublin.

Denis Carolan Rushe, B.A., Church-square, Monaghan.

Charles Atkinson, Ballysadare, Foxford, Co. Mayo.

John N. White, Selbourne, Waterford.

Rev. R. H. Beattie, M.A., Portglenone.

Miss Carruthers, 9, Claremont-street, Belfast.

John Dillon, Coleraine.

Charles Galwey, C.E., Waterford.

Mr. J. G. Robertson read the following notes on the
so-called Anchorite's Cell, Cathedral of St. Canice, Kil-
kenny :—

"The substance of the following notes was originally intended to have been spoken by me at the Meeting of the Association held in Belfast in July last; but the ardour of the North men was such that an opportunity for my speaking did not present itself till about 11 p.m. In the few words which I ventured to say at Belfast, I alluded in laudatory terms to the 'History and Architecture of the Cathedral of St. Canice,' as a work reflecting great credit upon all concerned in its production, from the learned authors down to the printer.

"It is, therefore, with great diffidence that I venture to advance a few remarks on the probable use of a portion of the building described, which are opposed to the views expressed, not only by the authors of the above work, but which seem to have been propounded by Bishop Rothe, and generally accepted to the present day. I allude to what has been hitherto called 'the anchorite's cell.' The first notice of this part of the building in the 'History' runs thus:—'In the summer of 1845 some ancient foundations were discovered on removing the earth which the burials of six centuries had accumulated above the base line of the building. These foundations, which were found, on examination, to be cut through in order to prepare for the erection of newer work, would appear to have formed the nave of the more ancient church, its chancel extending eastward beyond that of the existing structure. The sculptured base of a double-jamb shaft, which has been used as a building stone in the end wall of the south transept, was, no doubt, a portion of this earlier erection, and serves to fix its date to about the middle of the twelfth century.'

"The second allusion to the so-called anchorite cell is a paragraph from a description of the Cathedral taken from a Latin MS. tract—'De

Ossoriensi Diœcesi,' supposed to have been written by the learned David Rothe, afterwards Bishop of Ossory. The passage, as translated by Mr. Graves, runs thus:—'Adjoining the north side of the choir, and close to the external wall of the church, an anchorite cell was attached, whence from an aperture in the wall near the right or Gospel side of the high altar the enclosed anchorite could behold the performance of the divine mysteries.' I now quote the remarks of the authors of the history upon the foregoing paragraph:—'Of the anchorite's cell, described by the author of the MS., the foundations still remain. The floor of the cell was nearly four feet below the level of the choir, and the remains of the earlier church had evidently been adapted for that purpose; at the south-west angle is a niche in the choir wall, 3 ft. 8 in. wide, and of shallow depth; this is approached by three steps, and, if entirely freed from masonry, would, doubtless, be found to contain the "fenestella lapidea," or low side window commanding a view of the high altar. In the north-east angle is a rude circular cavity cut into the old wall, apparently for a fireplace, and there are three rude lookers or niches cut into the north wall, each about two feet wide. There must have been some superstructure, now removed, to raise the roof above the window already described, but it is probable that there was no door, as the anchorite was "inclusus" "shut up in his cell."'

"In consequence of the more recent excavations made during the restoration of the Cathedral, and the observations one is enabled to make in consequence, I respectfully contend—

"1st. That there were two cells—one at the south, and the other at the north side of the choir of the Cathedral.

"2nd. That the foundations alluded to did not form portions of the ancient Hiberno Romanesque church, of which we possess several interesting fragments in our Museum; but that they are the remains of two apartments designed as portions of the building, and presenting an uniform appearance externally.

"3rd. That the cell described in the Latin MS. and history did not possess a klyptoscope or window of any kind looking into the choir; the ope alluded to, on subsequent examination, having been found to be a doorway, approached by steps, and leading from the cell into the choir.

"4th. In the corresponding angle at the south side of the choir, on excavating, the remains of the foundation of a front wall were discovered, with steps leading into a doorway, which communicated with the south side chapel. The internal jambs and circular head of this door, I was instrumental in having displayed as it now is. The character of the stone (sandstone) leads me to think that it belonged to the more ancient church: the stones of one jamb and two arch stones of the external ope of the door are of that fine foreign stone which was used in the sculpture of the Cathedral.

"But the most conclusive point as to the existence of two cells is to be found in the remains of raking string courses which may still be clearly seen, where the slating of the roofs of cells abutted against the gables of the side chapels. It is also very evident that projecting string courses ran under the sills of the windows on both sides of the choir, as a covering for the slates at top. These string courses have been rudely hacked off: projecting fragments may still be seen.

"6th. The sinking of the floors of the cells was necessary to prevent the roof from encroaching on the windows in the ends of the chapels, and to procure sufficient head-room under the eaves of the front walls. I cannot quote an example of a deeply-sunk floor in a Hiberno-Romanesque church. The ancient church at Sheestown has the most deeply-sunk floor which I have met with.

"From the above remarks it will be seen that the occupants of the cell were not 'inclusi,' or shut up, as a large door led into each apartment, which may have been lighted in the way indicated in my rude sketch. My opinion is, that these cells were apartments used for dwelling in; and the existence of the fireplace alluded to by Mr. Graves favours this view, as it is evident, I think, from the mode of securing the doors, not only of St. Canice's Cathedral, but of most ancient churches, that some of the officials remained in the churches, the doors of which were all secured with heavy wooden bars drawn across the doors inside.

"I am, however, quite willing to admit that ascetics may from time to time have retired from the world to these cells; indeed, I remember our late lamented friend, Mr. John Prim, having informed me that he had found a record to this effect in his researches amongst ancient MSS."

The Rev. James Graves thought it would be well to place on record the decision of the Judge of the County Land Court of Meath, with regard to the injury done to the great chambered tumulus at Dowth, showing, as it did, the urgent need of an Act of Parliament for the protection of Ancient Monuments. Thousands of tons of stones had been removed by the tenant of the lands from this great tumulus before the work of destruction could be stopped, as the law existed at present. It will be seen that £50 was the legal value set on this invaluable national monument! The great Tumulus of Kells, no doubt originally part of the ancient *Kenlis*, or head-fort of the Kings of Ossory, was now in course of being cut down and sold as *sand* by the proprietor, and there were no means of arresting its destruction.

"THE DOWTH EVICTION CASE.

"To-day, Mr. John Chute Neligan, Q.C., County Court Judge of Meath, delivered judgment in the Dowth eviction case, which has been so long before the public. The case came now before the Court on a claim by Luke Joseph Elcock, nephew of Thomas Elcock, deceased, against the Earl of Fingall, Richard Gradwell, and Malachi Strong Hussey, trustees of the Netterville Charity, for compensation under the Land Act for disturbance, permanent improvements, &c., in respect of two holdings in

the county Meath. The total amount claimed was £1856, and there was a set-off for waste and injury amounting to £550, of which, portion was for injury done to the ancient moat of Dowth—an historic monument situated on one of the claimants' holdings.

"The County Court Judge, in delivering judgment, said, the issues raised were few, and he did not see that he was called upon to consider any new point of law. The case presented itself, in his opinion, simply enough. It was impossible to avoid observing that the contention had caused much excitement and perhaps angry feeling. He would confine himself to those details which were only necessary for the questions he had to decide, and he would avoid as far as possible allusion to any irritating matter. The claimants held two farms; but all the buildings were on what was called the moat farm, and both were held under tenancy from year to year. As to the claim for disturbance, it was absolutely necessary to keep clearly and constantly in view the right which the Act had conferred on a tenant from year to year. The statute had conferred on him an actual vested interest in his holding which he never enjoyed before—a vested interest which, if disturbed without just and reasonable cause, must be paid for by the disturber in hard cash. Therefore, in considering every case of disturbance, the grounds on which the disturbance was sought to be justified were of vital importance. It was most important to consider whether the disturbance had been completely justified by the defendants, or whether they had utterly failed to do so; and though the grounds might fall short of complete justification, they might moderate the amount of compensation that ought to be awarded. If the disturbance resulted from any pique, any spirit of retaliation, or feeling of avarice, as was alleged in this case, the measure of compensation should be large. It was said that the three defendants were to be reduced to one, and that Mr. Gradwell was alone the active trustee of the charity, and the real defendant. It was alleged that this one trustee was anxious to obtain fraudulent possession of the holdings, and that he had assiduously and ingeniously fastened a quarrel on the tenant, in such a manner and under such circumstances as it was hoped would put him in the wrong, so as to deprive him of the compensation to which the Act would otherwise declare him entitled. It was charged that Mr. Gradwell, with the utmost deliberation, has suddenly simulated a desire to preserve what was known as the ancient moat of Dowth, and had falsely and fraudulently put that apparent zeal forward as a cloak to conceal his own personal avarice. Apart from other considerations, the case had been made to assume a more serious aspect as regards Mr. Gradwell, to whom had been imputed a simply scandalous line of conduct, deliberately entered upon and systematically persevered in—disgraceful to him not merely as a trustee, but as an honest man. Such an imputation should not be made lightly anywhere, and certainly not in a Court of Justice, unless with great caution and supported by irrevocable proofs. Had the eviction amounted to a disturbance within the meaning of the Land Act? An eviction, of necessity, was a disturbance, unless warranted by some sufficient cause. The cause assigned here was the fault and unreasonable conduct of the claimant in damaging the ancient moat, and burdening the holding with unnecessary and unsuitable buildings, and persisting in such conduct, although warned and cautioned not to do so. This ancient moat was an erection of extreme antiquity, and

was amongst the National Historic Monuments of the country. He was prepared to hold that the wanton destruction or persistent injury of any such Historic Monument would be conduct so unreasonable and improper, as to deprive the tenant of any claim to compensation if removed from his holding, for the purpose of preventing such conduct, and to preserve such a monument. In 1847 Sir William Wilde caused an examination to be made in the inner chamber of the moat, and that caused the removal of a considerable quantity of material. In 1860 Mr. Gradwell was appointed a trustee. For some years before, the people were in the habit of resorting to the moat as an open public quarry, for the purpose of getting stones. There was no doubt whatever that several large buildings in the neighbourhood were erected with stones taken from the moat, and it was said that some large buildings at Mr. Gradwell's residence had been built with material from the same moat, but that was before Mr. Gradwell purchased the place. If this moat was to be preserved at all, it was manifest that such proceedings should be stopped. Mr. Gradwell said that for some time before his appointment, as trustee, he had been complaining to the sole trustee of the charity as to this destruction of an Ancient Monument, and he swore that after his appointment this desecration did not take place with his knowledge until 1872, at least not to any appreciable extent, but some time in that year he ascertained that James Elcock, brother of Thomas Elcock, had commenced to build a wool store with stones from the moat. Mr. Gradwell called on him as a friend and a neighbour, and remonstrated with him—both James and Thomas Elcock, who lived together, being present at the interview. James Elcock met Mr. Gradwell in a fair and proper spirit, and promised to stop taking stones. He kept his promise, and finished the building with bricks drawn from Drogheda, and it appeared that Mr. Gradwell lent his horses and carts to assist in drawing the materials from Drogheda. The store told its own tale. There could be no good reason why the use of the stone should be stopped and the remainder of the building completed with bricks drawn at considerable expense, unless the reason given by Mr. Gradwell, that he protested against the destruction of the moat. Therefore they had him active in this trust in 1872; and that he assisted Elcock in the completion of the building was an important matter to bear in mind. When the building was completed, Mr. Gradwell continued to live on terms of friendship with James Elcock; but James Elcock died, leaving Thomas as his successor. A coolness sprung up between Thomas Elcock and Mr. Gradwell, and in 1874 Thomas, who was then living in James Elcock's house, began to build additional stores, and then commenced the proceedings out of which this litigation arose. Mr. Gradwell, having seen two men drawing stones from the moat for the new building, took steps to call Elcock's attention to the injury he was committing. They were neighbours, but they were not then on speaking terms, and Mr. Gradwell came to the conclusion that the form in which to communicate with Elcock which would be least likely to excite him—for he certainly seemed to be an excitable person—was to get Mrs. Gradwell to call on Elcock. Accordingly Mrs. Gradwell did so. She was accompanied by the parish priest, the Rev. Mr. Power. In the most inoffensive manner she explained the object of the visit, but she was not received in the spirit in which his brother had received Mr. Gradwell two years before, when he went on the

same errand. On the contrary, he showed a determination to persist in taking these stones. Mrs. Gradwell told him she feared persistence would involve him in law with the trustees, and his answer was that he was a lucky man in law and that he had just succeeded in winning a lawsuit. Father Power advised him not to persist, and said, 'Tommy, you are wrong.' Mr. Elcock then became absolutely rude, and, turning to Mrs. Gradwell, said, 'You are coming here to play the police on me.' He was as good as his word, for his workmen continued to use the stones; and if the disturbance had followed at once he should have had little difficulty in saying that Mr. Elcock had brought it on himself, but the disturbance did not take place then, nor for some time afterwards. No alternative was left Mr. Gradwell but to put himself in communication with Mr. Thompson, the solicitor of the trust. Mr. Thompson wrote, threatening to take proceedings, if Elcock did not desist. That was on the 5th August, and three days afterwards Elcock called on Mr. Thompson. Luke Elcock swore that although up to the day on which Thomas called, the stones continued to be drawn away, yet after that date no stones were removed; and there was no doubt such was the case. On the 20th of August Mr. Thompson wrote, requiring Thomas Elcock to put the stones back into their position in the moat. It was manifest that he had ceased taking away the stones, and that being so, it was quite right of the trustees to prevent as far as possible any repetition of the carting away of the stones. Did the notice go further? He scarcely thought it reasonable to require Elcock to pull down any portion of the walls then actually built, for the purpose of replacing the stones he had taken. Then Elcock was called upon to repair part of the moat which had fallen in, but subsequently the trustees modified their demand and gave up the claim to have the stones replaced, and pointed out the terms on which the notice to quit would be withdrawn. Messrs. Parnell, Ennis, and Kirk, Members of Parliament, sat as arbitrators, and suggested terms which were nearly the same as those offered by the trustees; in fact, the terms offered by the trustees were easier than those which these three gentlemen wanted to have imposed. The Members of Parliament agreed that Elcock should repair the moat. It was unfortunate when one had to deal with a suspecting person. Mr. Elcock appeared to have believed that because he was pulled up at all, some persons must have a sinister design on him. Messrs. Parnell and Ennis attended on the holdings, and made inquiries into the circumstances of the dispute. They were accompanied by Mr. Gradwell, and having fully investigated the matter, they recommended Elcock to enter into a new yearly tenancy, preserving all his rights under the Land Act, and that he should repair the moat. Elcock was an obstinate and suspecting man, and he declined to accept these terms. Their whole treatment of the matter seemed to have been extremely fair and reasonable. A vast amount of correspondence passed from time to time between Mr. Gradwell and Elcock, but up to the 21st of February there was not a hair's-breadth between them, and there must have been some obstinacy somewhere, or some influence behind, which was not disclosed. The report of the Members of Parliament found Elcock in fault, and it was his part to come forward. The trustees were acting in defence of their just rights. The ejectment resulted in a verdict for plaintiff. There was an appeal on certain points of law, but the verdict was confirmed. Then there was an appeal to the House

of Lords, which was withdrawn. The disturbance, which commenced in 1874, was completed in 1878, and the question was, whether the disturbance was justified? If it had taken place in October, 1874, he (Mr. Neligan) would have had no hesitation in deciding it was justified; but the disturbance was all one act; it took its inception in the notice to quit, and culminated in the execution of the *habere*. On what grounds was the justification pleaded? The persistent removal of stones from the moat. That must have been the continual influencing motive up to the last to have justified the disturbance, and that motive not having been maintained to the end, there had been disturbance within the meaning of the Act. Having regard to the great interests at stake, and taking into consideration the vast loss that must result from eviction, he did not think the trustees were justified in resorting when they did to the *ultima ratio* of the eviction. He could not therefore measure the compensation for the disturbance at less than the entire amount claimed (£115). Motives as base as fraudulent were imputed to Mr. Gradwell, but the imputations had not been sustained; indeed the leading facts of the case conclusively disproved any such imputation. Mr. Gradwell's whole conduct and his manner of dealing with Elcock showed that he was not influenced by any of the base motives which had been alleged against him.—Mr. Neligan then went through the items of the claim in detail, and allowed Elcock £264 compensation for the dwelling-house, £62 for a turnip-house, £79 for a dairy, and £10 for gates—total, £530. As to the set-off, he said he would disallow all the items except the one covered by the award of the three Members of Parliament—namely, for the deterioration of the moat, and in respect of that he allowed the set-off claimed, £50. Elcock having made charges which were justified by his own memorial, he would get one-third of his costs.”—*Daily Express*, Nov. 20, 1879.

The following Tradesmen's Tokens of the seventeenth century were exhibited by the Rev. B. W. Adams, D.D., Santry Rectory, Co. Dublin. They are not mentioned by either Smith or Boyne, and Dr. Adams will feel greatly obliged by being informed of the existence of a duplicate of either:—

Killucan.

Obv.—IGNATIVS . FERAVS; a lion rampant.

Rev.—KILLVKAN . MARCHANT . 16 . . , a winged unicorn galloping; underneath, either a human leg with boot spurred, or the stem of a tree; above, the letter Y, probably the ending of the word Peny, as the injury that obliterated the last figures of the date occurs here.

Londonderry.

Obv.—IAMES . HOBSON . MARCH ^T/_{*}, A tree.

Rev.—OF . LONDON : DARY, * + I . I . H.

By the kind permission of Sir Samuel Ferguson, Deputy Keeper of the Records, Dr. Adams was enabled to examine the Hearth Tax Roll of Londonderry for 1663, preserved in the Public Record Office, Dublin, in which the Issuer of this Londonderry Token is thus mentioned:—

“Sihier-street. James Hobsonn paid tax for four hearths.”

Dr. Adams believes this Londonderry Token was found near Santry a few years since.

Mrs. Palmer sent a Paper on Irish Rathes, or, as they are sometimes called by the Irish, Forts, which seemed to be from the word *Rath*, a corrupt reading of the Ibero-Celtic word *Archa*, which some consider to have an astronomical meaning; but, in all probability, these Rathes were, in ancient times, places where the people met to hear their local chieftains. We had, then, the Irish verb *raedhim* = to speak; the German *Rath-hause* = Senate-house. Several passages were quoted from Johnson, Shakspeare, &c., to show how the word became grafted on our language. Another opinion was, that the aboriginal inhabitants, to whom these rude and primitive structures were attributed, used the inside of the enclosure to guard their cattle by night from the attacks of wolves and other predatory animals, using the crypt for any valuables they possessed, and encamped, themselves, within the circumvallations, three of which sometimes are found. Mrs. Palmer reviewed all the theories which have been put forward regarding not only Forts, but also Cairns, Barrows, Hill-worship, and Sacred Fountains.

The following Papers were contributed:—

THE GERALDINES OF DESMOND.

EDITED BY CANON HAYMAN, B. A.

THE story of the Fitz Gerald, as it divides itself between the twain great houses of Kildare and Desmond, overflows with romantic interest. Narratives abound of almost regal splendour, of thrilling deeds of daring, of unsparing self-sacrifice, of love and beauty as of the dream-land, attesting the grandeur and goodness of the race. Shadowy outlines of these pictures are dimly beheld in the "Peerages" of other days and our own; but such have been uniformly the handywork of the Geraldines' fellow-countrymen; and at times we have longed to know in what light these Florentine nobles presented themselves to the Keltic people, among whom they came as victors. We have asked ourselves, Had the old *seannachies* any knowledge of the family history? Did a nation, proud of its own antiquity, acknowledge these settlers as worthy co-mates? Did they enrol its pedigree in their records? Are there any inedited Irish manuscripts that would illustrate the history of the Geraldines; and if so, where can they be found?

Our queries are capable of being answered in the affirmative; and in our present article we give the first-fruits of some research. Among the literary treasures of the Royal Irish Academy is O'Clery's¹ Book of Pedigrees, from which (pp. 243 *et seq.*) we derive the following curious account of the Fitz Gerald. Our transcript was made by the late Mr. J. O'Beirne Crowe for Mr. A. FitzGibbon, who has generously placed it at our dis-

¹ Our late gifted Associate, John O'Donovan, LL. D., in his Introductory remarks to "The Annals of the Four Masters," has supplied us with particulars of the O'Clerys, to whom Ireland is so indebted for that compilation of her most trustworthy records. The four great annalists were Teige-an-taibhe (i. e. Teige of the mountain), in religion

"Brother Michael," born *circa* 1575; obit 8 November 1635; Conary O'Clery, his brother; Cucogry, or Peregrine O'Clery, a cousin of theirs, obit 1664; and Ferfeasa O'Mulconry, of whom no particulars are extant, save that he was born in the county of Roscommon of a sept that were hereditary antiquaries. The Book of Pedigrees was written by Michael O'Clery.

posal. The proofs have been carefully revised by the Rev. James Goodman, Professor of Irish, of Trinity College, Dublin, who has also collated them with the original Manuscript; and the charges of printing have been defrayed by the munificence of the head of the Geraldines—His Grace the Duke of Leinster, to whom our warmest acknowledgments are hereby tendered.

At the opening of this remarkable compilation of Family History, we have a *resumé* of the usual fables about the first colonization of our country. The compiler, having undertaken to write about invaders and settlers, deemed it advisable to review their story from the first, and commenced in the usual fashion with antediluvian times. He must find us inhabitants; and, as he realised our insular position, he could bring them to Erin only by the sea.¹ The first arrival was that of "three beauteous daughters of Cain," who were followed, at some unfixed interval, by "three" tempest-tossed "fishermen." Next to reach us was Noah's grand-daughter, Ceasair, who conducted a colony of fifty girls and three men, Bith, Ludhra, and Fintan—of whom Fintan only is named by our author. Three centuries from the flood, anno mundi 2520,² came Partholon's colony; then, A. M. 2850, that of Neimhedh. The Fir-Bolgs take possession of the land, A. M. 3266; and, thirty seven years afterwards is the invasion of the Tuatha-de-Danands. The writer passingly alludes to the piracies of the Fomorians, declaring their foray a "conquest which did not take hold," though it heaped unhappiness in Erin. The Milesian settlement is lauded; and "the youths of truth from

¹ Deprived of the teachings of geology, our annalists knew nothing of the changes that have been wrought, chiefly by the action of water, on the surface of our globe. Had they understood that land and sea have continually exchanged their positions, and that our island home was at one time an integral part of the European Continent, they might have spared us their myths about its aboriginal inhabitants. Instead of the channels that now separate us from the sister country and her from France, there were wide well-planted glades, through which flowed

rivers of size and beauty. The land *mammalia*, as they multiplied on the continent, sought new pasturages—the timid fleeing before the fierce; and, pushing westwards, they found no difficulty in reaching us. There were only valleys to traverse, with streams that were fordable, or easily crossed by swimming. Thus came to us the quadrupeds that filled our country; and after them arrived man—a hunter before he was a herdsman—to occupy and possess it.

² These dates are extracted from "The Annals of the Four Masters."

Spain" are represented as taking from the Tuathans the "headship of the land." But finally, warming with his subject, the Bard, while he contemplates preceding settlers and settlements, places the Geraldines high above them, and challenges all with the query, "Where is the better charter?" while he expresses his conviction that theirs was

"A conquest which is the best that Eire found."

We have designedly made this Introduction brief; and we reserve for an Appendix such notes on the history of the Geraldines as may appear desirable for illustration.

DO MINUGAO SENCUSA GERALTACH.

Da meo gabal fuair 'Ene
 Lenamm d'iul gach aen-peime :
 Dul d'á riom ar dlíghed dam,
 An lion cineo lé p'cornao.

Ceo gabail tamic ir tír,
 Trí caoim-ingena Cainn :
 Ma'r gabail í, gen gu p'beao,
 Si nochan pupáil d'aiream.

Tríar iargairne da éir roin
 Tar muir le heigen anfoib,
 Tanuicc go Fáo pionn-glan Fáil,
 Tríar dob' iongnao d'á págbáil.

Cearair ir Fionntain fuair blaoh,
 Tangatar coircc dob' iongnao,
 Fo daig an achao dob' ferr,
 Achao pe ndáil na vileand.

I ceirich Phodla an fochain glain,
 Trí Paptolon d'eir Phionntoin :
 Neimeo andeoib na dhuinge—
 Ní deirco eóil aguinne.

Fir bolg arís, ní rían mion,
 Do gab Eriinn d'eir Neimio :
 Ir Tuat. Dé 'n a ndeadhao roin,
 Ar meabair é pe heolcharb.

THE GERALDINES OF DESMOND.

FROM MICHAEL O'CLERY'S BOOK OF PEDIGREES.

(R. I. Academy Copy, p. 243, et seq.)

What the number of conquests Ere found—
Let us adhere to the knowledge of each one course :
Going to its recounting is lawful for me—
The number of races by whom it was contested.

The first conquest that came to the country
Was the three beauteous daughters of Caain :
If it is a conquest, though that it is not,
It is what is not superfluous to enumerate.

Three fishermen after that
Over sea by force of storm,
Came to the bright-pure Land of Fal,
Three to whom was wonder for the finding of it.

Ceasair and Fintan who found fame,
Came a journey which was wonderful :
On account of the field which was better,
A while before the pouring of the Flood.

To the territory of Fodhla of the pure crop
Comes Partholon after Fintan :
Neimedh after the throng—
Not the end of knowledge with us.

Fir Bolg again—not a small course—
Took Erin after Neimhedh :
And The Tuath De after those—
It is a remembrance with the learned.

Ní airmim fine Fomra,
 Dhong anaitheo, allmotha :
 An gabail nach ar gab gheim,
 Ach car aníod ar Eirio.

Clanna Miled fa mo-glenn
 Rug ó Tuathaib Dé Danono
 Cenbur tise róo-glenn Fáil,
 An ógboib fíne a hEarpain.

Ar enic Fodla, ga ferr cairt ?
 Gabail Muirir meic Deirait :
 Geall úaim nochan fupail di,
 Gabail ar ferr fuair 'Eri.

In íath Erend da éir rin
 Dob' ionda réula ruathnig :
 Gan aon-tolaiḡ i Clár Cuinn
 Nach lán d' aol-toraiḡ aguin.

Ní r'gab aon rí riath noime,
 D'á r'fuaig Inir Laeghoire,
 Ar geab an uair rin re a air—
 Ferr do uairliḡ an eacclair.

Coicc bliadna fichet fúair nóir,
 In Eirio dob é a iméor,
 Do bfuair bar, noch a brecc dath,
 A ecc dob' ead cár cumad.

Ionad an ruiḡ, ní reim dir,
 Gabair gearuit mac Muirir :
 I ccathaiḡ su r'fuaig an einḡ,
 Noch an fúair athach d' Eirinn.

Da bliadain décc, deimín roim,
 Triocá bliadain do bliadnaiḡ :
 Gan a deigh-fior ní r' óliḡ me.
 Ag rin reimior a ríḡhe.

I do not reckon the tribes of the Fomori,
An unknown, foreign thing :
The conquest which did not take hold
But heaping of unhappiness on Erin.

The Clanna Miledh of great valour
Took from the Tuatha De Danand
The headship of the land of pure-sod Fal,
The youths of truth from Spain.

Over the territory of Fodhla, where is the better
The conquest of Maurice, son of Gerald: [charter?,
A pledge from me that it was superfluous for her,
A conquest which is the best that Eire found.

In the land of Erin after that,
Many were the easily-known seals ;
Without one hill in the Plain of Conn
That is not full of lime-towers with us.

No king ever undertook before him
Of those who bound the Isle of Loeghaire,
What he undertook at that time—
A man who exalted the Church.

Twenty-five years he found honor,
In Erin it was his course :
Until he died, not a falsehood for me,
His death—it was a cause of grief.

The king's place, not a trifling grade,
Gerald son of Maurice takes :
In battles until necessity bound him,
No plebeian got Erin.

Twelve years, certain that,
Thirty years of years :
Without its good knowledge I owed not,
That is the course of his reign.

Sealb coiméda inri hAirt
 Gabair Muirir mac Deraile :
 Ar a rgaith do bí an banba,
 Do chi cach a chomarda.

Caocca bliadan, ar bect lind,
 Do bað giurtir é ar Einn :
 Ní r'chuir ro an raogal ipedh.
 A naomadh do pa deirpedh.

Ocht mbliadna an aic a athar
 Tomar Mór gan meachad :
 D'á aithrib nó uada alle
 Ní chuala a aicgin d'oidre.

D'eir Tomair na r'eitig fer,
 Ag Seain ar goit Daeideal :
 Ceitpe bliadna do bí a rmaict,
 Ca ní ar diairpa d'a ndubairt.

Seain ir Muirir a mac ;
 Tú ic aonar d'eir na raon-plat !
 Frit mar roin, a 'Ere, é'faill,
 Tre goin do chele i Callainn.

Do bí an tiri ri pa tt' ug-laim,
 Oidhre Muirir, meic Seain,
 Diairpa piocha, mar do fáir :
 Da bliadain piocha ag Tómar.

Tar éir Tomair, tuar báide,
 Do Muirir foib pionn-maighe—
 Riagla na r'coilleð pe cloind—
 Do poindeð lapla agoinn.

Ar Eirind in ionað rioð,
 Do r'chabair í ar gachn imínsom :
 Do bí ant lapla ag teictai-troiect
 Tri bliadna cepta ar caoccoit.

The possession of the guardianship of the Island of
 Maurice son of Gerald takes : [Art.
 Under his shelter the Banba was—
 Every one sees its token.

Fifty years, it is a perception with us,
 He was justice over Erin :
 He placed not happiness in world or time—
 He was sanctified at last.

Eight years in the place of his father,
 Thomas the great without erring :
 Of his fathers or from him hither
 I have heard not of his likeness of an heir.

After Thomas who refused not a man
 The awe of John on the field of the Gaedil :
 Four years his power was,
 What thing that is more sorrowful of what I have said ?

John and Maurice his son,
 Thou, thy lone one after the noble scions :
 Thus was found, O Ere, thy excess of grief,
 Through the slaying of thy consort in Callan.

This land was under thy tender hand,
 Heir of Maurice, son of John,
 A fastness for hunting, as it grew :
 Thirty-two years with Thomas.

After Thomas, omen of affection,
 Of Maurice of the sod of Fair-Plain—
 A rule which was not stained by his children—
 An Earl was made with us.

Over Erin in place of king
 Until he helped her against every difficulty ;
 The Earl was at just fighting
 Three right years over fifty.

Tuḡ tap eir an 'Iapla moir,
 An a mac, moirde an onoir,
 Aentoḡa le p'ḡeab an ḡort
 Nap-ben aontoma, an 'Iaplocht.

An iaplacht tap eir Mhuirir
 Re Muirir 'Occ áontuighir :
 Da bliadain do bí 'n a leir,
 Ḣan ní d'iarraib le hain-bpéir.

Ḣeapóirt 'Iapla ná p'raon ḡeir
 'S an iaplacht tap eir Muirir :
 Do len an pí an peacht noime,
 Do bí a téacht i cappingoipe.

D'a nairéarín ó'r eoh rachatt,
 Bliadain pe coir cethraáat,
 Do bí a éire i Muir Muman—
 Scél ar a bfuil fádhnuḡad.

Do ḡab Seaan 'r a naoir óig
 An iaplacht tap eir Ḣepóirt :
 Ní fuair, ar é 'n a 'Iapla,
 Do pé acht uain aoin bliadna.

Tomar 'Iapla na p'diult dáin
 'S an iaplaáit tap eir Seaan :
 Fiche bliadain, búan a rmacht,
 Ríagail uadh ar an iaplaáit.

Seniur, mac Ḣepóirt, do ḡab,
 Co hiomlán iaplacht Muman :
 Leim tap tí tucc ó corppuch,
 Co ruḡ pí ar an Sémor roin.

Do plán a aithḡin d'faghbáil,
 A pí len hail iomarbairḡ ;
 Tapir rin do ruḡ la rinod,
 Do ruḡ nó d' 'Iapla in 'Érinod.

Gave after the great Earl
On his son, greater the honor,
One choice, by which he won the Field,
The marriageable, noble woman, the Earlship.

The Earlship after Maurice,
With Maurice the young unites ;
Two years she was in his keeping
Without asking of aught with bad judgment.

Garret the Earl, who refused not a request,
In the Earlship after Maurice :
The king followed the law before him—
His coming was in prophecy.

To the reckoning of them since it is it I shall go to,
A year by the foot of forty,
His power was in the Plain of Mumha,
A story on which there is testimony.

John in the young age
Took the Earlship after Garret ;
He found not, and he as an Earl,
Of time but the opportunity of one year.

Thomas the Earl, who denied not friendship,
In the Earlship after John :
Twenty years, lasting the power,
Rule from him on the Earlship.

James, son of Garret, took
In full the Earlship of Mumha :
A jump over a circle (?) she took from the beginning,
Until she overtook that James.

Defiance to you his likeness to get,
O man, who wishest controversy :
Beyond him of king with understanding,
Of king or of Earl in Erin.

Dá fíchit bliadain bunaid,
Dá bliadain do ar Deap-Mumán :
Cain gac tíre do tabairg
I riige raím, riothamail.

Do gab Tómar, tanic lair,
An iaplaét tap eir Semair :
Cúig bliadna do bí ar a iocht,
Fa ní ir fa h'lapla in einfeét.

Séct mbliadna, fa boib an pair,
Do'n iaplacht tap éir Tómair,
Mar briahtar do bí in glar
No go panaig rí Semar.

Sémur sapla in a ionad,
Mochin uadh do'n aitériobal :
Ní fuair í an ceid-íeal le cept,
Do ní eiccen p'án oibreét.

Thibe aca len ab ail
Roimn eiohpeacta d'faghail,
An pé lán, ar é Semor
A ílan fan té taigepor.

Ní fuighet ag eolcainb oile
D'éccrib liri Ugoine,
Thi be diob buð diamra pior
An lion iapla do airmior.

Ar an mbreac fa deireð di,
An lion gabal fuair 'Eri
Deall fa deoidh ag gabail gall,
Ar faghail gac eóil agam.

Thá mét.

Aoir Chripte an tan tanic Muirir mac Dehailc, ó'
tác Dehalcoicc, et Roibeit mac Sciamna, ó' tác Clann
tSlemni in Eirind. (Clann en-inathar íate ardon, et

Forty years of origin,
Two years for him over Desmond :
The tribute of every country he exacted
In quiet, peaceful rule.

Thomas, who came with him, took
The Earlship after James :
Five years it was in his confidence—
He was king and he was Earl altogether.

Seven years, rough was the suffering,
For the Earlship after Thomas,
Like a captive who was in fetter,
Until it came to James.

James the Earl in his place,
Welcome from him to the return :
He got it not the first time by right,
He makes force about the heirship.

Whichever of you with whom it is desirable
The share of his heirship to get
The full moon, it is James—
Defiance to him who would dispute it !

There would not be found with other learned
Of the poets of The Island of Eogan,
Whichever of them is of darkest knowledge,
The number of Earls I have enumerated.

It is our judgment at last of it—
The number of conquests Erin found
A pledge at last with the conquest of foreigners
On finding of every knowledge with me.
What the number.

The age of Christ the time came to Erin Maurice son
of Gerald, from whom are Geraldines, and Robert son of
Stephen, from whom are Clan tSlemni : (The Children of

apraon la Diaimaitt Mac Murchada do denam gabaltair inn Eriub tangatar ar forairem a Phionnra an dara Ríng hEnrí, ní Saxon. Et ar ar tarrpains Diaimata nan Gall do riachtatar an trocraibí ro Eriub, amail innirer Camperenr). Anno m.c.lxx. Acht ceta roba tóirecha Roibend mac Seiamna, et Diaimaitt mac Murchada ina Muirir mac Gearalt. Muirir do tcheacht in adiaib, et an gabaltur do tionnighaib roime, amail airneider an Camperenr.

do minugad sencusa gearaltach, oi an oirh-euhaid, et oi a mbas inoso.

bár Muirir, meic Gearalt, hi mí meoin an Phogh-mair, ier mbreic búada o Oherman et ó doman. Anno Da bliadain 7 fiche iar rin co marbad Cailén Uí Chuilén hi epich Conaill Gabra ir in Mairain la phlocht an Muirir rin.

bár Gearalt, meic Muirir, iurcir na hErenn. m.cc.u.

bár Muirir, meic an Gearalt rin, Fonduir nam brachar Minor inn Eó-choill: oir ar é ro eubair Mairtir Eo-chaille do Dia 7 do naom FR. Ocur baor féin in a bratair ir in Mairtir rin, ar na forbad. anno. m.cc.l.iii.

bár Tomair, meic Muirir, m.cc.lx.

bár Seain et a meic .i. Muirir a cCallainn Glinn Ua Ruactain, in Dear-Murain: et ar é an Seain rin eug Mairtir Tragha lí amach do Dhia ar a anmain féin achaid rian a bár. Et ar e an Seann ro, mac Tomair, 7 a mac Muirir, ceid diar do Ghepaltachaid do hanaced i Mairtir Tragha lí, 7 ir in taob thar¹ Di ro hadnait. m.cc.lxx. Et do baor an Seann rin gan phlocht air ag paghbail bair dó, act bean a meic cor-pach. Et do cuireb clann mor oile chuirce rian a bár

¹ The contraction here is th, which might mean any of the cardinal points.

one mother these together, and together with Diarmait, son of Murchad, they came for the making of a conquest in Erin at the command of their prince, the second King Henry, King of the Saxons. And it is at the invitation of Diarmait of the Foreigners, this company reached Erin, as the Cambrensian states :) Anno, 1170. But, however, Robert, son of Stephen, and Diarmait, son of Murchadh, were earlier than Maurice, son of Gerald. Maurice came after them, and the conquest was begun before him, as the Cambrensian declares.

OF THE EXPLANATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE GERALDICS, OF THEIR DESTRUCTIONS, AND OF THEIR DEATH HERE.

The death of Maurice, son of Gerald, in the middle month of Autumn, after the bearing away of victory from Devil and from world, Anno . . . Two years and twenty after that to the killing of Cuilen Ua Chuilein in the territory of Conall Gabhra in Mumha (Munster) by the issue of that Maurice.

The death of Gerald, son of Maurice, Justice of Erin, 1205.

The death of Maurice, son of that Gerald, Founder of the Brothers Minor in Eochóill (Youghal): for it is he who presented the monastery of Eochaille (Youghal) to God and to Saint Francis, and he himself was a Brother in the Monastery, after its completion, in the year 1257.

The death of Thomas, son of Maurice, 1260.

The death of John and of his son, that is, Maurice, in Callan of Glend Ua Ruachtain in Desmond: and it is this John who consecrated the monastery of Tralee to God for his own soul, a while before his death. And it is this John, son of Thomas, and his son Maurice, who are the first pair that were buried in the north side of it: they were buried 1270. And that John was without issue when dying, save his son's wife, who was pregnant. And another large offspring was sent him (the son) before his death, namely, Yellow Maurice Ua Cinnedigh,

.i. Muirir buidé Ua Cinneidig, ó bfuilit Clann meic an Ridire: et Sibun Ua Cuindin, ó' tat Clan Sibún: Seann Mór na Cuille, a quo Clann Seacan moir na Supruinde, a quo clann Tomair an Triucha. An bliadain cetna topchar Pingin Renda Róin, ní Dear-Mhuman, 7 'O cCairppi, La Miler De Cupra.

'Ar mbreic an coirpcepa a dubnamur .i. Tomar, mac Muirir meic Seacan, meic Tomair, naoi mbliadna .x. ar .xx. dó i tigeppur, co bfuair báp i Cairlén Núa O cConaill: et no hadnaiceó hi Traicch Uí, íep mbreic buada ó Dhemian et ó doman. Et ar é an Tomar po an naoide rug an Appa lé ar beinó Mainirrech Traigha Uí. bap Tomair, meic Muirir, meic Seacan, meic Tomair, meic Muirir, meic Sepuile, Anno. m.cc.xc.ii.

báp Muirir, meic Tomair, céit Iapla Dep-Mhuman et Iurcir na hErend, in Aé Chiaé, m.ccc.l.u.

báp a meic .i. Muirir, meic Muirir, an dapa h'Iapla, m.ccc.l.úí.

báp Seacan, meic Muirir, meic Tomair, an tper Iapla. m.ccc.lx.ix.

báp an cethraime h'Iapla .i. Sepoit, meic Muirir, ip in Cairlén Nua. m.ccc.xc.ix.

báp an coigeó h'Iapla .i. Seacan, mac Sepoit .i. a babad in Aé Arda Fionain por Siuir. m.ccc.xc.x.

báp Muirir, meic Sepoit, an peireó Iapla. m.cccc.i.

báp an reachtmaó Iapla .i. Tomar mac Seacan, ip in Nopmoint i cachair Rocho-maige. m.cccc.xx.

báp hSemaip, meic Sepoit, an tochtmaó h'Iapla, cenn oiníg 7 enghaíma Fionnghall Erend in a aimrip: per po deplaic ionnmar 7 maoiné iomda: per po meoag an iaplacht 7 do riúne gabaltur por il-tírib: amail ata Ciarrnaige Cuirce, et bapuntacht Aine, et Uí mac Aille, et na Airinide, 7 apoile cenmoát. hi Cairlen Nua 'O cConaill acbat iap bporbad a aoiri, et a adnacul hi Traigh Uí. m.cccc.ln.ii.

Oidheó Tomáir, meic Semaip, Iapla Dep-Mhuman,

from whom are Clann Meie an Ridire : and Gibun Ua Cuindin, from whom are Clann Gibun : Seaan Moran Cuille, from whom are Clann Seaain Moirna Sursuindi : Thomas, from whom are Clann Tomais an Trucha. The same year fell Fingin Renda Roin, king of Desmond and O'Cairpre by Miles De Courcy.

After the birth of the conception we have named, that is, Thomas, son of Maurice, son of John, he was thirty years in Lordship, until he died in Caislen Nua O'Conaill, and he was buried in Tralee, after the carrying away of victory from Devil and from world. And this Thomas is the infant the Ape carried off with her on the gable of the monastery of Tralee. The death of Thomas, son of Maurice, son of John, son of Thomas, son of Maurice, son of Gerald, Anno, 1296.

The death of Maurice, son of Thomas, first Earl of Desmond, and Justice of Erin, in Ath Cliath, 1355.

The death of his son, namely, Maurice, son of Maurice, the second Earl, 1357.

The death of John, son of Maurice, son of Thomas, the third Earl, 1369.

The death of the fourth Earl, namely, Garret, son of Maurice in Caislen Nua, 1399.

The death of the fifth Earl, namely, John, son of Garret, that is, his drowning in Ath Arda Fionain on Suir, 1400.

The death of Maurice, son of Garret, the sixth Earl, 1401.

The death of the seventh Earl, namely, Thomas, son of John, in Normandy, in the city of Rotho-Magh, 1420.

The death of James, son of Garret, the eighth Earl, head of the hospitality and of the valour of the fair Foreigners of Erin in his time : a man who bestowed wealth and numerous gifts : a man who enlarged the Earldom, and made conquest on many lands : such as Ciarraighe Cuirce, and the Baronetcy of Aine, and Ui Mac Aille, and the Airinidhe, and others besides. In Caislen Nua O'Conaill he died after the ending of his age, and he was buried in Tralee, 1462.

The destruction of Thomas, son of James, Earl of

an naomadh lapa. Ar amlaid tpla do .i. Seon Tipta .i. lapa Obupetpa do tect in Epinn in a luptir, et gairm do cor uada for Gallaid Epenn gur an chomairle moir co Opoicet Acha: 7 rob olc an chomairle do ronadh Andrin .i. Tomar mac Semair lapa do dicendadh gan coir, gan cionta, gan cept, gan dligeadh, aet enueth 7 formar: fer dob' fearr dealb 7 denom, gaoir 7 gliccur do Gallaid, no Gaeidelaib a aimrpe. N pomolta molaadh da mc do ctiubartaoi fair. Ro gab aon-baid cumadh goill 7 Gaoidil Epenn imon on-br rin. Ro epaotadh 7 no coirneadh an Tomar lapa ro a naimde 7 a epccairde ri gach uair hi tachradh friu.

Da moir epa an caet no bir for builepachaidh ag Siuir, 7 no meabadh forpa. Roba drim in no marbadh 7 in nobaidheadh diobh ir in Siuir do'n cur rin: 7 no ppoineptar maomanna iomda oile nac airimter punn. Da tigeirna eirga, eolac i Latir, im berla, et i pen-rcneptaidh Gaoidelge an Tomar rin. Ar lair beor tugadh maoidhm moir-adbal for Reid an Eich buide for Cloinnibh Capthaidh.

An coirgeadh la do m Febriu no dicendadh an tpla, et bliadham 7 da fichit a aoir an tan rin, et hi Thaidh L no hadnact. m.cccc.lxx.iii. Ro digail Dia an feall rin forr ant do poine i .i. for Seon T., uair no dicendadh eiride la hlapla O bapuc iair rin.

Oideadh Semair lapa, meic Tomair i Rant Gaela la Seaan Mantac mac Tiobuin a Muig Tamnac epa feill 7 piongoil. Ro digail Dia 7 daoine an fell rin forr ant do poine, 7 no imtigh gan iartpaigne. Roba deacmaic maiciur 7 il-gnomha an tSemair rin d' airneir, no a inuoirin.

Muirir an Caprait, mac Tomair, do gabail na hlaplachta di a eir. m.cccc.lxx.i. Rob' iolapda a ccoctadh 7 a chatuadh fri Gallaid 7 fri Gaeidelaib: et ba heiriom no buaidigeadh forpa. m.cccc.xc.iii.

Desmond, the ninth Earl. It is thus it happened to him. John Tiptoft, that is, Earl of Worcester, came to Erin as Justice, and a call was sent from him on the foreigners of Erin to the great Consultation to Drogheda: and bad was the consultation that was made there, namely, Thomas, son of James, to be beheaded, without crime, without guilt, without right, without law, but jealousy and envy: a man who was the best in figure and shape, in wisdom and acuteness of the foreigners and Goedels of his time. It is not too much of praising—a praising however great that could be bestowed upon him. One rivalry of grief seized upon the foreigners and Goedels of Erin about that stain—death. This Thomas Earl used to subdue and bring down his foes and his enemies at every time in which he contended with them.

Now great was the battle he broke upon Butlers at Suir, and which was won upon them. Numberless is what was killed and what was drowned of them in the Suir on that occasion: and he won many other defeats, which are not enumerated here. A lord wise, learned in Latin, in English, and in the old writings of the Goedelic was that Thomas. It is by him further was given that great vast defeat on the “Plain of the Yellow Steed” on the Clann Carthaigh.

The fifth day of the month of February the Earl was beheaded, and forty-one years was his age that time, and in Tralee he was buried, 1467. God avenged that treachery on him who committed it, that is, on John Tiptoft, for himself was beheaded by Earl O’Barreich after that.

The destruction of Earl James, son of Thomas, in Rath Gacla (Rathkeale) by John Mac Gibuin the stammerer from Magh Tamnach through treachery and treason. God and man avenged that treachery on him who committed it, and he departed without posterity. It were difficult to declare or state the goodness and the many works of that James.

Maurice of the Chariot, son of Thomas, took the Earlship after him, 1471. Many were his warrings and his battleings against foreigners and against Goedels: and it is he who used to win over them: 1497.

báir Gearoitt, meic Semaír, Iapla Dear-Mumán in
 Aird Móir, 7 ní ro faoilret a chairde a écc fíri hadairt
 ar iomair a chaí 7 a congáil. Ar é do choið plógh lan-
 mór do díogáil a bhrathar fop Gallair Míde .i. an
 Tomar ro dicendad in Oíocet Áta. Ro loircead 7 ro-
 creachad la Gearoid, mac Semaír Iapla, urmór Míde 7
 Laigen, cenmotat a chairde, et do bfuir ariall di a
 ccaiplenair .i. an Cairlén Núa, et Raich Suair, 7
 do tobair Tomar Iapla Chille Dara fop Gallair Míde
 et Áta Chiat iapn a gabair i fell uoir. Deirbir dó cia
 nocháir in gnuairt cuir 7 anma di a foirir, ar ba
 ri Sioban ingen Semaír Iapla ba bain-cele dó, et do eirig
 imbaí braitair et a ccaor condailbe fíri ariole. Et
 ro fulair mac an Iapla mór do duad 7 do do char fop
 an pluairgí fín : 7 ro loirc ariall do chrioh buileirac
 do'n corur fín .i. Fioboir, et ro bfuir maomanna iomda
 oile nac airimter. Rohadairt iapn a écc amair acrub-
 namor i Mairirir nam braitair Mionúr in Eó-chail.

Aoir Chriur. m.cccc.xx.v. an tan do gabad Gearóit,
 Iapla Chille Dara, la hEduard Poir. ba hamlaí
 capla indoir : Gearoid, Iapla Chille Dara, et luirir na
 hErend ne hachair imcein, do tocht in Eirinn, 7 Eduard
 Poir in a chaomteet, in a luirir ó níg Saxan henri.
 Ro geall Eduard nia teet in Eirinn dó comairle Iapla
 Cille Dara do denm, et cup lair in airí cach aoin, et
 tuccrat plána an níg di ariole im comall gach neit d'a
 n'geallrat in a fiadairi.

'O do ruactator in Eirinn fop lin enuít 7 fopmar
 Eduard fíri in Iapla ar a teit-moltaib : arioi ba mair
 na braitair nochanaí fíri, 7 ba cealgaí a croidé do, co
 ro gabad Gearóit lair fodeoir i Cuir an Ríg in Át
 Chiat. ba cruag tra an gnuom fín .i. feall do denm
 fop antí d'a n'geallrat Foill 7 Gaoidil Erend, 7 do rat
 raí 7 tuairtaral dóir, et do airí na fáraí do nontat
 Gaoidil fop Gallair i Laiguir, i Muir breí 7 a Míde ;

The death of Garret, son of James, Earl of Desmond, in Ard Mor: and his friends imagined not his death against a pillow, on account of the number of his battles and his contests. It is he who went with a large host for the avenging of his brother on the foreigners of Meath .i. the Thomas who was beheaded in Drogheda. The greater part of Meath and of the Laighne, except his friends, was burned and plundered by Garret, son of Earl James: and he broke some of their castles, namely, an Caislen Nua (New Castle), and Rath Guaire; and Thomas Earl of Kildare put exactions on the foreigners of Meath and of Ath Cliath after his (James?) being taken in treachery by them. Reasonable for him that he should come in danger of body and of soul to his assistance, for it was she, Siobhan, daughter of Earl James, who was his wife: and their great paternal love and their flame of connexion arose towards each other. And the Earl's son suffered much of injury and of harm on that hosting, and he burned a portion of the territory of the Butlers on that tour, namely, Fidord, and he broke many other defeats, which are not enumerated. He was buried after his death, as we have said, in the Monastery of the Brothers Minor in Youghal.

The Age of Christ, 1422, when Garret, Earl of Kildare, was taken by Edward Pouis. It was how that happened: Garret, Earl of Kildare, and Justice of Erin for a very long time, came to Erin, and Edward Pouis in his company as Justice from the king of the Saxons, Henry. Edward promised before his coming to Erin to do the will of the Earl of Kildare, and to act with him against every one, and they gave the pledges of the king to each other about the fulfilment of every thing of what they promised in his presence.

After they had come to Erin jealousy and envy filled Edward against the Earl on account of his character-praises: nevertheless sweet were the words he used to speak to him, and deceitful was his heart to him, until Garret was taken by him at last in the King's Court in Ath Cliath. Now pitiful was that act, namely, to commit treachery on him to whom foreigners and Goedils paid homage, and who gave presents and wages to them, and

et do róine mainirreca 7 tempuill 7 cairleim do tóg-
bail ir na páraighib rin d'aimdeoin Thaidel: per po ep-
ghair goite 7 eiccen 7 aindligeò, placc et rapuòd re a
neimur ind Eirinn.

Tainic olc-adbar mor imned etuail-ngeac in Eirinn
ainride. Ro éiomairc et po éionoil an lurtir Saxanac
Thoil Laigen et Mide et Oirgall, et Mac Iarla Ur-
Mhuman 7 buicleraig aréna, et Mac Murchada, et
Thaidil Laigen, 7 arail do riol mbriain, ba óinim
do airneiri na pluair rin ar an iomacc lionmairc. Tan-
gatar i coinne 7 hi comdail Thelac co Popt Laigne
do éabar gléid doib.

Ba hir in tan rin tanuicc coblach óinime in Eirinn,
et acbeirtir an coblac gu r'uo hé mac Ríng 'Eduard
.i. mac rið Saxan, tanuicc and do congnam la hlarla
Der-Mhuman in aghaid a namat, et acbeirtir Saxanairg
ba go. Et po oirireptar mac Ríng 'Eduard in Eirinn
fri haéaid foda. Tugurtar ant Iarla .i. Muirir,
maite Thelac 7 a muintepe di a raðaid .i. Clann
Tomair Iarla .i. Tomar, Seaan, Thoid, Thelc, et
Semur mac Iarla Cille Dara, et an bannac Mor, et an
Riðipe Fionn, et Donnchad 'Og mac Carthairg, et maite
Cloinne Síitg, et apoile damact cen moat.

Et acbeirt ant Iarla riu calma do denam in aghaid a
namat, et gu r'bo maite an riop-catha baol acu .i. Th-
róite Iarla Cille (Dara) do gabail i feill 7 i meabail
do'n lurtir Saxanach. Et acbeirt riu gu r'bo dóib ba
dú 7 ba óion oirpechar 7 oplamur an éine im batar:
“oir ar é Muirir mac Thelc, ó r'geinret Thelcraig,
do ben an ducraig ar eiccin do garraðaid Thaidel, 7 do
laocraðaid Loelann.”

Do batar Thelcraig re lá con an oibhrib ag pur-
naide re tacar no re tegmail d'raðail ó Thallaid Mide

who got inhabited the deserts the Goedels had made upon the foreigners in the Laigne, in Magh Bregb, and in Meath, and who caused monasteries and temples and castles to be raised in those deserts in spite of Goedels : a man who forbade robbery and force and unlawfulness, plunder and violation, during his rule in Erin.

There came great cause of evils and of unbearable troubles in Erin then. The Saxon Justice gathered and collected the foreigners of the Laigne, and of Meath, and of the Oirghialla, and the son of the Earl of Ormond, and the rest of the Butleries, and Mac Murchada, and the Goedels of the Laigne, and some of the Siol Briain. Countless would be the difficulties of stating those hosts on account of the abundance of their numerousness. They came into the presence and the gathering of the Geraldines to Port Lairge to give battle to them.

It was in that time a countless fleet came to Erin, and the fleet used to say that it was the son of King Edward, the son of the king of the Saxons, that had come there for assisting with the Earl of Desmond against his enemies, and the Saxons used to say it was false. And the son of King Edward remained in Erin for a long time. The Earl, namely Maurice, brought the chiefs of the Geraldines and their peoples to meet him : that is, the sons of Earl Thomas, namely, Thomas, John, Garret, Gerald, and James son of the Earl of Kildare, and the Barrach Mor, and the White Knight, and Donnchadh Og Mac Carthaigh, and the chiefs of Clanni Sithigh, and other parties besides.

And the Earl said to them to perform bravery against their enemies, and that the proof of battle they had was good, namely, the Earl of Kildare to be taken in treachery and in shame by the Saxon Justice. And he said to them that to them were due and were lawful the supremacy and keeping of the country in which they were : " for it is Maurice, son of Gerald, from whom the Geraldines have descended, that wrested their inheritance from the scions of the Goedil and from the heroes of the Lochlainn."

The Geraldines were six days with their nights a-waiting for getting contest or struggle from the foreigners

ἡ Λαίγην, ἡ ἡ νό κοῖνυαίρρετ ποῶοιῶ. ὅα μαίτ αν κοῖν-
αίρλε ριν, υαίρ βα λάμ ι νετ ḡρῖβε νό ναίρρακ ἀμυρ κατὰ
δο εἰαβαίρετ πορ Ἱεραιτᾶχαίῶ. 'Ο να ρυαίρ αντ λαίρλα
αν τᾶχαρ. δο χυαίῶ ḡο εῖρῖχ ὅυιτῆρακ. Δο κρεαχᾶῶ ἡ
δο λοίρκεῶ, δο ἡιονῶραῶ ἡ δο ἡαίρḡεῶ λοίρ Κοῖνᾶε Cille
Cainniḡ .i. Ἱάβραν ἡ ὅαίλε μείε Ἀνταίρ, ἡ Cnoc an
Tochar ἡ Callan ἡ ἀρρῖβείρ κο Cnoc na .U. míle; ἡ ἀρ
ρῖν ρῖαρ ḡυρ αν Ρίccoíll. ἡ βα μείρνε δο ρονῖρατ Ἱεραι-
ταḡ αν ὀβαίρ ρῖν, υαίρ δο ρῖῶρ πορβαίρ ἡ πορ long-por-
αν ταν ρῖν ι εῖρῖ ὅυιτῆρακ δο αῖμῶεοίρ Ἱáll ἡ Ἱαοῖνῆλ
Erienn, βαταρ ιν αν ἀḡαίῶ. Δο bloḡᾶῶ et δο ḡρῖρεῶ leo
ἀρᾶíll δι α ccaírlénaíḡ.

Δο χοῖῶ τῖρα Sémur, mac laírla Cille Dapa, ἀρ αν
Mumáíρ ιν α εῖρ ρείρ, ἀμαίλ βα τοίχ ὁῶ δο ρείρ ρῖῶḡίρ
nan íarplaḡt ὁ ρ'ῖᾶρ. ὅα μαίτ αν ρείρ ἡ αν ρῖῶᾶῶ ἀρ αν
veachaíῶ í Contae Chille Dapa αν ταν ρῖν; ὕαρ, δο
ḡáḡurṡaíρ neapṡ ἀρ α ναῖμῶῖḡ δο'ḡ cṡρ ρῖν, et δο chú-
aíḡḡ ι ρeíḡ na ἡarplaḡṡa δο chaítem et δο cṡρnam, et
ρṡ ḡáḡáḡurṡaíρ tṡen et tṡeíρῖ ὁ Chethaplaḡ co ḡᾶt
Lúain. ὅα ἡῖρ ιν ḡḡaḡáíρ ρῖν atbaṡ Contaoíρ Cille
Dapa, ben Ἱepoíṡṡ Ἱarpla .i. Allṡun Uṡḡar ιν Ἀt Clíat
Duíḡḡínnṡ. Ἀtḡepaṡ apṡíle ḡṡ ρab' δο chumaḡᾶ αν
laírla atbaṡ. ὅα ḡaíρḡḡ τῖρα ὁ'ῖḡḡeḡaíḡ Erienn αν ρeíḡ
ρῖν.

(To be continued.)

of Meath and of the Laigne, and by no means did they get it at last. That was a good resolve, for a hand into a griffin's or a serpent's nest would be to give an attack of battle upon the Geraldines. Since the Earl did not get the contest, he went into the territory of the Butlers. Plundered and burned, laid waste and destroyed by him was the County of Cell Cainnigh (Kilkenny), that is, Gabran (Gouran), and Baile meic Antain (Thomastown), and Cnoc an Tochair (Knocktopher), and Callan, and from that to Cnoc na Ui Mile: and from that westwards to the Riecoll. And frequently did the Geraldines perform that work, for they used to make siege and opposing-encampment that time in the territory of the Butlers, in spite of the Gaill and the Goedil of Erin, who were against them. Some of their castles were shivered and broken by them.

Now James, son of the Earl of Kildare, went out of Munster into his own country, as was lawful for him according to the propriety of the Earlsip from which he had sprung. Good was the omen and the fortune on which he went into the County of Kildare that time; for he had won power over his foes on that turn, and he went to enjoy and to defend the possession of the Earlsip, and he had won chieftaincy and power from Cetharlach to Athlone. It was in that year died the Countess of Kildare, wife of Earl Garret, namely, Allsun Eustace in Ath Cliath of Dublin. Some say that it was from grief for the Earl she died. Now a heart-sore to the poets of Erin was that news.

(To be continued.)

THE THREE THOLSELS OF KILKENNY.

BY JOHN HOGAN, T. C.

THE word Tholsel we are told comes from two Saxon words *Toll*, tax or custom, and *sel*, seat or booth, *i.e.*, the stall or booth for the receipt of the tolls or customs, somewhat equivalent to the term "Custom-house," in cities, and "Custom-gap," in fair-greens. The existence of tolls, customs, and similar exactions called by other names, must be as old as the existence of civil society; and, the existence of an official stall or station for the receipt and regulation of those impositions must be, in point of time, equal to the exactions themselves; hence, from the time Kilkenny was first enclosed by walls, and privileged by special immunities and franchises, there must have been a Tholsel or official toll-booth in the town, by whatever name it may have been called. In the year 1375, Letters Patent¹ were issued to the corporation of Kilkenny, granting, for the space of seven years, and for the repairs of the walls, bridges, and pavements of the town, certain tolls or customs imposed on commodities offered for sale within the walls of the "Villa"; and, at the same time, if not long before it, there must have been established in the town some such public institution as a Tholsel or Custom-house, for the enactment of municipal laws and of general local legislation. Such a building, and designated "the Tholsel," stood in Kilkenny in the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was then an old structure, and may have been two hundred years built. In the early part of the following, or seventeenth century, a second or "new Tholsel" is found in existence here; and, in the middle of the next, or eighteenth century, we have on record the erection of a third building of the same name within the city, and hence three distinct buildings are referred

¹ "Letters Patent." This curious old document is preserved in Ledwich, No.

V., "Appendix of Original Records."

to, in documents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as the "Old Tholsel," the "New Tholsel," and the "Tholsel" of Kilkenny.

The first reference that I have been able to discover to a Tholsel, in Kilkenny, is the following curious passage from the *Liber Primus*¹ *Kilkenniae*:—Item—"In the year of the king, before written and A.D. 1517, the great and little solars with all the other timber structures and gates in the said Tholsel, were constructed under the supervision of the said sovereign (Walter Courcy), at the public cost."

"Item—The same year and in the manner aforesaid, was built the new stone gateway below, on the east side of the said Tholsel, and in it was placed the iron grate taken by force from the Castle of Bernard, the then Macgillapatrik, called Coolkill,² in Ossory, by the sovereign and commons of the town of Kilkenny, then in warlike array, aided by Sir Peirs Butler, Knight, and afterwards Earl of Ormonde. Also the new wall in the solar of the said Tholsel was repaired in the midst."

"Item—More cannon were made, and divers hawberks were bought for the inhabitants for the defence of the town. Item—There was bought at the public expense, and under the supervision of the said sovereign, a new red banner charged with the arms or shield of the town."

It has been lately asserted³ that the building referred to in this extract was the "New Tholsel" of Kilkenny. This, however, is a mistaken conjecture, for, as we shall immediately see, there was no gateway in the east wall of the "New Tholsel," that wall having been

¹ "*Liber Primus*." The most ancient book of the Kilkenny Corporation known to be in existence. It is a vellum Latin MS. of the middle of the sixteenth century. The passage quoted above is from a translation made by Rev. Mr. Graves; see *History, Antiquities, and Architecture of the Cathedral of St. Canice*, p. 220, n.a.

² "Coolkill." Now Cullahill, about two Irish miles west of Durrow, Queen's

County. The remains of M'Gillapatrik's Castle still stand there in proud isolated prominence, and, with their desolate surroundings, attest the ancient importance of the place.

³ "Recently asserted." By Rev. John F. Shearman, in his valuable "Notes on the Early Kings of Ossory (Loca Patriciana)," *Journal of the R. H. and A. A. of Ireland*, p. 401: April, 1878.

flanked on the outside by a range of houses through which a narrow passage from Mary's-lane formed a back entrance into the Tholsel. That the building denominated the "Tholsel," in the "*Liber Primus*," was identical with the structure denominated a century later, the "Old Tholsel," appears certain, but there are different opinions respecting the precise locality of that edifice in the town. Two different places have been assigned for the site of the "Old Tholsel." The first is that of the Victoria Hotel. The second, the block of houses in High-street, now occupied by Messrs. Levinge, Manning, and the adjoining house. The ground for each of those opinions is as follows:—

The Earl of Ormonde, who died in the year 1614, by his last will appointed an hospital to be built in a waste place near the "Old Tholsel" of Kilkenny. Walter Butler, who succeeded to the earldom, and was the eleventh Earl of Ormonde, procured the charter for this incorporation on the 16th May, 1631, under the name of the "Hospital of our Blessed Saviour, Kilkenny." This hospital came down to our times, under the name of the "Ormonde Poor-house." About the year 1840,¹ this old house was taken down by the late Mr. William Aikenhead, and the house built on its site still called the "Ormonde House." The proximity of this hospital to the Victoria Hotel points to the latter as having been the site of the "Old Tholsel" of Kilkenny. This waste place on which the hospital was built is clearly the same as that referred to in a corporate rental² of 1628. Three years before

¹ "Year 1840." In A.D. 1839, the late Marquis of Ormonde obtained from the Corporation a lease of the ground in St. John's Green, on which he then erected the present Ormonde Poor-house; on the completion of which, the old poor-house, which occupied the site of the present "Ormonde House" was taken down.

² "Corporate Rental." Published by Ledwich, from one of the Laffan MSS. James Laffan lived opposite St. John's Church, at the corner of Maudlin-street, in the quaint old mansion now the Dis-

tillery store. In the year 1794, the Corporation executed a lease to this James Laffan and John Helaham, for 500 years, at 6d. per annum, of "The Chapel, Priest's house and garden" in Maudlin-street. This James Laffan was an industrious compiler of local historical materials: he handed over to Dr. Ledwich his valuable collection of papers, which that author made little other use of than to acknowledge his indebtedness for them to Mr. Laffan, and to suppress for ever their perusal to all other inquirers.

Walter Butler took out the charter for the hospital, in which we find, entered as tenants at 5*d.* per annum, "Thomas Archers assigns for land at the *north end of the Old Tholsel.*" The Ormonde Hospital stood precisely at the north end of the Victoria Hotel; which circumstance would seem to fix with certainty the site of the hotel as that of the "Old Tholsel."

Our respected Town Clerk, P. Watters, Esq., in his "Concise History of the Corporation of Kilkenny," has the following passage:—"There was at the same time (1760), and for more than a century previous, a building called and known as the 'Old Tholsel,' which was also used as the city court-house, and which stood in that part of High-street (at the reere of which Pudding-lane runs), and on the site of the houses occupied by Mr. W. J. Douglas, that of the late Mr. John Kavanagh and Mr. Nicholson. The city gaol (continues Mr. Watters), was underneath, from which it is said a remarkable and mysterious escape of prisoners once took place." It is freely granted that the city gaol occupied the site of the premises named by Mr. Watters, and which are locally identical with those on which now stand the houses of Mr. Levinge, &c., in High-street. The building here is represented as the city gaol on Rocque's survey of the city, made in the year 1757, and the traditions of the town for the past fifty years have invariably associated the locality of these three houses with the site of the ancient city prison, but have never referred to it as the site of any one of the "Three Tholsels" of Kilkenny; and I submit that the few references which we have to the "Old Tholsel," during its existence, require us to distinguish its site from that of the city gaol: as, for instance, the entry in the corporate rental already quoted: "Thomas Archers assigns for land at the *north end of the Old Tholsel.*" If this "Tholsel" stood on the site of the city gaol, there was no land to its north but the public street-way now extending from Mr. Levinge's house to the corner of Walkin-street. This part of High-street is shown on Rocque's map of the city, just as it is at present, and never could

have been rented away for private purposes. But the site of the "Ormonde Hospital" could not have been described as "a waste place near the old Tholsel," if that Tholsel stood on the site of Mr. Levinge's house; whereas, if it stood on the site of the Victoria Hotel, the piece of "waste ground at its north end" would be the precise spot on which the Ormonde Hospital would be, and actually was erected; and, on these grounds, we can now safely conclude that the "old" and original "Tholsel" of Kilkenny stood on the site of the Victoria Hotel, and that there, over 360 years ago, was "built below," at the present entrance to the hotel, "the new stone gateway"; and there Sir Piers Butler set up, in view of his own Castle of Kilkenny, with ostentatious display, and as a trophy of his victory over the hereditary enemy of his house, "the iron grate," which, with "the sovereign and commons of Kilkenny, in warlike array, he had taken by force of arms from the Castle of Bernard Macgillpatrick of Coolkill."

From the extract just illustrated from the "Liber Primus," we see that, in the year 1517, the Tholsel of Kilkenny was an old building, and was then undergoing extensive repairs. In this year the great and little solars, with other important structures, were erected.

A solar was a sunny room, a parlour or *boudoir*. In ancient Ireland a sitting or reception-room was termed a *grianan*,¹ from *grian* the sun, and apparently so named from the copious supply of sunlight with which it was illumined. The great and little solars of the "Old Tholsel" were the large and small council-rooms with which the upper floor of that building had been furnished. The lower story, or that on a level with the street, formed the market-house, in the gate-

¹ "Grianan." The word solar expressed in Latin the same idea or object that *grianan* did in Irish. According to O'Reilly's Dictionary, 'grian' is rendered the sun, light: 'grianach,' sunny, warm, light: 'grianan,' a summer-house,

a covered place affording an extensive prospect. For an illustration of the word 'grianan' as a boudoir, or parlour, see O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials of Irish History*.

way or entrance to which "below" on the street the iron grate from Macgillapattrick's Castle had been set up. There was also a cellar, or underground story, to the Tholsel, as the following entry from a corporate rental, published by Ledwich, clearly shows:—

In A.D. 1628, Patrick Synnot is entered as tenant at 10s. 0d. per annum, "for the shop under the old Tholsel." This shop or cellar is still in existence; it is now entered by a modern stairway from the interior of the house, but the original entrance to this cellar when Patrick Synnot had it rented as a shop was by a stone staircase from the street, which is still perfect, and may be seen covered over by the iron grating under the coffee-room window of the hotel. There is also to be seen in the old wall, over the modern entrance to this cellar, an ancient Gothic doorway with neatly dressed stone jambs and arch head, which, from its situation, would appear to have originally formed the entrance from the market-place of the "Tholsel" to the stairway leading to the "great and little solars," or council-rooms on the upper floor of the building.

A.D. 1667.—"By an inquisition taken at the Old Tholsel, 13th April, this year, William Shee, Esq., late of the city of Kilkenny, Recorder, was during his life seised of the town and lands of Newpark, al' Marshalls lands and the rectory of St. Maule's, which he held from the Vicars Choralls of St. Canice."

A.D. 1690. "At an Assembly held in the Old Tholsel, John Archdeacon, Mayor,¹ 'ordered that 3s. 0d. be paid for salt for the Militia of Dublin; and that 8s. 0d. be paid for candles for lord Tyrconnell and the French General after the route of the Boyne."

These are rather unimportant enactments to have been passed by the civic fathers in the "Old Tholsel." The following is equally worthy of those grave and dignified seignors nearly a century later:—

In A.D. 1762, "At an Assembly of the Mayor and

¹ "Mayor." Printed by Ledwich, from one of the Laffan MSS.

citizens held at the Old Tholsel,¹ May 24, Thomas Wilkinson, Esq., Mayor, 'ordered yt Francis Hutchinson Nailor be appointed ringer of ye Tholsel and court bells, at ye annual salary of four pds., to commence from ye beginning of Aldn Anthony Blunt the youngers majoralty.

"G. Cooksey, Clerk of ye Tholsel."

This assembly was held apparently in the "old Tholsel," as the present Tholsel was at that date unfinished.

A.D. 1793.—"The assizes and quarter sessions for the city were held at the old Tholsel. The celebrated Lord Norbury² (then John Toler), presided here as judge at spring assizes this year."

The old Tholsel extended from the street backwards to Pudding-lane. It was taken down at the close of the last century. The front elevation was reduced to the level of the street,³ but about sixteen feet high of the back wall was left standing, and forms the basement of the back wall of the present hotel. This fragment of the old Tholsel is a gross pile of common rubble masonry, about four and a-half feet thick, and is at once distinguishable from all the other works in the spacious and elegantly finished hotel. This old wall and the front cellar are two existing memorials of the "old Tholsel" of Kilkenny.

¹ "Old Tholsel." This insignificant event is recorded in the handwriting of William Colles, on a piece of loose paper found in his ledger. The meetings of the Town Council were then, and down to a later period, called an "Assembly of the Mayor and Citizens." Hence the present "Town Hall" is to the present day usually termed the "Assembly Room."

² "Lord Norbury." So stated by Mr. Watters in his *Concise History of the Corporation of Kilkenny*.

³ "Level of the street." On the demolition of the "Old Tholsel," a private dwelling-house, two stories high, was built on its site. In the year 1836, this house

was remodelled and raised, leaving the first story, or that on a level with the street, untouched. The entrance, doorway, and coffee-room window, with that entire flat, belong to that house. Hence the present spacious hotel includes portions of three distinct buildings, viz.: the basement rooms of rere part of house, together with the cellar under the front, are vestiges of the "Old Tholsel." The front floor, or Coffee-room flat, is part of the house erected here after the taking down of the Tholsel in the beginning of the present century; and, from the next or second floor up, was built in the year 1836.

THE NEW THOLSEL.

We have not the date at which a second Tholsel was erected in Kilkenny. There was, however, such a building here as early as the beginning of the 17th century. In an inquisition (No. 1. Jac. 1.), taken in "le new Tholsell, 21st Aug., 1619," it was found that "Helias Shee, late of the city of Kilkenny, was in his life-time seised of the fee of the castle, lands, and tenements of Clonmorne," and *inter alia* "of his mansion-house¹ within the city of Kilkenny." That the "new Tholsel" in which this inquiry was held stood on the site of the present Tholsel, and remained so till taken down in A.D. 1760, can be conclusively proved. In 1730, a Dutch traveller, Monsieur Mottray, visited Kilkenny, and thus notices the Tholsel in his memoranda of the town:—

"The market-place of the Cross, so called from a marble cross which is still standing in the centre of it, is a long and broad street, adorned with many good houses. In this street the Tholsel is remarkable; though small, it is very neat." On Rocque's map of the city, made in the year 1757, we have the ground plan of the "new Tholsel." From this we see that the building was erected entirely in the street, that its depth from front to rere was only half the width of the present Tholsel, or from the front to the inner range of pillars, that it was separated from Mary's-lane by a range of houses, from which a narrow passage gave a back entrance into the Tholsel, and that part of the building projected into the street much beyond the other compartment. The lower floor of the Tholsel, or that on a level with the street, appears to have been divided into various compartments, the principal one of which was used as the public market-place of the city. Amongst the items for the repairing of the Tholsel

¹ "Mansion House." This fine old Elizabethan building is still standing in High-street, immediately opposite Walkin-street, now occupied, much improved and modernised by Mr. John Meany. A mural entablature, planted in the front wall, bears on a shield the arms of Helias Shee.

in Mr. Colles's ledger¹, we find the following entry (folio 125): "Ye order of Assembly, 27 April, 1753, to pay Thomas Cobbe, bricklayer, £31 0s. 0d. for arching under the *Market part* of the Tholsel." The other compartments of this bottom floor were fitted up into four stalls or shops, and rented out to so many tenants. This is clear from the following entries in Mr. Colles's ledger:—

"A shop in ye Tholsale, next ye Market Cross,² set to Mathew St. Leger, for 31 years, from May the 1st, 1747, at £6 10s. per annum.

"A shop in ye Tholsale, set to the Otho Cosgrave, for 99 years, from 1st May, 1747, at £3 10s. per annum.

"A shop in ye Tholsale, set to Matthias Daws, for 31 years, from 25th March, 1747, at £5 per annum.

"A shop in ye Tholsale, set to James Hackett, for 31 years, from 25th March, 1740, at £5 per annum."

Those holdings in the Tholsel are referred to in various places through Mr. Colles's accounts, and they are in all cases four in number, from which we can conclude that the lower floor of the Tholsel, or that on a level with the street, contained four stalls or warehouses, and that the wider, or that part of the building which projected beyond the other into the street, was an open space or public market-house.

The second or upper floor of the Tholsel appears to have been occupied as the City Chambers or Town Hall: in 1756, we find "Charles Lyons, his bill for making a door for ye 2nd Council Room," and "John Sargent, his bill for making 2 pair shutters for ye Council Chamber, 8s."

Externally the Tholsel would appear to have had some resemblance to the building which succeeded it, or that of the present day. It is not improbable that

¹ "Ledger." William Colles, Esq., was treasurer to the Corporation from 1750 to 1768, in which year he died; his ledger, so frequently referred to in this essay, has been kindly placed at my disposal by Richard Colles, Esq., of Millmount, great-grandson of the Treasurer.

² "Market Cross." The celebrated "Market Cross" of Kilkenny stood in High-street, at the north end of the Tholsel, on the site now occupied by the pump. It was taken down in the year 1771, with the intention of having it re-erected on the parade; this intention was unfortunately never carried into execution.

at the re-building some attention may have been paid to the configuration of the older structure. That building, like the present one, was surmounted by a cupola which was furnished with a town bell, and a two-dial clock. The following entries are here interesting :—

1750. " Robert Stephens, ringing ye Tholsole bell, at £4 per annum.
 " Robert Wilkinson, Tholsole clock-keeper, at £5 per annum.
 1754. Robert Wilson, painter, his bill for new painting and lettering
 ye two dial-plates of ye Tholsole, £2 5s. 6d.
 " 10 days' work painting cupulo, 15s."

From the following references to the Tholsel, it would appear to have been at this date a rather infirm old structure :—

1754. " 17 planks 10½ inch baulk from ye Barracks for ye Tholsole
 cupulo, Swedish timber, at 1s. 6d. per plank, £1 6s. 6d.
 1754. Charles Lyons, his bill for mending a hole in ye Tholsole
 floor, 10d.
 " Nails delivered to John Sergeant, by Sam. Stephens, and paid
 for by Wm. Colles, £1 6s. 10d.
 " Patt Campion, his bill for glazing ye Tholsole, £1 4s. 2d.
 " Richard Quigley, his bill for slating ye cupulo, 6s. 4d."

The last reference I have seen to the old cupola clock is in a pastoral letter of Bishop de Burgo, which he directed to be read in the several Roman Catholic chapels of the city, on the Sunday preceding Christmas Day, 1759, and in which he strictly prohibits mass to be celebrated in any chapel in the city earlier than six o'clock on Christmas morning, after which he adds—
"by six o'clock, I mean six o'clock according to the Tholsel Clock."

From this it appears that the bishop esteemed the old cupola chronometer as the most correct time-keeper in the city.

What events or circumstances immediately led to the taking down of the late Tholsel, I do not find any memorandum preserved, but during the year 1759, ample arrangements were entered into for meeting the expenses of erecting the present Tholsel. I here transcribe, from Mr. Colles's ledger, the details of the

machinery put in motion by the civic authorities of that day to meet the financial emergencies of the case.

“REBUILDING THE THOLSOLE.

“1759—Sept. 14.—To Sir Wm. Evans Morriss, one of the overseers and directors thereof, Michaelmas Custom Bond, 1759	£	s.	d.
	107	10	0
„ July 12.—To do. Christmas Custom Bond, 1759	100	5	0
To do. Michaelmas Custom Bond, 1760	100	5	0
To Richard Moxom to go and earnest slates	1	2	9
John Flood, Esq., Michl., 1759, and March, 1760, for Jerpoint Tythes	55	0	0
To Sir Wm. Evans Morriss, Xmas Custom Bond, 1760	100	5	0
To John Flood, Tythes for Jerpoint, Michls. 1760, and March, 1761, being £55 0s. 0d. discounted and paid Wm. Colles	50	0	0
To John Watters, for bricks	38	6	0
To Mr. Flood's rents of Jerpoint, discounted and paid into ye hands of Thos. Wilkinson, Mayor, after deducting discount	213	5	7
	<hr/>		
	765	19	4
To Mr. Flood's note (for Jerpoint Tythes for ye gale due Michaelmas, 1761), payable May, 1762, put into ye hands of Thos. Wilkinson, Mayor	27	10	0
To Mr. Flood's note for do., for ye gale due March, 1762, payable Nov., 1762, put into ye hands of Thos. Wilkinson, Mayor	27	10	0
To Lewis Chapelier, for sundries laid out by him	0	6	4
To Wm. Colles paid out of Christmas Custom bond, 1761	33	16	6
To paid into the hands of Thos. Wilkinson, Esq., Mayor, money raised by discounting the tythes of St. John's, set to Fred. Hunt for 3 years ending 25th March, 1765	269	1	2
To the amount of boards and timber sold by cant by Ald. Amb. Evans, 1760	*	*	*
To the amount of sundries sold by Thos. Wilkinson, Esq., by order of Assembly, 27th May, 1763			
1763—May 27—To cash borrowed of Thos. Butler, Esq., and paid Thos. Wilkinson, for finishing the rebuilding of the Tholsel	60	0	0
	<hr/>		
	1,184	3	4

1763—To Charles Colles acct. repairing Tholsel Clock	6	10	0
To allowed John Flood, for discounting March bond, 1760, and Michaelmas bond, 1760, of Jerpoint tythes	5	0	0
To allow do. for discounting 5 years tythes of Jerpoint from May, 1762, to May, 1767	61	14	7
To allowed Frederick Hunt for discounting 3 years rent of St. John's tythes from May, 1762 to May, 1765	25	0	0
1764—To Richard May, carpenter, by order F. Blunt, Mayor, for work	3	17	10
To Charles Colles amount of his bill for repairing ye clock	1	10	0
To do. for lampblack for cleaning chimney piece	0	0	1½
To do. by John Blunt, for plastering Tholsel windows without	0	2	8½
To do. for setting up the Tholsel grate do.	0	4	10½
To credit Thos. Butler, interest of money borrowed for the Tholsel	9	0	0
To Samuel Capel, plasterer, for plastering	4	5	10
To Ald. Jo. Evans, for timber	13	16	11
	<hr/> 1,315 5 8		

Thus we see that the entire cost of erecting the present Tholsel was but £1,315 5s. 8d. The same work, at the present day, owing to the advance on labour and materials, could not be accomplished under £3,000.

Though the word "rebuilding" is applied in the above, and other documents of the time, to the erection of the present Tholsel, this structure is in reality a perfectly new building. The back or east wall of the late Tholsel stood on the line of the inner range of pillars of the present building, and hence the late was only half the size of the present Tholsel. It is to be regretted that we have no memorial preserved of the artist who designed the plan of this Tholsel. There was a tradition existing in the town down to twenty years since, and still remembered by a few, that the architect was an Italian. It was asserted at the time by persons who had seen public buildings on the continent, that our Tholsel had much of the style and outlines of an Italian building. It appears

to have been part of the original design to erect in some part of the building a mural entablature, inscribed with the date of the erection of the Tholsel, and the names of the public functionaries then holding office in the city. The inscription for an entablature was found by the late Alex. Colles, Esq., amongst his family papers at Millmount. It is in the same handwriting as the treasurer's ledger quoted above, and was clearly intended as the copy from which an entablature was to be inscribed. The following is a *facsimile* of its arrangement:—

“ THIS THOLESOLE REBUILT 1761.

ANTONY BLUNT, ESQ., MAYOR.

ELAND MOSSOM, RECORDER.

JOHN WATERS, }
HENRY GALE, } SHERIFFS.

SIR WILLIAM EVANS MORRESS, KNIGHT, }
JOHN BLUNDEN. } MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.”

If this entablature had been executed it certainly was not erected, but as it formed part of the original plan of the building, some niche or aperture must have been left in the masonry into which it could be subsequently inserted. It appears probable, that the original design intended this entablature should be fitted into the space now occupied by the “city arms” over the small arch in the south end of the Tholsel. The shield bearing the “arms” was erected there only in the early part of the present century. It could not have been there before the taking down of the old “Pent-house”¹ about 1812: the roof of which, over the small arch of the Tholsel, must have covered in the space now occupied by the shield; and as this

¹ “Pent-house.” A shed-roof, the back resting against the front wall of the house, and stretching out into the street over the footpath to the curbstone, where it rested on wooden pillars. There were several such structures in the town. The one now referred to stood in front of the next house, at the south end of the

Tholsel; both itself and the house were taken down about the year 1812. This old pent-house has often been described to me by persons who are now passed away, and who informed me, also, that it was after this old shed-roof had been removed that the “City Arms” were there erected.

was fifty years after the date of the "rebuilding," all the personages whose names were to be inscribed on the memorial slab were dead, and it being now forgotten that such a memorial of the "rebuilding" had been intended, the "city arms" was substituted in its place; yet, but for the recovery of the inscription intended for this entablature, we should be without any authentic voucher for the precise date of the "rebuilding" of this Tholsel, as we are for the date of the original foundation of the two Tholsels which preceded it in the city.

THE MAYOR'S "NEW OFFICE."

Down to the year 1830, the Mayors of Kilkenny held their "court in the dark ill-ventilated chamber" now known as the "Police office"; his Worship's "bench" consisted of a kitchen chair placed on the flagged floor, at the head of a white deal table, from which he delivered judgments in a rather homely fashion. But, as the mannerism of the age advanced, the fathers of the city perceived how unsuited to the administration of justice were the atmosphere and other surroundings of this "black hole," and from this idea the Corporation of the day erected, in an unoccupied angle at the rere of the Tholsel, the small building under the flat roof, which, down to a late period, used to be termed the Mayor's "new office." This addition to the Tholsel included the Mayor's office, the round room, and closet over it, with the spiral stairs connecting both. The bottom room of this building was properly fitted up for the administration of justice, and was used as the Mayor's Court down to the year when the late Mr. William Lanigan, being Mayor, removed the hearing of his cases to the smaller of the two large rooms in the upper part of the Tholsel, which was since, and is still, used as the "Mayor's office." The Mayor's "new office," or bottom room of the new building, is now occupied by the caretaker of the Town Hall. At the rere of this building, in Mary's-lane, is a small limestone slab inserted

in the masonry, which perpetuates the date of the foundation of this part of the Tholsel, by the following inscription in incised Roman capitals :—

“ POSUIT
ANNO DOM.
MDCCCXXIX
NAT. ALCOCK, M.D. :
PRÆFECTUS.”

Two other inscriptions in the Tholsel deserve to be noticed here, not so much for their antiquity as that they form the memorials of two of the most distinguished citizens of Kilkenny. The first of them, in the order of erection, is that of Dr. Robert Cane; and respecting him it will be necessary to premise that, in A.D. 1844, he was elected the second Mayor of the reformed Corporation of Kilkenny, and expended, during his year of office, the fees of his mayoralty on the erection of two useful public structures. One of those is the castellated gate-house of the Canal-walk. A shield inserted in the masonry of the front wall bears the arms of the founder, but it has never been inscribed. The other was his gift of two elaborately gilt lustres, or gasaliers, with which he furnished the Town Hall, or, as it is better known, the “Assembly Room” in the Tholsel. Each of these beautifully finished pendants bears the following inscription :—

“ THESE LUSTRES WERE PRESENTED
TO THE CORPORATION AND BURGESSES OF KILKENNY
BY ROBERT CANE, M.D., MAYOR,
A.D., 1845.”

Dr. Cane was one of the original founders of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, and deserves this short memento from his fellow-members.

A niche in the west wall of the “Assembly Room” is furnished with a life-size bust, cut in pure Carrara marble by the chisel of John Hogan, resting on a pedestal of the same material. The front square of

the pedestal forms a panel, in the centre of which is cut, in Roman capitals :—

“JOHN BANIM.”

A mural slab lower down bears the following inscription from the pen of the late Marquis of Ormonde:—

“ERECTED
TO THE MEMORY OF THE AUTHOR OF THE
TALES OF THE O’HARA FAMILY,
BY A FEW ADMIRERS
OF THAT GENIUS
WHICH SHED SO MUCH LUSTRE
ON HIS NATIVE PLACE,
AND ON HIS COUNTRY,
MDCCLIV.

MATHEWS’ BOND. In treating of the building of the present Tholsel, some notice of this incumbrance on the corporate property ought not to be omitted. It is generally stated that this debenture originated in a mortgage effected on the municipal estates in favour of Mr. Samuel Mathews, of Bonnetstown, as the annual interest on the thousand pounds which he had advanced for the building of the Tholsel. Mr. Watters says so in his “Concise History of the Corporation.” This, however, is not the case, as appears from the following entries copied verbatim from Mr. Colles’ ledger, fol. 110:—

“SAMUEL MATHEWS, Esq., Cr.		£	s.	d.
By principle money lent, March, 1748,		968	13	4
Do. being due on mortgage of ye Tholsole, was assigned him by W. E. Morris,		100	0	0
		<hr/>		
		1068	13	4
Per 1 yrs. interest of ye mortgage due 17th March, 1750,	58 2 4			
1 yrs. do. of ye Tholsole, mortgage due 13 Oct., 1750,	6 4 0	64	6	4”
		<hr/>		

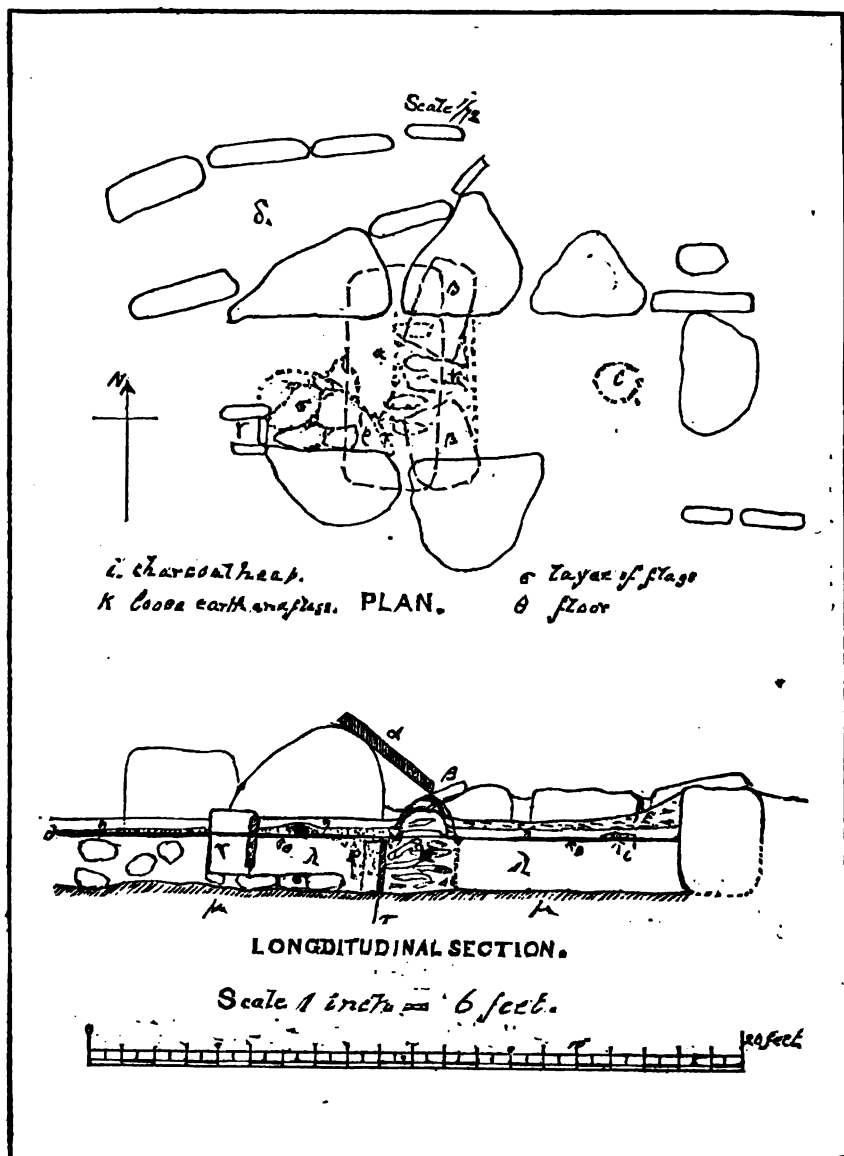
Here it will be observed that this money was advanced by Mr. Mathews in the year 1748, twelve years before the Tholsel was built: for what purpose the debt was then incurred I have not ascertained, but it was in no way connected with the re-building of the Tholsel. Mr. Colles' ledger opens in 1750, and closes in 1767, one year before his death; and during the seventeen years of his treasurership the interest on the principal advanced, at the rate of six per cent., Irish currency, amount £64 2s. 4d., appears annually paid to the representative of Samuel Mathews. In the year 1846, Mathews' bond on the Corporation was offered for sale in the money-market, and was then judiciously purchased by the late Right Rev. Dr. Walsh, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, as an endowment for the new Cathedral. The interest on this bond is regularly discharged by the Treasurer of the Corporation, to his Lordship's successor.

MEGALITHIC STRUCTURE.—MONGNACOOLO LOWER, CO.
WICKLOW.

BY GERRARD A. KINAHAN, A. R. C. SC. I.

THE structure locally known as "The Fairy House," of which the accompanying plan shows the form, was observed on a slight eminence, in a boggy flat, on the eastward slope of the high ground between Ballynaclash and Aughrim. The main chamber is about 18 feet long by 4·5 feet wide, lying nearly true east and west. It is principally built of granite boulders, and of these the two on which the cover-slab rests are much larger than the rest. The eastern corner of that on the south side having broken off, the cover-slab (α) has slipped partly down, so as to rest in an inclined position, while under its lower edge are the remains of a second cover-stone (β), broken across at the centre—the two pieces resting between the lower outside corners of the intact cover and the chamber walls.

On the north side of the main chamber there is a continuous row of flags and blocks. Beginning at the west end, there is a large upright flag; then come three granite blocks—the first and largest standing about three feet above the level of the ground, and on its upper eastern corner the northern end of the displaced cover slab rests. The two next stand about four and eight inches, respectively, above ground, while at the north-east corner there is an upright flag. Across the east end of this chamber is a granite block, the top of which is about eight inches above ground; but, at the south-east angle, there is an opening about four feet wide; and, about two feet to the south-east, there are two upright flags, which may have belonged to a supplemental chamber. West of the opening in the south wall of the main chamber are two large granite blocks—the western one, which is the larger, standing about three feet above the ground; its east corner, having split off, has let the cover-slab (measuring 6·5' \times 3·5') slip down, so as to



THE FAIRY HOUSE. MONGNACOOOL.

rest in an inclined position. West of this there are what were, apparently, the remains of a small chamber (γ), enclosed on three sides by upright flags—the tallest of these standing about eight inches above ground. The flag on the south side of this small chamber is continuous with the south wall of the main chamber. The west end of the main chamber is open. To the north-west there is a supplemental chamber (δ), with walls of upright flags; it is about 11 feet long by 2 ft. 5 in. wide.

West of the inclined cover-stone, the level of the ground in the chamber was about four inches below that of the surrounding ground; but east of this cover it was slightly above that level; while just under its lower edge there was a ridge, across the chamber, which rose to the level of the walls, touching the cover-slab.

Through the kindness of the lord of the soil, W. F. Littledale, Esq., of Whaley Abbey, we were enabled to excavate this structure.

On excavating in the main chamber, east of the inclined cover slab, we found the general section to consist of about six inches of rubbish, composed of broken flags, stones, and clay (ϵ on section), over four inches of yellow clay (η), resting on a hard brown clay floor (θ), on which were a few fragments of charcoal scattered about; while, about four feet from the terminal east stone was a small heap of charcoal (ι); this section continued along westward to where the lower edge of the inclined cover-slab touched the top of the ridge which crossed the chamber: here we lost the clay floor and found a confused mass of flags and clay (κ), extending across the chamber. On sinking below the brown clay floor we found about fourteen inches of soft yellow clay (λ), resting on a hard whitish clay (μ).

West of the inclined cover-slab, the general section was as follows:—under about four inches of yellow clay (η), was a layer about five inches thick of black carbonaceous clay (γ), containing burnt stones with fragments of charcoal; this layer was thickest to the

east, where, on the south side, there was quite a small heap; this rested on a brown clay floor (θ), about 1 ft. 5 in. thick: under this floor there was a soft yellow clay (λ), for a depth of about fourteen inches, resting on a hard whitish marl (μ) or clay. In addition, we found that the north upright flag of the small three-sided chamber (γ), at the end of the south wall of the main chamber, rested on the west edge of a layer of flags (σ), which was about two inches above the hard white clay. The flags were surrounded by the yellow earth, and extended from the south wall about half way across the main chamber, and eastward for about 2 ft. 5 in. From the east corner of the larger stone, on the south side of the main chamber and under the level of the floor, there extended, in an oblique direction, sloping to the west, an upright flag (τ), between which and the large block there was a mass of clay, charcoal, and ashes (ρ). East of the upright flag we came on a loose mass of clay and flags (κ), where the brown clay floor was lost; this mass extended right across the chamber, down to the white clay and up to the surface of the ground, forming the ridge across the chamber; it was about three feet wide, and continued to where we came on it when excavating from the east. The large granite blocks forming the walls of the chamber rested on the hard white clay; in some cases there were small stones placed under them, as though to level or support them.

The excavation of the supplementary chamber (δ), to the north-west, disclosed nothing of particular interest; the space between the flags, which sloped inwards in depth, being filled with hard yellow clay, containing many stones and fragments of broken flags.

No traces of an urn were found in any portion of the excavation: nor was there any portion of the earth disturbed as though such had been removed, except it may have been where the loose mass of earth and stones (κ) was, as this was the only place where the floor was not traceable.

A little to the northward of this megalithic structure are granite erratics, in some of which are those peculiar cup-shaped hollows, the origin of which is not yet

determined. As this is not the only place in the Co. Wicklow where they occur, it seems better not to give any particular description of them here, as I hope a full record of those known will be shortly brought before the public.

NOTICE OF A FLINT KNIFE AND ORNAMENTED BRONZE
CELT FOUND IN THE COUNTY TYRONE.

BY W. F. WAKEMAN.

It is pleasant to consider that from time to time gentlemen as yet unattached to any Archæological Association, Irish or otherwise, have occasionally done good service by saving from oblivion, and presenting to the observation of antiquaries, not a few important, and often suggestive, remains of our pre-historic past. Here is a case in point:—the Rev. George Tottenham, Rector of Benmore, Co. Fermanagh, has rescued several specimens of Flint Implements, which, as stated by that gentleman, had been found during the autumn of 1854, 3 feet deep beneath a great stone situate in the centre of a "Giant's Grave," at Glengeen, near Trillick, Co. Tyrone. They were accompanied in the grave by calcined human bones, and pieces of pottery; and some of them, which are of a most rare and interesting character, exhibit unmistakable traces of the action of fire. As the usually received opinion which refers our Megalithic Monuments to ante-historic times, in Ireland, has lately been startlingly assailed (see *Rude Stone Monuments*, by James Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S., &c.), I believe that every article, however apparently insignificant, found in our primitive tombs should be recorded. It is therefore with much pleasure that I lay before the Association a drawing of the most prominent and perfect of the objects of flint manufacture just referred to. In form and style it is quite Scandinavian. Nothing like it, as far as I know, has ever been discovered except in the North of Continental Europe; and, in a few instances, in Ulster. There is no flint to be found naturally

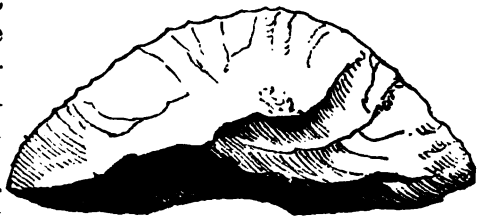


Fig. 1.—Flint Knife found in a "Giant's Grave," near Trillick, Co. Tyrone. Drawn two-thirds of the real size.

placed near Trillick; nor for many a long days' journey from it; yet in Tyrone, and in various parts of Fermanagh, objects of worked flint, some of them of most delicate finish, frequently occur. There can be no doubt that they were *traded* by the commercial travellers of the day. Hoards of such objects are sometimes found together in one spot, in districts to which the natural flint is quite foreign.

I have also been permitted on the part of the late Mr. G. Crawford of Trillick, Co. Tyrone, to lay before the Meeting a drawing of a very beautifully-formed and admirably-preserved socketed celt composed of bronze. It is here given two-thirds of the actual size. I was informed by Mr. Crawford that it had been found at a depth of 12 feet in the bog in which the bone-hafted bronze rapier lately described in our Journal had previously been discovered. Its style of ornamentation, though rare in this country, is not unfrequently exhibited upon British examples.



Socketed Celt of Bronze,
found near Trillick, Co. Tyrone.
Drawn two-thirds of the real
size.

It may reasonably be assumed that the territories now styled, respectively, Tyrone, and Fermanagh, during the age of bronze culture were very thickly populated. No doubt they were so. Every *cnoc* has its rath, and even the glens are rife with traces of the ancient presence of the celt. It is more than probable that the manufacture of bronze implements for this large district was chiefly carried on upon certain islands in Lough Erne. These lonely spots were, if I may so say, natural crannogs, or served as crannogs, and no doubt were safe habitations for the artificers until such time as the enterprising Northmen launched their serpent-like galleys, and carried fire and sword alike to *inis* and mainland. Some four or five years ago on Bo Island, in Lower Loch Erne, stood a large rock of stone which was supposed greatly to interfere with the proper management of the field within which it showed.

Powder, crow, and sledge, wielded by the arms of descendants of "swordsmen" of the "plantation" period, soon shattered the huge monolith, which was found to have covered a collection of arms and implements of bronze. All the articles here brought to light appeared to have been anciently broken to pieces, as if it had been intended to use the metal in new castings. Portions only of some of the objects could be discovered. There were some fragments of what had at one time been a fine leaf-shaped sword. There occurred also broken spear-heads, knives, and daggers, a number of socketed celts, and paalstaves, a hammer of bronze, and one leg of a pot of the same material. There was also a lump of unwrought bronze. No doubt this gathering formed the metallic store of some ancient *ceard*, or worker in bronze. Bo, or more correctly "Boa Island," writes Dr. Joyce, is called by the Four Masters *Badhbh*, while the natives call it *Inis-Badhbhan*, i. e., the island of *Badhbh*. This person would appear to have been the War-goddess of the ancient Irish. Another find of bronze implements occurred some years ago on the neighbouring island of Iniscoonra, Loch Erne. The articles comprised fibulæ and celts, which were discovered beneath the roots of trees of immense antiquity. The wood indeed had acquired all the properties of the kind of timber usually styled "bog-oak."

In the neighbourhood of Trillick, not far from Loch Erne, a considerable number of bronze celts and other objects of that material have from time to time been turned up from the peat. The celts are generally highly ornamented. Shortly before the removal to London of the collection formed by Mr. Crawford, I had an opportunity of drawing an interesting variety of the decorated celts so found. I trust that ere long my sketches of them may be reproduced in the pages of this Journal.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

At the GENERAL QUARTERLY MEETING, held in the Royal Institution, Cork, on Wednesday, April 14, 1880:

THE RIGHT REV. DR. GREGG, Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, in the Chair;

The Auditors submitted the following Statement of the Accounts for the year 1879:

The Treasurer of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland in account with Cash for the year 1879.

CHARGE.

1879.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To balance in Treasurer's hands,	215	11	4
Dec. 31.	„ Annual subscriptions,	284	16	0
	„ Entrance fees of Fellows,	6	0	0
	„ Cash received for sale of "Journal" and "Annual Volume,"	46	11	0
	„ One year's rent of garden at Jerpoint Abbey,	1	0	0
	„ Dividends on New 3 per cent. Government Stock,	11	3	4
	„ Life composition of Members,	10	0	0
		£575	1	8

DISCHARGE.

1879.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By postage of correspondence and book parcels, .	14	18	5
	„ Postage of "Journal,"	12	0	11
	„ Printing, &c., of "Journal," July, 1878, . .	53	15	6
	„ Printing, &c., of "Journal," October, 1878, .	24	7	11
	„ Printing of "Journal," January, 1879, . .	23	12	1
	„ Printing, &c., "Annual Volume," sundries, "Christian Inscriptions,"	11	1	0
	„ Illustrations, &c., for "Journal,"	33	7	1
	„ General printing and stationery, &c., . . .	40	9	6
	„ Sundry expenses,	33	1	4
	„ Books purchased,	6	5	0
	„ Rent and Insurance, Museum,	20	9	0
	„ One and a-half year's rent, Jerpoint Abbey, .	1	10	0
	„ Collecting subscriptions,	21	3	5
	„ Transcribing original documents,	3	0	0
	„ Editing "Journal,"	25	0	0
	„ Caretaker, Jerpoint Abbey,	1	0	0
	„ Balance in Treasurer's hands,	250	0	6
		<hr/>		
		£575	1	8

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

1879.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	New 3 per cent. Government Stock invested in the names of the Trustees,	381	1	5

We have examined the above, with Vouchers, and found it correct, leaving a balance of Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds and Sixpence in the hands of the Treasurer, to the credit of the Association.

J. G. ROBERTSON, } *Auditors.*
J. BLAIR BROWNE, }

KILKENNY, 10th April, 1880.

The following new Members were elected :—

Ambrose Mandeville, Mitchelstown.

Rev. Patrick Hurley, St. Mary's Cathedral, Cork.

Mr. Lenihan, M.R.I.A., exhibited two gold ornaments of rare type, which had just been found in the

Co. Clare; they were formed of thin sheet gold, like flattened humming-tops, with a cylindrical tube passing through the middle, and a wedge-like slit in the side of each ornament. They were decorated with a fine pattern, formed of minute concentric lines running all round, parallel to one another; the edge or border of the slit was similarly decorated, but hatched. One was broken in pieces by the person who discovered them. In the same locality a fine counterfeit coin of Nero was found. *Obv.*—the head of the Emperor; *Rev.*—the harbour of Ostia, with seven vessels in the centre; a figure of Victory on a pedestal: in base, Neptune reclining on his right hand, pointing to the fleet; at his left a dolphin: all within a border which portrayed the walls of the harbour.

The Rev. Canon Hayman exhibited the beautiful flag borne by the Youghal Regiment of Volunteers on the 11th September, 1782, when the Volunteers of the county were reviewed at Ballincollig by the Earl of Charlemont. The flag has the arms of Youghal embroidered with the accustomed motto, *Pro aris et focis*. The flag was used as the standard of the Youghal yeomanry in 1798, and on the dissolution of that corps it remained in the possession of the Rev. Canon Hayman's grandfather, who was one of the officers of the corps.

Mr. Woods said he lately obtained the banner of the Cork Cavalry Volunteers. A great many of those old banners had been destroyed.

The Chairman submitted the following original autograph letter of Dean Swift, dated from Quilca. Quilca was the country residence of his friend the Rev. Thomas Sheridan, D.D., in the Co. Cavan, between Virginia and Bailieborough, to the north of the old road. It is now a farm-house on the edge of a bog. They still show Dean Swift's bed-room. Quilca is often alluded to in Swift's Poems. In one of the birthday verses to Stella, she is to be sent there to grow young and fat again. Swift apparently at this very time wrote the lines "To Quilca, a country-house of Dr. Sheridan, in no very good repair, 1725;" and in 1726 Dr. Sheridan, in a

poetical epistle inviting Swift to go there, gives an amusing, but no very different account of it.

" Quilca, Apr. 22^d, 1725.

" S^r

" Your Letter was sent hither to me; I have been so ill with a Giddyness and Deefness, that I thought it best to retire far into the Country, where I now am in a wild Place belonging to Mr. Sheridan 7 miles from Kells. I am very glad of your good success in England, for I always believed you had justice on your side; at the same Time I am grieved at the Difficultyes your Adversaries Family must be under by their own wrong Proceedings, and should be more so if that Puppy who is here had not so behaved himself as to forfeit all Regard or Pity. Mr. Werrall has the remaining Bonds of Laracor, &c., and a Power from me to receive the money, which I much want, having ruined my self by building a wall, which is as bad as a Law-suit. I desire Mr. Proudfoot may with his Paym^t give the names of every Tenant and the summs they payd, and take Receipts from Mr. Worrall. Present my service to my Cozen. I hope this Journey has contributed to her Health as well as her Fortune.

" I am y^r most humble Serv^t

" J. SWIFT."

" The Postman tells me, that a letter directed to me at Mr. Latimer's at Kells, and put into the By-Bag at Trim will be sent to me, so that if you have any Occasion to write, You may take that way. I have deared Mr. Wallis to appear for me at the Visitation."

Addressed

" To the REVEREND MR. LIGHTBURN,

" At his House in TRIM."

Dr. Caulfield exhibited a silver oar, a little over six inches and a-half long, which was lately found by Miss Helen Cecil Archer Butler in the plate-chest at Garna-villa, Cahir. When found it was wrapped up in a paper, on which it was stated that it was " presented to William Gallwey, Esq., of Castle Townsend, to make him free of that harbour." It is, however, more probable that it was the oar of the water bailiff of Castle Townsend as well as Castlehaven, and used by him as the ensign of his authority; and the armorial bearings engraved on it



Silver official oar of
Castletown and Castle-
haven.—Orig. size.

will partly bear out its history. The tradition that it belonged to the Galways is verified by the fact that Miss H. E. Archer Butler's father married Anna Maria, daughter of Edmond Galway, of Castle-town, by his wife, Eliza Goold. By this alliance it came most probably into the Archer-Butler family. It is neatly fashioned, and has the letters "E. I." stamped on the handle. On the broad part of the blade the following arms are engraved:— In chief, *Ermine* a chevron *gules* for Touchet, in base, *Gules* a frette, *or*, for Audley, Baron Audley. Impaling, *Sable*, six Swallows, 3, 2, 1; *Argent*, for Baron Arundell, of Wardour. Supporters, two wiverns, *sa*. Crest out of a ducal coronet, *or*, a demiswan *ar*. ducally crowned *or*. Motto, *Je le tiens*, Audley. James, 13th Lord Audley, married Elizabeth, only daughter of Henry, Lord Arundel of Wardour: said Elizabeth was born 15th Sept. 1692. John, second son of the above James the 9th and last Earl of Castlehaven, died, *s.p.* 1777, when the earldom became extinct, and the title of Audley, being a barony in fee, descended to his nephew, who took the name of "Touchet." The oar cannot be older than the end of the first quarter of the last century.

Robert Day, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., exhibited a collection of bronze antiques, and made the following observations:—

"In the month of January, 1870, I called upon a marine-store dealer in Mullingar, who had promised to lay aside, for my inspection, any articles of bronze that he might chance to purchase, and I was rewarded by seeing a hoard of bronze fragments, about two hundred in number, and weighing over sixteen pounds, which had all been found together, somewhere in the county of Roscommon, by a labouring man.

"This was all the information that I could glean about the place where they were found.

"The nature of the fragments, their colour, with the peculiar pale-green patination which was more or less upon all, bore out the truth of the statement that they belonged to the same hoard, and that they were the stock-in-trade of some itinerant bronzefounder; for on examination I found three imperfect looped socketed celts so broken that they were only fit for the melting-pot; numerous small portions of spear-heads, swords, and bronze vessels, and five massive pieces of bronze, which a brassfounder told me were 'gets' (Fig. 3), or waste pieces, like those that may still be seen in any brass foundry. But the most interesting objects were what are unquestionably portions of a bronze sword-scabbard.

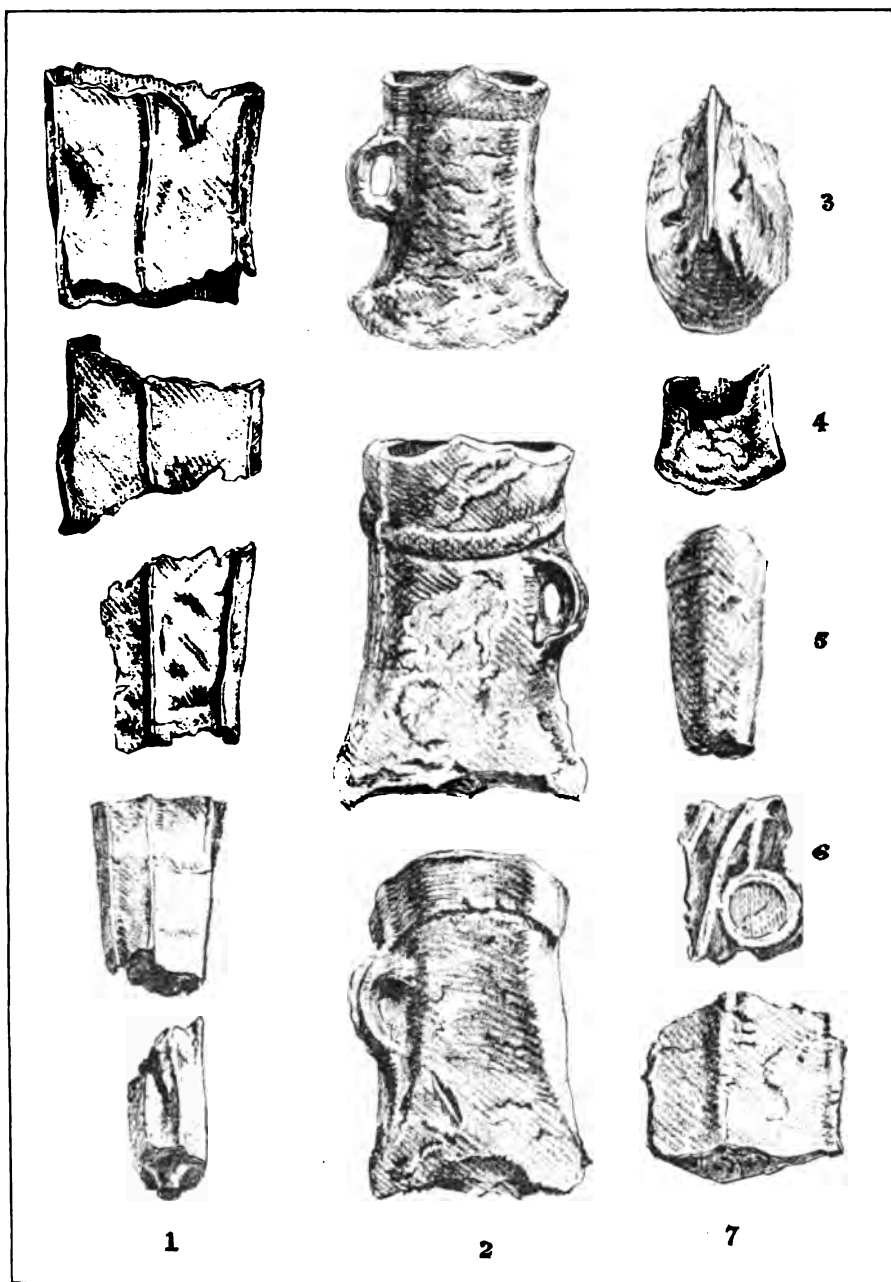
"No bronze scabbard, so far as I can learn, has been found in Ireland. The mountings of scabbards and the end-pieces have been met with, but these were attached to scabbards probably made of ox- or horse-hide. Here, however, we have several portions of what must have been a scabbard of bronze (Fig. 1). The dealer put a prohibitive price upon the whole hoard, but he allowed me to make a selection, and to bring away all the representative pieces at a moderate figure. We have in these objects another interesting testimony that bronze implements and weapons, as celts, palstaves, spear-heads, and such like, were in the so-called bronze age manufactured in Ireland. The generally received theory as to the scarcity of pure copper implements is, that when by the admixture of tin a much harder metal was produced, the older copper tools were recast, and with an alloy of tin converted into bronze. But in this find there is not a trace of copper pure and simple; all the pieces are bronze. The bronze celts are of the most advanced type (Fig. 2), and the portions of bronze bowls and the scabbard fragments bring the date of the hoard down to the later bronze era—in all probability to the time immediately preceding the introduction of iron. Fig. 4 is part of the blade of a small bronze celt. Fig. 5 is the leg of a bronze vessel. Fig. 6, unascertained. Fig. 7, portion of a sword-blade. All these constituted part of the find.

"To illustrate the working of bronze in Ireland, I have here one-half of a stone mould from the county Antrim, which has been used for the casting of bronze celts of the flanged or winged variety, having a deep stop in the centre and a V-shaped ornament upon the blade. Such moulds are of rare occurrence, and some have been figured and described from time to time in our "Journal." From the number of those that have been found, there can be no doubt but that far back in the pre-historic past the art of the metalworker and brassfounder flourished in the country. I asked my Mullingar friend to see the finder of the bronze fragments, and try, if possible, to find out whether any moulds or portions of moulds were found with him; he did so, but without any good result.

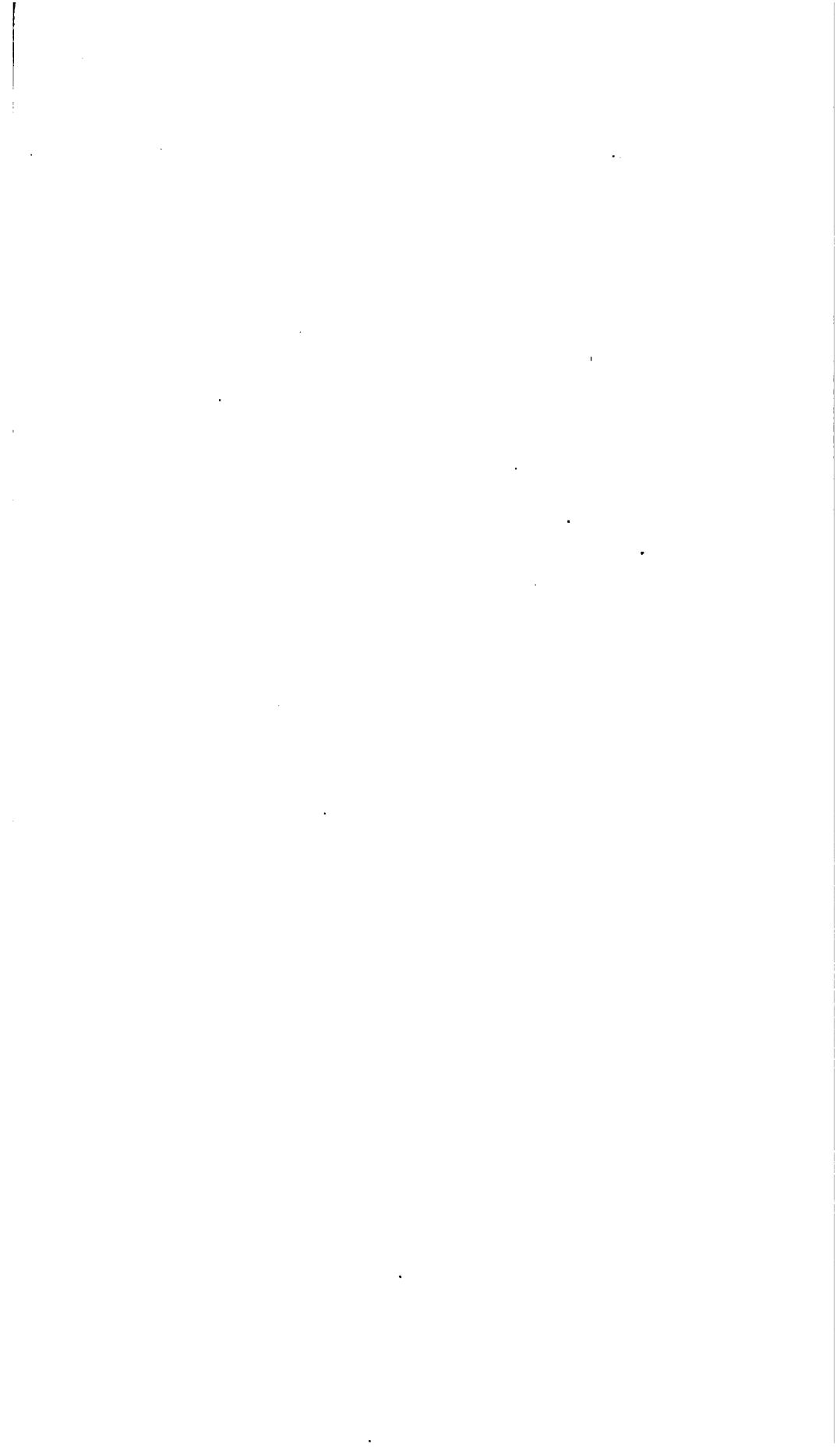
"It is probable that some stone moulds were there, but the peasantry place no value on stone objects, and they are too often neglected as worthless, or through wantonness destroyed."

George James Hewson, A.M., exhibited a photograph of Dunlicky Castle, and said:—

"On going to Kilkee, Co. Clare, in the month of September, 1879,



BROKEN BRONZE SWORD SCABBARD AND OTHER OBJECTS, PART
OF A FIND FROM NEAR MULLINGAR.



the first thing I heard was, that the old castle of Dunlicky, which is situated on the coast about three miles from Kilkee, in the direction of Loop Head, had fallen in the previous month of August. I found that a very large part of the old castle had indeed fallen, and that a great deal more was in such a state as to make it impossible for it to stand very long, exposed as it is to the full blast of the S.W., W., and N.W. gales from the Atlantic.

"The castle of Dunlicky is quite different from the castles seen inland, and belongs to a class of buildings entirely confined to similar situations on the sea-coast. Those coast castles generally consist of a strong wall across a narrow isthmus, cutting off a peninsula of greater or less extent from the mainland, and having a central tower or castle. In the case of Dunlicky—the wall is, in its present state, without battlements—about eighteen feet high and over five feet thick. The part of this wall now remaining is all at the left-hand side of the tower as you approach from the land side; all at the right side is gone and the stones removed; but I remember when a good deal of it remained, and there seems to have been a ditch or foss close in front of it which is now filled up with rubbish. The entrance was through a gateway a very short distance from the tower: there was no entrance to the tower itself from the outside. The wall had loop-holes low down at short intervals, and it must also have had battlements, as there are doorways for access to the top of the wall from the tower at each side. This tower is very small; its breadth in the direction of the length of the wall is only seventeen feet outside and eleven inside. The foundation is now so covered with the fallen stones that I could not measure it the other way; but I remember perfectly that it was a great deal less—I should say from recollection not more than seven feet inside. There was no arch in it, and no flue or fireplace. The back wall now standing is only two feet four inches thick at the lower storey, but the front wall was thicker. In the lower part of this back wall are two doors, one over the other, from which it appears that the ground floor had no communication with the upper ones, but that the latter were reached through the upper door by a ladder. Both those doors were below the top of the thick wing walls. At each side of the tower, above the top of those wing walls, this back wall of the tower was recessed at each corner, to allow of a doorway going out on the top of the wall behind the battlements. One of those recesses and doorways is now seen entire at the right-hand corner, and the other in section, the wall having split down through it, and the near side and top being gone. A few feet above those doorways there is a set-off on which a floor seems to have rested, and which projected about three inches all round, and the back wall is much (at least a foot) thinner above this than below. The side wall, however, is the same thickness above as below, besides the front of the tower, all of one side, and nearly all of the other has fallen. The back wall has also lost a good deal of its height, fully one-third of the height above the wing walls, or about one-fifth of the entire height having fallen off this back wall, and a piece of the fallen part of it is now lying across the top of the small part of the side wall which remains. In consequence of the difference between the thickness of the back wall of the tower and of the side wing walls, a good deal of the interior of the tower went back into the thickness of the latter, and all that part of the tower which was in advance of them has fallen. There was a loop-hole at each side

at different levels, exactly in the re-entrant angle, formed by the sides of the tower and the wing walls, both of which are seen in section, the wall having split down through them. Over the main entrance in the thick wing wall there are two corbals or brackets, each consisting of three stones, one over the other, but there are no remains whatever resting on them, nor anything to show what they were: they are some way down from the top of the wall, and there is no break or want in the facing masonry of the wall between or above them. The masonry throughout is of the rudest possible description. There is not a single dressed stone in the entire building. The stones are flat and small, with the exception of a few lintels, and a very few others, all which seem to have been water-worn from lying on a beach. The jamb-stones of all the openings are as small and as bad as the rest, and neither of the doorways of the tower have any sign of a reveal or of any way for hanging a door. At the inside of the entrance, and of the widely-splayed recesses behind the loop-holes in the wing walls, are the remains of very rude arches constructed of flags set edgewise. A rough wedge-shaped keystone in the larger arch seems to be almost the only stone in the entire structure which received the slightest attempt at preparation of any kind. The front of this arch and the jambs of the gateway are so broken away, that it is impossible to see what they were or how the gate was hung. The mortar is made of burned sea-shells and mixed sand and gravel, a great deal of the latter being as coarse as filberts, which caused the joints in the masonry to be very open, and exposed them very much to the action of the weather and of the spray from the sea. I think it hardly possible that this tower could have been used as a residence. It seems as if the entire structure was intended to enclose a place of safety from sudden forays, and that the tower was merely used as a watch-tower, it not being (except in height) larger than an ordinary garden turret. The space enclosed most likely contained dwellings of a more humble and perishable, but also of a more habitable and comfortable, nature. Rude and devoid of architectural features as was the old castle of Dunlicky, its fall is much to be regretted. It belonged to a distinct class of buildings entirely confined to the coast, the examples of which are very fast disappearing. It was an object which gave great and agreeable variety to the grand and wild coast scenery around, and was a favourite termination for walks and donkey rides, and a great rendezvous for picnics, and must occupy a place in the memories of thousands now scattered throughout the world. It is not, however, the only object of antiquarian interest in the neighbourhood. About half-way from Kilkee to Dunlicky, at a short distance from the cliffs, arise straight from the sea the lofty and precipitous sides of Bishop's Island, on which can still be distinguished the remains of a small and very ancient mortarless stone-roofed chapel or oratory, and of a round beehive-house. They are now sadly ruined, the roofs of both being gone, but the sloping-jambled, flat-topped doorways of both, and the square east window of the oratory, can be distinguished with a glass, though to a casual observer the 'Cathedral' and 'Palace' of the 'Hungry Bishop' seem to be nothing but shelter for sheep. I send a photograph of Dunlicky Castle as it was before the recent fall of part of it."

Dr. Caulfield exhibited three large quarto volumes, containing several hundred original documents relating

to the county and city of Cork. In this collection of local mss. were several relating to the history of the Sees of Cork and Cloyne in the middle of the seventeenth century. Amongst some highly interesting records of the See and Cathedral of Cloyne was a contemporary copy of an Inquisition taken at the King's Old Castle, Cork, 13th December, 1664, before Richard Scudamore, *ar.*, Dep. Esch. of the Co. Cork; Robert Southwell, of Kinsale, *ar.*; Dr. Roger Boyle, Dean of Cork; George Symms, of Carriganass, Co. Cork, *ar.*, Commissioners under the Great Seal, to inquire on the oath of freeholders in Co. Cork and the Sheriff of same, whether John fitz Edmond Gerald, Knt., late of Ballymalloe, Bar. of Imokilly, died intestate or not. The following were sworn:—Heward St. Leger, of Castlemore, *ar.*; Emanuell More, of Ross, *ar.*; Richard Newman, of Gortroe, *ar.*; William Harding, of Ballymore, *ar.*; Richard Covett, of Ballygarvan, *gen.*; John Morley, of Beale Gooly, *gen.*; William Daunt, of Tracton Abby, *gen.*; Walter Bauldwin, of Garrane Icoinge, *gen.*; Maslin Alcocke, of Derrygariffe, *gen.*; John Freake, of Knockanville, *gen.*; Francis Barnard, of Castlemahoune, *gen.*; John Borne, of Bandonbridge, *gen.*; Richard Dashwood, of Bandonbridge, *gen.*; William Wright, of same, *gen.*; Nicholas Kinge, of Ballygarvan, *gen.*; Zacar. Travers, of Garrycloyne, *ar.*; Walter Croker, of Curryglass, *gen.*, who say on oath that said John fitz Edmond Gerald, Knt., made his last will as follows:—

“In the name of God. 1 Sep. 1640. I, Sir J. Fitz E. Gerald, Kt. of Ballymalloe, make my last will, my debts being paid. I bequeath to H. M. King Charles all the impropriate tythes, church and abby lands expressed in the annexed schedule, that were in the possession of my grandfather old Sir John Fitz Gerald of Cloyne, Knt., or that now are in my possession so bequeathed by said Sir John, which will was concealed by me until this my last will. *It.* I bequeath to Mr. John Hodnett, named from Bellvelly, Bar. of Barrymore; Mr. David Poore, of Shanagarry, Esq.; Garrett Barry, of Dongourney; Jordan Condane, late of Corke Begg; Mr. Thomas Unic, of Youghal, my kinsman; William Supple, of Aghada; David Roe, Bollagane, *ats.* Gerald, descended from the house of Clenglish, his heirs; Edmond Fitz G., *ats.* M^cRobinson, of Bally M^cCody, the Rt. heire of Richard Kinfecke, late of Rinkenfeick; John Fitz G., of Milshane, and Richard Fitz G., late of Ballycotten, all the lands mentioned in the annexed schedule, which

formerly were their own proper inheritance, to them and their heirs for ever. *It.* I confess before God and the world, with the advice of my friends, that I have invented a pretended fee tayle, pretending to avoid all my former lavishing in this world, hoping to be for the benefit of my son and heir, but fearing it to be my damnation, I revoke said feetaille, which was pretended to be done by my grandfather, and that such feetaille shall not be any hindrance against any person that I contracted any of my estate unto, to stand in full force in law, and that my executors shall satisfy any persons that have any interest in any foresaid premises, to satisfy them of as good land as they shall think fit of the rest of my estate, as my interest in the annexed schedule was not lawful. *It.* To my second son Thomas Fitz G. as in annexed schedule mentioned. *It.* To my cousin Thomas Fitz G. of Inchynycranagh, the mortgage I have upon fivescore acres of same, as a marriage portion to my cousin Susan Barry, with a lease of 71 years of all the lands by me set to his father for same rent. *It.* To my cousin Redmond Fitz G., of Ballygibbon, a lease of 71 years of said plowland, upon same rent as his father paid. *It.* To my brother Richard Fitz John G. the half plowland of Bridgfield for 71 years, with the lands of Lighane, for same rent as he paid. *It.* To my son Geratt Fitz John G. and my daughter, Honnor Fitz G., and my dr. Ellen Fitz G. as much as my executors shall think fit. *It.* To my brother Maurice Fitz Edmond G. and my cousin Edmond Fitz James G., of Coologory, or either of them, the lands, their former estates, and discharged of all rents, &c., of said Sir John Fitz G., of Ballymalloe, his heirs, &c. Witness my hand, &c., John Fitz Gerald. Present, Ja. fitz John Gerald, Ja. fitz Gerald, Gerald fitz Gerald.

The Schedule.—First for his Majesty to his disposal. The two plds. of Ballycotten; the two plds. of Ballyceronyne; the two plds. of Ballybrenagh; the two plds. of Ballybane; the pld. of Bally Russle; the half pld. of Prehill; the half pld. of Killenumery; the half pld. of Cleane-more; the four plds. of Killm'lenine, belonging to the cathedral church of Cloyne; the half pld. of the Abby of Kinsale. The Improprate tythes of Aghada; *do.* of Corkebegg; *do.* of Killteskin; *do.* of Rostellane; *do.* of Garranekinifecky; *do.* of Ballyncory; *do.* of Inshynebacky; *do.* of par. of Clonmult; *do.* of par. of Dagindonovane; *do.* of Mogeely; *do.* of par. of Garryvoe; *do.* of par. of Ballintample; *do.* of par. of Boughalane; *do.* of Corabby, cont. 60 *ac.*; Ballyncurtehicke, 40 *ac.*; Knocknagowre, one pld.; Killeagh, 60 *ac.*; Killinemanagh, one pld.; Downickmore, one pld.; the lands of Knockane Griffine, belonging to the abby of Corabby. *It.* for the use of Mr. John Hodnett the pld. of Listuree, with the half pld. of Hodnett's Wood. *It.* for the use of Mr. David Poore the pld. Ballynlondry and the 20 *ac.* of Ballym'maul-tine. *It.* for Garrett Barry, of Dungorny, the pld. of Rathcannane, the pld. of Courigh, and the pld. of Ballynknocke. *It.* for the use of Jordan Condon, the pld. of Corkebegg; Knockerkeade, one pld.; Banishane, 60 *ac.*; Ballinlaugha, 60 *ac.*; Ballyngrowly, 60 *ac.*; Gortnigapple, 60 *ac.*; Culeogorry, 60 *ac.*; Ballyngronge, 60 *ac.*; Ballysicke, 60 *ac.*; Ballyni-

hily, 60 *ac.*; Myneoughteragh, 60 *ac.*; Ballym^gibbeth, 60 *ac.*; Ballyn-
 rahye, 60 *ac.*; Ballyvre, 60 *ac.*; Dangindonavane, 60 *ac.*; Ballincrostitie
 one pld. *It.* for the use of Mr. Thomas Unic, one pld. of Muccoury, the
 half pld. of Clashidomy, the lands of Barnigihiy, and the lands of east
 Ballinvarrige. *It.* for the use of William Supple, Shannahy, 20 *ac.*;
 Culbuy, one pld.: Ballybranagane, 100 *ac.*; Carrue, 60 *ac.*; Lissecrane,
 one pld. *Item*, for the use of David Roe, Bollagane, a/s. Gerald, his
 heirs, the two plds. of Trabollagane and the pld. of Killm^ccaughill.
It. for the use of Edmond fitz Gerald, a/s. M^cRobinson, Mounegoule,
 one pld.; 100 *ac.* of Ballyentrigh, with 20 *ac.* of it I let him have
 formerly; Ballydanielbegg, 30 *ac.*; Gortniskeihy, 40 *ac.*; Bally-Daniell-
 more, 60 *ac.* *Item*, for the use of the right heir of Richard Kinefeacke,
 Ringkenefeck, one pld. and odd *ac.*; Knockyvillerige, 100 *ac.*; Clyduff,
 90 *ac.*; Knocknilehily, 20 *ac.*; Ballingouligh, 30 *ac.*; Knockeiteine,
 10 *ac.*; Ballypheyroade, 40 *ac.*; *It.* for the use of John fitz Gerald, of
 Milshane, the fourscore *ac.* of the two Sleaviens. *It.* for the use of
 Richard fitz Gerald, the half pld. of Ballyreagane and two parts of the
 cloase and gardens of Ballyhinikine. *It.* for the use of Thomas fitz
 John Gerald the 4 plds. of Rostellane, Knockmurny, Duletter, Ballyni-
 classy, and the rest of the 4 plds. belonging to Rosstellane, after the
 death of Mrs. Mary Bourcke. *It.* for my son and heir Edmond fitz
 Gerald, and the use of my wife Dame Ellen Barry, the rest of my real
 and personal estate. Witness my hand. Present, James fitz John Gerald,
 James fitz Gerald, Gerald fitz Gerald. James fitz Gerald, of Bally-
 m^ccody, gent., aged 80 years, being sworn, deposeth, that he was present
 at Ballyhonocke, where Sir John fitz Edmond Gerald, late of Bally-
 maloe, Knt.; dec., did make his last will, with the schedule annexed,
 bearing date 1 Sep. 1640. There were likewise present James fitz
 John G. and Gerald fitz G., both since deceased. Said James fitz
 John G. being the person whom said Sir John entrusted with the keeping
 of the evidences concerning his estate, to be preserved until his death,
 and to be by him then published; and further, said Sir John died in
 Dec., 1640, and about four or five days before his death he sent for
 James fitz John G., with whom he deposited his will, and told him that
 his old disease of the Palsy came upon him, and that he feared he
 should be speechless in a little time, and caused his will to be read unto
 him, and desired if he should die that said James fitz John G. would
 publish his will, and cause the several lands to be restored to the
 gentlemen whose estates he had for a long time wrongfully deteyned,
 and that said Sir John being much troubled with a Palsy, by reason
 whereof he could hardly write, caused a bullet to be warmed, which he
 held in his hand for some time, until his hand being warmed, he was
 able to write his name, which he did, and likewise declared a codicil,
 not to alter said will, but to add some lands which he had wrongfully
 detained, and forgot to insert; and particularly deponent remembered
 the lands of Ballycannanane, belonging to the Bpk. of Cloyne, and Ardragh
 and Rathcollyne, belonging to Mr. William Supple, of Aghada; the
 lands of Banchymore and Ballyclemealy, belonging to Mr. Thomas

Uniack, in the which codicill, as if he had been making his confession to the Priest, he begged pardon of God for concealing his grandfather's will, and detaining these lands from the Church. John fitz G., of Ballywilliam, gent., aged 35 years, deposeth, that in 1653 remembereth being at Ballyfine with his grandfather, James fitz John G., then very aged and in bed, he delivered him a key, and wished him to bring him Sir John fitz Edmond G.'s will, which he found in a box, or little trunk, and opening, found this will and schedule now showed to him, being four sheets of paper sewed together, which he read; and further said to him, I leave my curse upon you if you do not divulge this my will, and restore the several forged and invented papers to the persons whose lands are detained from them unjustly; and further said, there was never the like unjust things done since the creation of the world, and beating his breast, said, I am damned, unless God be merciful to me, for those unjust dealings. Jone Grumwell, a/s. Gerald, wife of Patrick G., of Killgarrilondea, Co. Kerry, aged 39 years, deposed that in 1653, being at Ballyfine, saw James fitz John G., her grandfather, deliver a key to John fitz G., of Ballywilliam &c. (same evidence as preceding witness). Honnora Barry, a/s. Gerald, wife of Garrett Barry, of Capnepast, Co. Clare, aged 35 years, deposeth (same evidence). I pray God forgive me the concealment of my cousin James fitz Gerald, of Rostellane, who desired me to leave his own land to Mr. Thomas Unic, of Youghall, who is expressed in the aforesaid will, and I doe further confess that if any evidence be produced by my son and heir, to avoid his Maj^y. and the gentlemen of the aforesaid codicill, that there are none but forgeries, and especially the feetaille, dated 1608, and if I had not wasted the most part of my estate, I had been cast long agoe by Jordane Condon and others. I bequeath to His Maj^y. all the church lands, &c.; also the two plds of Ballycannanane, and if there be any more belonging to the church. *It.* to Jordon Condon, William Supple, &c., all the lands afore mentioned. *It.* to my brother Edmond fitz G., of Ballymarter, the two plds. of Rathcoursy. *It.* to Robert Caryn the four score *ac.* of Ballynemetticke. *It.* to William fitz G., of Lisquinlane and his h. the castle, townes, and lands of Cahirmony. *It.* to the right heir of John Condane and his h. the lands of Glanturkine. *It.* to Morris Hagherin, of Ballynrostige, and his h. a lease of 100 *ac.* of Ballinrostige. *It.* a lease of 71 years to Morris Hagherin of five score *ac.* of Ballinrostige and Loughtroe. *It.* to my cousin Maurice White, of Crobally, and his h. the pld. of Ballym^yky. *It.* to my cousin Edmond fitz G., of Coologory, and his h. a lease of 71 years of the two plds. of Garraneny—Kinifecke (same rent as formerly) as a consideration of his lease of Coologory; and lastly, know ye that I, Sir John fitz G., have delivered and exchanged six pence sterling, to Gerald fitz James G., in the name of my executors, as absolute possession of said castles, towns & lands. Witness my hand and seal. 1 Dec. 1640.

A brife prayer for conclusion.—Jesus give me grace to order my life and the work of my body and soul, with actual intent finally to thee, and to the reward of thine infinett joy and eternal felicity, the water and blood, which ran from thy blessed harte, wash my soul from sin and iniquity, and purchase to me abundance of grace fitful to serve thee. O Lord, my life, my might and my sight, gide me, fide me, and

speyd me, the pilgrimage of this mortallitie. Grant me, Lord, by the meritts of this passion and virtue of thy most excellent and glorious divinity, whatsoever thy wisdom knoweth most expedient to mee, which my miserable life is not worthy to obteyne of thee at the hour of my death, when I shall be accused before that death that thou sufferest for sinners, have mercy on my soul. John Fitz Gerald, being present at the signing, &c. James Fitz Gerald, Gerald Fitz Gerald."

Sir John Fitz Gerald was the grandson of Sir John fitz Edmond Fitz Gerald, of Cloyne, whose stately monument still adorns, though stripped of much of its original grandeur, the north transept, or, as it is usually styled, the Fitzgerald aisle, in the Cathedral Church of St. Colman, Cloyne.

Mr. Evelyn Philip Shirley, of Lough Fea, Carrickmacross, communicated the following transcript of a very rare tract in his library there:—

A TRUE
ACCOUNT
OF
Divers most strange and prodigious
Apparitions,
Seen in the AIR at Poins-Town,
In the County of
TIPPERARY
IN
IRELAND:
March the second, 1674.
Attested by Sixteen Persons that
were Eye-Witnesses.

Published at Dublin, and thence communicated hither.

LICENSED, 1679.

LONDON: Printed for L. C. 1679.

AN ACCOUNT
Of some Strange Apparitions in the Air.

"Upon the second day of this present Month, being Sunday in the evening near sun-set, several Gentlemen and others, herein after named, walk'd forth into the fields, and the Sun going down behind a Hill, and

appearing somewhat bigger than ordinary, they discourst about it, directing their eyes towards the place where the sun set. When one of the company observed in the Air, near the place where the Sun went down, an Arm of a blackish blue colour, with a ruddy complexion'd hand at one end, and at the other end a crosspiece, with a ring fastened to the middle of it, like one end of an Anchor, which stood still a while, and then made Northwards, and so disappeared; while they were startled at the sight which they all saw, and wondered what it should be and mean, there appeared at a great distance in the Air, from the same part of the sky, something like a Ship coming towards them, and so near to them it came, that they could distinctly perceive the Masts, Sails, Tacklings, and Men; she then seemed to tack about, and sailed with the stern foremost, Northwards, upon a dark smooth sea [not seen before], which stretched it self from South-west to North-west; having seemed thus to sail some few minutes, she sunk by degrees into the Sea, her stern first, and as she sunk, they perceived her Men plainly running up the Tackling, in the fore part of the ship, as it was, to save themselves from drowning.

"The Ship dis-appearing, they all sat down on a grass bank, talking of, and wondering at what they had seen, for a small space, and then appeared [as that Ship had done] a Fort, or high place strongly fortify'd, with somewhat like a castle on the top of it: out of the sides of which, by reason of some clouds of smoke, and a flash of fire suddenly issuing out, they concluded some shot to be made. The Fort then immediately was divided into two parts, which were in an instant transform'd into two exact Ships, like the other they had seen, with their heads towards each other. That towards the South, seemed to chase the other with its stern foremost, Northwards, till it sunk with its stern first, as the first Ship had done. The other Ship sayled some time after, and then sank with its head first. It was observed, that Men were running upon the Decks in these two ships, but they did not see them climb up as in that last Ship, excepting one man, whom they saw distinctly to get up with much haste upon the very top of the bow-sprit of the second Ship as they were sinking. They supposed the two last Ships were engaged and fighting, for they saw like Bullets rouling upon the Sea, whilst they were both visible.

"The Ships having gone, the company rose, and were about to go away, when one of them persuaded the rest to stay, and said he saw some little black thing coming towards them, which he believed would be worth their observation; then some of the rest observed the same; whereupon they sat down again, and presently there appeared a Chariot, somewhat like that which *Neptune* is represented riding in, drawn with two Horses, which turned as the Ships had done, Northward. And immediately after it came a strange frightful Creature, which they concluded to be some kind of Serpent, having an head like a Snake, and a knotted bunch or bulk at the other end, something resembling a snail's house.

"This Monster came swiftly behind the Chariot, and gave it a sudden violent blow. Then out of the Chariot straight leaped a Bull and a Dog, which following him, seemed to bait him: these also went Northward, as the former Phenomena had done, the Bull first, holding his Head downward, then the Dog, and then the Chariot, till they all sank down one after another, about the same place, and just in the same manner as the former.

"These last Meteors being vanished, there were several Appearances like Ships and other things, in the same place, and after that like order with the former; but the Relators were so surprised, and pleased with what they had seen, especially with the Bull and Dog, that they did not much observe them; and besides, they were not so visible as the rest, the night drawing on so fast, that they could not well discern them.

"The whole time of the Vision or Representation lasted near an hour, and it was observable, that it was a very clear and very calm evening—no Cloud seen, no Mist, nor any Wind stirring. All the Phenomena came out of the West, or South-west. They seemed very small, and afar off, and at first seemed like Birds at a good distance, and then being come to the place where there was the Appearance of a Sea, they were discovered plainly in their just proportions. They all moved Northwards, the Ships, as appeared by their sails, went against the wind; they all sunk out of sight, much about the same place. When they dis-appeared they did not dilate themselves, and become invisible as Clouds do, but every the least part of them was as distinctly seen at the last, as they had been all along. The height of the scene on which these Meteors moved, was about as much above the Horizon, as the Sun is being half an hour high. Of the whole company, there was not any one but saw all those things, as above written; all agreed in their Notions and Opinions about them, and were all the while busie talking concerning what they saw, either much troubled, or much pleased, according to the nature of the Appearance.

"The NAMES of the Persons who saw the foregoing Passage.

- "Mr. Allyc, a Minister, living near the place.
- "Lieutenant Dunstervils and his Son.
- "Mr. Grace, his Son-in-law.
- "Lieutenant Dwine.
- "Mr. Dwine, his Brother." } (Scholars and Travellers.)
- "Mr. Christopher Hewetson.
- "Mr. Richard Foster.
- "Mr. Adam Hewetson.
- "Mr. Bates, a School-master.
- "Mr. Larkin.
- "Mrs. Dunstervils.
- "her Daughter-in-law.
- "her Maiden-daughter.
- "Mrs. Dwine's Daughter.
- "Mrs. Grace, her Daughter.

"This Account was given by Mr. C. Hewetson and Mr. R. Foster, two of the beforesaid Spectators. And when it was related, a Servant of Mr. C. H. being present, did confirm the truth of it; affirming, that he and others of the Servants being together at *Poins-town*, in another place saw the very same sights, and did very much wonder at them."

The following Paper was contributed:—

THE CHURCH ON WHITE ISLAND, LOUGH ERNE, PARISH
OF MAGHERACULMONEY, COUNTY OF FERMANAGH.

BY W. F. WAKEMAN, HON. SEC. FOR ENNISKILLEN DISTRICT.

It seems, indeed, a very difficult task to trace with anything like a measure of certainty, and to note their chronology, the various changes which have occurred in the construction and decoration of our churches. The varieties which present themselves are innumerable. It appears pretty evident, however, that the details of our primitive ecclesiastical structures, such as are exhibited in the formation of doorway and other apses, roofing, and character of masonry, must have been derived from a style of building which certainly prevailed in Erin many centuries antecedent to the advent of the first Christian missionary to the Scots. The flat-headed doorway, with inclining jambs, the roof formed by the overlapping of stones laid horizontally, so that at last the vault thus formed might be completed by one slab, are well-known features of the earliest mode or style of architectural construction in Ireland, or, it may be said, in the world. In this country we find these principles of building abundantly illustrated in archaic remains; we have them also in monuments which date from the dawn of authentic history in the west of Europe; and we find them, as I have already suggested, very plentifully in structures which have been erected within the Christian period in Ireland, some at least of which must be referred to the sixth or seventh century.

In style of masonry, in form of doorway or other openings, our primitive ecclesiastical structures of stone do not differ from works of an earlier and often unknown era, so long has the history or the tradition of the latter been lost in the mist of time. Our earliest churches, when not composed of timber, or of wattles and clay, would appear to have been constructed by artists who must have vividly inherited the ideas of former masons, builders, or architects. One remarkable change, however, in Celtic architectural design seems to

have originated somewhere about the middle of the sixth century. Hitherto an edifice in Erin, be it on land or water, *caiseal*, *doon*, *rath*, *tumulus*, *crannog*, or *cloghawn*, was almost invariably circular in plan. The so-called "Giants' graves," though usually in form an oblong quadrangle, were generally surrounded by a line, or lines of stones set in the form of a circle or oval. Our earliest above-ground four-sided remaining structures are, with few exceptions, the *cills* or churches, not a few of which can be safely referred to a period which would very nearly reach the fifth century. The word *kill*, or *cill*, however, there is reason to believe, may not at all times indicate a church or a wood.

It is far from my intention, in the present Paper, to attempt to trace the progress of Irish ecclesiastical styles of building, from the original quadrangular stone-roofed type of the primitive *cill*, *teach*, or *teampul*, to the grand so-styled "Hiberno-Romanesque" development which prevailed here down to the close of the twelfth century, or perhaps, in some districts, considerably later. The task, I might say, has been exhaustively accomplished by Petrie, whose unfinished labours would appear, from time to time, to have been supplemented, or more fully illustrated, by subsequent writers, generally of the school which our great archæologist had himself founded. The aim of this Paper is simply to describe the character of a most interesting church situate upon an island in Lower Lough Erne, and that of some of its accompaniments—a subject which has already to a certain extent found place in the pages of this Journal. The Article I refer to appears in our "Journal," vol. iii.—new series, p. 62, and is from the pen of the late G. V. Du Noyer, M.R.I.A., an archæologist the scope of whose writings is well known to the majority of the members of this Association. I have myself lately had occasion just to touch upon the same subject. Du Noyer was a man of mark in the Irish antiquarian world, and his beautifully illustrated disquisition on the origin and growth of our church architecture in general, and upon the antique "effigies" of White Island in particular (for such was the import of the Paper referred

to), was read with general interest. His drawing of the doorway of the church has been advanced as an authority, and has been re-produced in at least one work on Irish church architecture of what may be styled a controversial kind. Had Du Noyer confined himself to the publication of his very beautifully engraved and approximately exact representations of the "effigies," and had he not surrounded those carvings with so-called "Cyclopean" work, antiquaries would have received, in woodcuts, a valuable addition to their illustrations of ecclesiastical eccentricities in stone. As many readers may not have seen my former short Paper on White Island, it may be well here to repeat a remark made therein, that of the history of the place nothing is known.

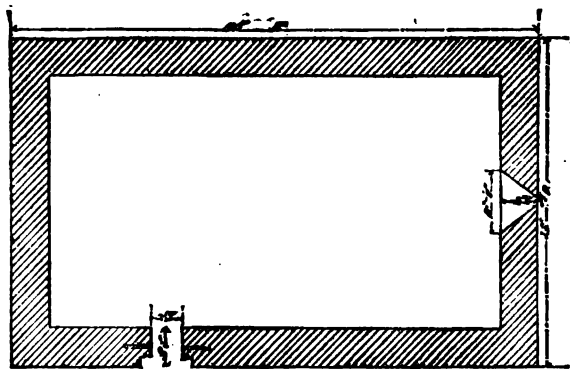
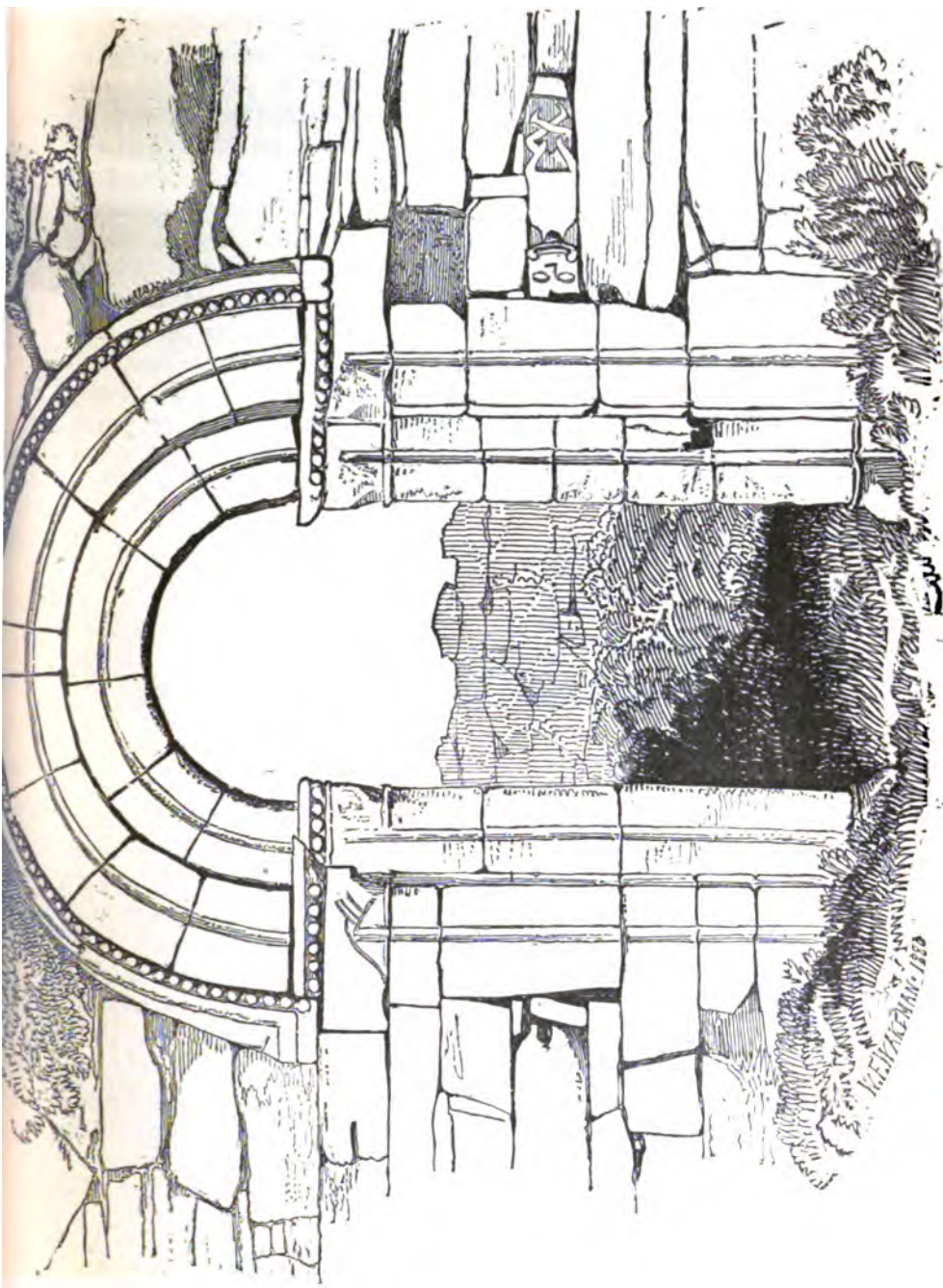
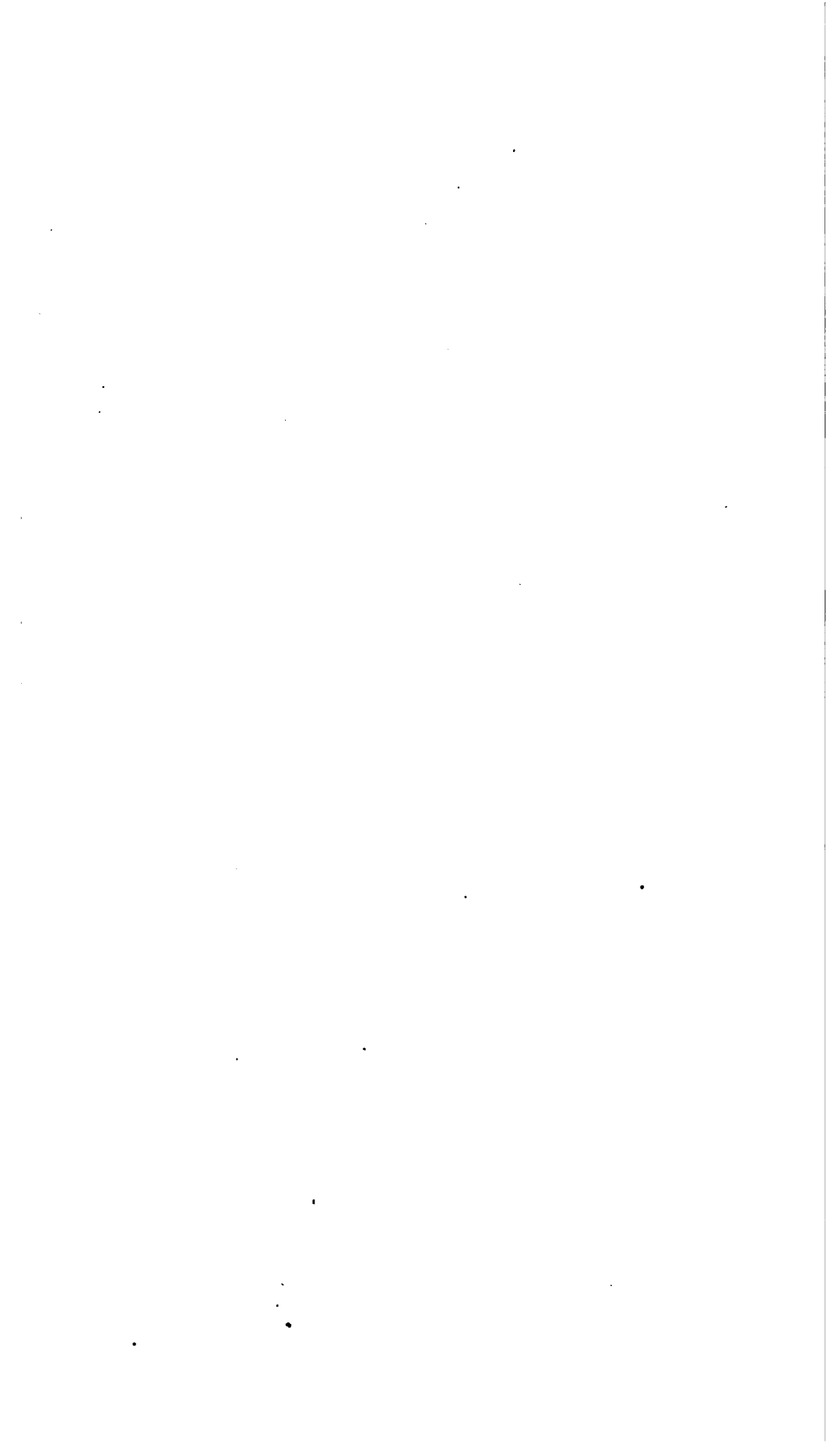


Fig. 1.—Ground Plan of Church on White Island.

Nothing, indeed, has been ascertained, especially concerning two other "White Islands" of Lough Erne. All the islands of the lake so called must, of course, ages ago, have lost their original Gaelic names. The church may be described, in plan, as a parallelogram, measuring 45 by 28 feet, externally. Its western wall no longer exists, and the northern remains only a few feet in height. The eastern gable contains, in its centre, a large pointed window, the only other remaining ope being a doorway placed in the southern wall. This feature is well worthy of observation, as particularly and most evidently representing, in its details, one of the very latest examples of Hiberno-Romanesque work to be found.



Doorway of the Church on White Island, Castle Arcendall Bay, Lough Erne.



Indeed, it cannot but be considered as of transition age, and, therefore, of considerable interest. While it undoubtedly exhibits, in the ornamentation of its dripstone, and in that of its abacus, a kind of fret which is found in the ornamentation of some of the doorways of a few of our more decorated churches—such as Killeslin, Inchagoill, Disert, and, in a modified form, on the cornice of the Round Tower of Devenish—there is a total absence, in its details, of features which would indicate true Hibernian work. The jambs do not incline from the base upwards—in fact they are two inches wider above than below—nor is there any attempt at interlacing work upon the capitals, which, as well as may be perceived from an inspection of the etching, which was carefully made from a photo, are purely Norman in

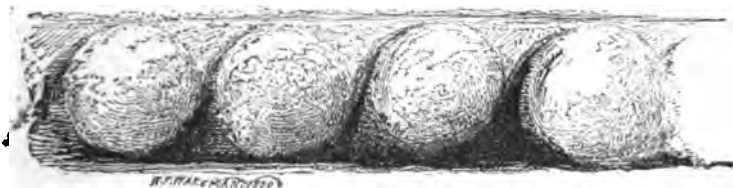


Fig. 3.—Ornament on Dripstone and Abacus of Doorway on White Island.

form, as are also the bases. Were the church contemporaneous with the structures to which I have just referred, we might expect to find in its walls some examples of polygonal, or so-called "Cyclopean" masonry. Here there is absolutely nothing of the kind. The style of the building is rather rude, and the stones are generally, but roughly, hammered, not cut; many of them are simply rough field stones. I regret to state that the illustration of the doorway by Du Noyer is sadly misleading. The number of voussoirs forming the outer arch-head is nine; that of the sub-arch six. Du Noyer gives them, respectively, fourteen and thirteen. The drip-moulding is composed of six stones: Du Noyer gives the number as ten. As may be seen from the accompanying etching, this moulding terminates with a slight lateral extension, which Du Noyer has altogether omitted

in his drawing. The style of the doorway must be considered comparatively late—probably not older than the close of the twelfth, or the earlier half of the thirteenth century—and there is no evidence that the work is less old than any portion of the body of the building in which it occurs. With the exception of the very curious “effigies,” which occupy positions as building stones in the southern wall and eastern gable, a stone which appears to have headed the original window, a third figure (now to be seen under the portico of Castle Archdall), and a rather late eastern window-case, no cut stone belonging to the church is known to remain.

There is a well-known class of very extraordinary sculpture found in Ireland, not only sometimes in the walls of churches, but, in one or two instances, as hitherto noticed, upon otherwise exquisitely designed baptismal fonts of a period which archæologists would style “late decorated.” A striking example occurs upon a font taken from the ruins of the old church of Kilcarn, near Navan, county Meath, and now preserved in the neighbouring Roman Catholic church of that parish. They may be seen upon old castles, as on the barbican of O’Gara’s fortress, near Lough Gara, in the county Sligo, or even upon town gateways, as at Athlone. Some examples are certainly not older than the sixteenth century. What was their meaning, and why were they so variously placed seems to be a problem which has yet to be solved. Of one fact concerning them it may be distinctly stated, that from their style of art, and that from the architectural character of the buildings with which they are respectively found, it would be impossible to assign the apparently oldest of them to an age beyond the mediæval. Such a figure from White Island I here represent (Fig. 4). It occupies a position in the wall of the church, just three courses of stones deep from the abacus of the doorway, on the right-hand side as you enter. It is surprising to find a figure of this class in connexion with a church so comparatively early. No doubt, in time to come, antiquaries, or ecclesiologists, will be able to explain the present mystery of these and somewhat similar sculpturings. Before dismissing the

subject, I may observe, that the name by which works of this class are generally known is "*Sheelanagigg*."

Our "*Sheela*" here measures two feet in length. The figure is nude, except that the shoulders are covered by a short cloak-like mantle, which Du Noyer supposes to be a *rheno*, or secular dress. I cannot, when touching upon this subject, but refer to some suggestions emanating from our distinguished friend J. J. Phillips, architect, of Belfast, as advanced by him in his learned and most interesting Notes on the Plan and Archæological Remains of Downpatrick Abbey: see "*Journal*" for July,

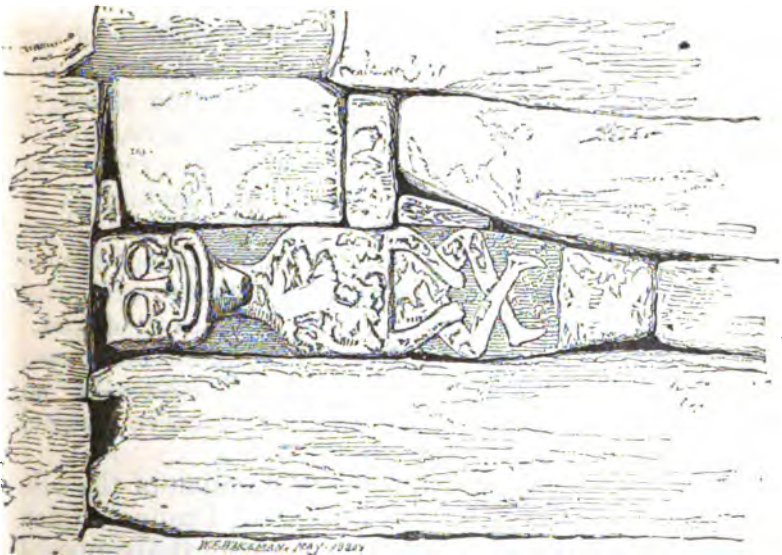


Fig. 4.—Sheelanagigg built into South wall of Church on White Island.

1879. "We know," writes Mr. Phillips, "that during the Middle Ages symbolism and allegory played the chief part in the sculptured decorations then introduced. From the numerous instances of chimerical monsters which meet the eye in every Gothic edifice, particularly those for ecclesiastical use, it will be obvious that, in addition to their architectural purpose and necessity, they were intended by the art-workmen to personify human vices and evil passions. Generally, the more hideous

ones were placed outside the building. Tradition at Down Abbey states it was so there on a corbel table, probably intended as a caustic hint to church-goers to leave their sinful thoughts outside the church." Something of the kind may have been intended here. The subject of the occurrence of these not unfrequent figures, in a number of our ancient structures, does not appear to have been alluded to by Petrie, in his great work on the ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland. O'Donovan and O'Curry are equally silent concerning them, whether found on church walls or elsewhere. The subject is, in almost any case, not an agreeable topic to touch on with pencil or with pen; yet, nevertheless, it is to be hoped that some antiquary, skilled in the idiosyncrasy of our mediæval architects, or artists in stone, will present the archæological world with a publication bearing at length upon the purport of these very often repulsive, and at present unintelligible, carvings. We do not require to know their era, as all are certainly late mediæval, or comparatively modern. The "Sheela" on White Island is evidently of the same age as the other carved figures of the place. They present the same hideous peculiarity of cheek and mouth development, and, as "effigies," have doubtlessly emanated from the ideas of an artizan who selected certain "disestablished" stones of an ancient building as material whereon to carve fanciful caricatures.

After very long and careful consideration of the subject, while still the figure was facing me, I cannot attach any value to Du Noyer's remarks anent the supposed tonsure of this "female ecclesiastic"!

Fig. 5 represents a figure placed horizontally, in the eastern gable, at some height from the ground, 1 ft. 8 in. long, by 1 ft. broad. It can hardly be that of an ecclesiastic, seeing that its head is surmounted by some kind of helmet, to which cheek-plates are seemingly attached. The whole resembles, in many respects, a portion of a figure from the cloisters of Jerpoint Abbey, described in our "Journal" for 1868, by the Rev. James Graves. The Fermanagh work can hardly be other than the "effigy" of an armed warrior,



Fig. 5.—Effigy built into the Eastern gable of Church on White Island.

some remains of whose *sparth*, or short-handled battle-axe, probably even at first rudely and imperfectly expressed, extends across a portion of the figure. The Jerpoint effigy has been declared, by the highest authorities in such questions, to belong to the early portion of the fourteenth century, and to have, no doubt, represented a benefactor to the Abbey in which it was placed. The White Island figure is much ruder in character than that of Jerpoint, and may possibly be somewhat older or later than thirteen hundred and odd. It is worthy of consideration, that the practice of carving in stone monumental effigies, properly speaking, martial or ecclesiastical, seems to have been introduced into Ireland by the Anglo-Normans. Slabs bearing crosses we have in abundance, but they are of a distinct class. Now, Jerpoint district, as we know from history, was from an early date very generally under the control of Norman, and, at a later period, of what may be styled English interests and influences. It was of, or bordered on, the Pale for centuries, and no doubt the force of what the natives were wont to call *Sassenach* ideas of architectural and monumental art there prevailed in a much greater degree than in the north-west of Ireland, which district was truly Irish down to the time of the first James, or, at any rate, to the days of Elizabeth. In the figure represented in the above illustration, I would be inclined to recognise a rude Celtic attempt to imitate monumental carvings which were known in the eastern and southern portions of Ireland. The helmet is rather round and low, but the seeming cheek-pieces and nasal are well-defined, of considerable thickness, and the *ocularia*, or apertures for the eyes, are very distinctly marked, and interestingly compare with those from Jerpoint, and one from Devenish, as we shall see presently. There is a most curious representation of the pose of one of the hands and arms, the left, of this figure. The hand is raised nearly to the lips, and appears to hold an object shaped like a small relique case. The action is singularly like that which some modern Continentals exhibit when taking an oath. The old sculptor does not appear to have attempted the representation of thumb or fingers.

Possibly some kind of rude gauntlet, which enveloped the whole of the hand, is here roughly shown. Here, as at Jerpoint, there is not the slightest attempt at the usual figuring of ringed mail, but the dress is long and sleeved, and is, in general design, very similar to the surtout of mail which was worn by Irish knights and gallowglasses, from an unknown period, even down to the close of the sixteenth century.

With respect to the approximate age of this counterfeit warrior presentment, and its style, I am happy to refer to a very similar sculpture, as regards the head,



Fig. 6.—Carved Head on Devenish, Lough Erne.

which seems to have formed a corbel, or stop appertaining to the lower church, the *ceampul mon*, on the neighbouring island of Devenish, near Enniskillen (Fig. 6). This stone was found by the Board of Works employées, when engaged in collecting waifs of the venerable edifice, which lay within or without its walls. In all essential particulars, it presents a head-gear identical with that of the White Island figure, except that it is nearly life-size. The building of which it formed a portion was pronounced by that distinguished architect and ecclesiologist, Mr. Goodwin,

F.S.A., of London (who, on one occasion, accompanied me to Devenish), to the late thirteenth century work. The corbel, then, may belong to the earlier portion of the following century, it being generally admitted that Irish architects of the Middle Ages were somewhat prone to continue forms which, in other countries, had begun to be disused.

In Fig. 7 will be found a woodcut, drawn by Du Noyer, of an "effigy," already alluded to as having

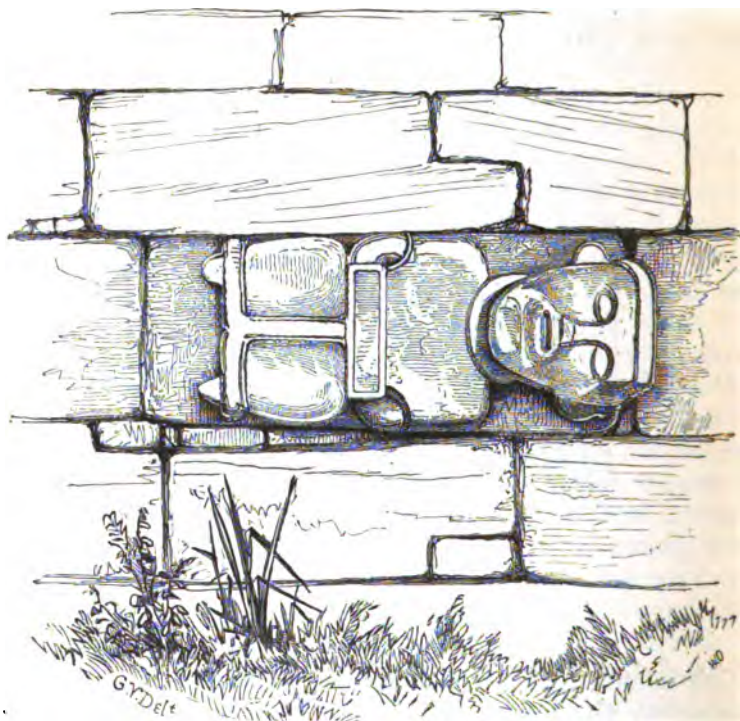


Fig. 7.—Effigy built into the wall of Church at White Island.

been removed from the church and placed under the portico of Castle Archdall. It probably represents, or rather burlesques, an ecclesiastic seated, and bearing upon his knees a small book-shaped object, in which the artist, as we may suppose, intended to figure a *cumdach*, or covering of something sacred, be it MS., or other relique. Here there is no indication of helmet, cheek-

piece, or *tonsure*, the forehead being simply surmounted by a shallow projecting band, quite horizontal, and very similar to work which we know to be comparatively late. If the carving (No. 5) can be supposed to belong to the age of this figure, and to represent an ecclesiastic, how is it possible to account for the difference which is shown in the treatment of their foreheads? It seems to me highly absurd to write that anything like a tonsure appears upon either of them.

A question may be very fairly asked, How was it that these figures became built into the walls of the church? It will be rather a surprise to hear that their being so placed occurred less than fifty years ago! I have been informed by our associate, Edward Atthill, Esq., J.P., of Ederney, that, when a youth, he lived close to, and was well acquainted with White Island and its antiquities. Mr. Atthill has given me full permission to state, that he well remembers the discovery of these sculptures by workmen in the employment of the late General Archdall, when removing some soil adjoining the old cemetery, for the purpose of making a fence. The General, it seems, was so struck by the singularity of their appearance, that for their safe keeping, and proper exhibition, he caused them to be built into the walls of the church. The "Sheela" was probably placed in the position which it now occupies at the same time.

With just a remark, I shall conclude. It may be interesting to know, that the style of cut-stone masonry, very often, but erroneously, styled "Cyclopean," with which Du Noyer surrounds his views of the figures, and the casing of the doorway of the church, is quite imaginary.

One more word for the sake of the old church, which is rapidly hastening to utter ruin from the action of the ivy by which it is weighted. I may say now, as I have elsewhere stated, it is a very mistaken notion, that to envelop an ancient edifice in ivy adds, in any way, to its picturesqueness, or that the building is less likely to suffer from the effects of the weather when thus covered. It is a fact, that the greater number of our ivy-clad

Abbey churches, and other architectural relics of bygone days, are rendered more or less useless to the student in proportion to the luxuriance of the green in which they are concealed; and, so far from being a protection to old walls, ivy is known to be their chief destroyer, as its tendency is to grow *through*, as well as over, the masonry. Once entered, it acts like a wedge, displacing the stones and admitting water, and ultimately bursting a wall which, but for its insidious advances, might yet have stood for centuries. Captain Archdall should kindly take this hint, and cause that not (in Fermanagh) very "rare old plant" to be removed from the venerable walls of the old church of White Island, in Castle Archdall Bay, Loch Erne.

P.S.—Since this Paper was read, I embraced an opportunity of revisiting White Island. Captain Archdall, at my request, had caused a considerable portion of the ivy with which the church was encumbered to be removed. His workmen, upon approaching the ruin, discovered that the eastern gable, containing the pointed window (referred to *supra*), had fallen. Upon inquiry, it was found that just three days previously, after a smart frost, followed by a strong N. E. gale, nearly the whole mass had succumbed, taking with it a slight portion of the adjoining side walls, and leaving but a few feet of the ope standing. But perhaps, after all, this event is not without its brighter side. So gross has been the volume of the parasite, and so cancer-like its ramifications through the wall, that no care, accompanied even by the highest conservative skill, could have saved the work for many years from becoming the avalanche of stones it now presents. The masonry, never good, had, from neglect of ages, become quite rotten. All the cut stones which formed the window-casing remain, and, Captain Archdall informs me, shall, at his expense, be re-erected in a new, or rather restored, gable. Much of the ivy, as I have already said, having been removed from portions of the body of the church, a considerable face of walls, hitherto "time out of mind" hidden, became visible. We have thus an opportunity, more or less, of learning from its

style of masonry, etc., the physical history of the church—and to this subject I beg, for a moment, to draw the attention of all who have honoured me by following so far.

It seems certain, that the oldest part of the structure consists in its doorway, and in a few feet of the lower portion of the wall (to right and left) in which it appears. A stone, here figured, was found on the island. It most probably represents the head of an original eastern window. It is canopied somewhat in the style shown in a northern side-wall of the church

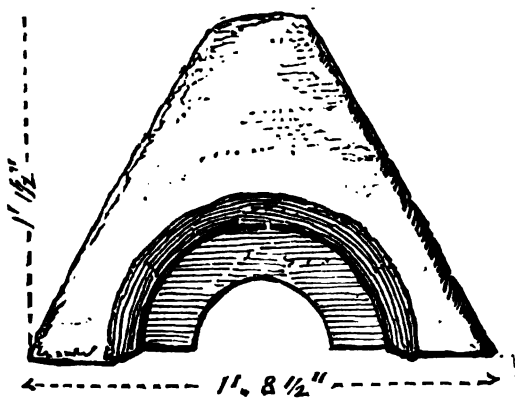


Fig. 8.—Heading of an Ancient Window, White Island.

of ^{St.}Killeshin, county Carlow. All the rest is rude and late, evidently belonging to an era when the traditions of the *Goban Saor* had become more than mystified. It would appear that a time had arrived when it became necessary to add to or rebuild the body of the church. The doorway, no doubt, in consideration of its elegance, was preserved. The architect, or his assistants, or one of them, as shown already, suggested looking about the ruins of the original establishment and found certain stones, no longer apparently required, and these he, or they, at once utilized, as materials for carving, in the debased artistic spirit of the period (probably fourteenth century) the bizarre figures of the "Sheela" and other "effigies." That the stones given in Figs. 5 and 7 had been at one

time used as what modern masons call "door-blocks," there is every probability, if not absolute certainty. The head of the warrior stone, and that of the supposed ecclesiastic, present upon their upper end shallow rectangular sockets, just calculated to secure a tenon from slipping. But more, the churchman's stone may be further identified as a quondam jamb support, presenting as it does two depressions, one evidently a socket, while the other is simply a bevel for the drainage of wall water from the timber once inserted in the mortise. In these opinions I am fully sustained by more than one practical builder, of Enniskillen, to whom I submitted the drawings.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

THE QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland was held at the Museum of the Natural History and Philosophical Society, Belfast, on Wednesday, July 7th, 1880,

ROBERT YOUNG, M.R.I.A., in the Chair.

The following Members were elected :—

Lord Arthur Hill, Hillsborough.

Marcus J. Ward, Ulster Works, Belfast.

Rev. Henry W. Lett, A.M., Ardmore Rectory, Lurgan.

Rev. W. B. Mulcahy, Ballynaveigh, Belfast.

George Raphael, Galgorm House, Ballymena.

Rev. John MacIntosh, Windsor, Belfast.

R. J. Usher, M.R.I.A., Cappagh, Cappoquin.

Lieutenant-Colonel Abbott, Tivoli, Cork.

Charles Budds, St. Mullins, Graigue.

John Coke, Inland Revenue, Charleville, Co. Cork.

The Chairman then said that he took that opportunity of asking them to pass a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Benn for his great generosity and kindness in handing over to the Belfast Museum the beautiful collection of antiquities which they had seen that morning. He hoped his munificent donation would prove an in-

centive to others to do likewise. He had good reason to know that such was the feeling of a great many others. That was his own feeling. He was not a large collector, but he had a few articles which he meant to place in that room. He would like it to go out to Ulster and Ireland that they proposed to have a collection that would not be exceeded anywhere, except at the Royal Irish Academy. He might mention that Mr. Robert MacAdam—who, he regretted to say, was absent—was of the same mind, and so were others he could name, but he need not particularize further. He was quite sure there were gentlemen present who would give portions of their collections; and, at a certain period of life, it would be a very good opportunity for making arrangements with respect to property which generally was dispersed or lost after one's death. He now asked them to join with him in cordially thanking Mr. Benn for his great kindness in presenting them with the Benn Collection of antiquities, now deposited in the Museum.

A unanimous vote of thanks was given to Mr. Benn for the donation of his collection of antiquities to the Museum, Belfast. In seconding this vote, a description of the Benn Collection, which was afterwards extended into the following notice, was given by William H. Patterson, M.R.I.A. :—

“In the early part of this year the large collection of antiquities which had been formed by the late Mr. Edward Benn, of Glenravel House, County of Antrim, was presented to the Museum by his brother, Mr. George Benn, to whom the collection had been bequeathed.

“The Council of the Natural History and Philosophical Society, with a view of securing a suitable abiding place for this important collection of the antiquities of our country, determined upon building an addition to the Museum, which would receive the Benn Collection, and, at the same time, would afford some very essential accommodation for other portions of their collection which had never been adequately displayed. The Council set to work to collect the necessary funds, and, by the kindness of friends, they were shortly enabled to commence operations. The lower room of the new building, in which the Benn Collection is deposited, was formally opened on the occasion of this meeting of the Royal Archæological and Historical Association of Ireland. At the same time the remainder of the space in the room, not already occupied by the Benn Collection, was filled with a most interesting collection of antiquities, chiefly stone implements, Irish and American, which were lent by a

small number of friends residing in the neighbourhood, who are the fortunate possessors of very fine collections. This loan collection is only mentioned incidentally; but, having named it, I should like just to say further, that among those who contributed towards the collection were Messrs. Gray, Knowles, Raphael, Rev. P. O'Lavery, Canon MacIlwaine, Canon Grainger, and the Earl of Antrim. I should also specially mention Mr. Gray's series of coloured drawings of cromlechs and other rude stone monuments and remains existing in this neighbourhood. This series is most interesting.

"I have already mentioned briefly how and when the collection came into the possession of the Natural History Society, and now it will be well to mention more particularly the classes of objects and the numbers of objects in each class, in order to give an idea of the extent of the collection. But first let me say that the late Mr. Edward Benn had exceptionally good opportunities for forming a collection of Irish antiquities. The possessor of ample means, he lived for many years in a district which is probably the richest in Ireland in stone implements. Living, not in a town, but in the centre of a wide country district, he became known far and near as a purchaser of anything curious which might be found from time to time in the bogs or in the operations of the farm, of reclaiming and breaking up waste lands, sinking drains, clearing out water-courses, and all the other ways in which lost and buried objects come to light.

"It may not be generally known that the chief friends of collectors of antiquities are ragmen. These men in wandering all over the country have opportunities of getting possession of things that have been found; and when they know that certain things are in demand, they inquire for them, and it is wonderful what numbers of things they pick up—in this cottage a flint arrow-head or a stone axe; in that a bronze spear-head or celt; and in another a quern-stone, an enamelled bead or old coin. These things are carefully stored away for days and weeks, as the case may be, till the ragman's wanderings bring him near the house of the collector, whom he has had in view all the time as the person who will give him shillings for what he has only paid pence; and the collector is glad to get an addition to his cabinet, and dismisses the ragman with an admonition to bring him the next curious things he finds. A blessing on the ragmen. But for their intervention most of the antiques that are dug up would soon be lost again; unless of metal, the labourer who found an implement would likely throw it away, or, if he brought it home, it would become the plaything of the children for a short time, and then would be either broken or lost. But for the ragman most of the collections of Irish antiquities would be much smaller than they are. The ragmen are not absolutely truthful; and if they find that it will enhance the value of any antique they have to sell, they will not hesitate to invent a story, as to how it was found in an old rath, or fort, or castle. Some of them also try their hands, but in a very clumsy way, at the forging of antiquities, but these forgeries are so barefaced that it is seldom hard to detect them. Our wandering dealers lack the manipulative skill of the celebrated 'Flint-jack.' Collectors tell me that when a man has brought them some good things, and perhaps is likely to bring them more, they sometimes take from him these forgeries, or duplicate specimens, which they in no way require, in order to encourage the ragman to

come back, and also as a sort of bribe to prevent him taking his finds to some rival collector; for I may say it is one of the special peculiarities of collectors to be very jealous of each other. A collector wants to have things that nobody else has; hence these forgeries and impostures are winked at.

"Mr. Benn's collection was especially rich in stone implements, and this is just what might be expected in a collection formed in the county of Antrim. The county Antrim flint must have been of immense importance to the inhabitants of this country, from the very earliest coming of primitive man down to the discovery or introduction of metals; and no doubt our flint formed an article of barter with the inhabitants of other districts of the country, because, with the exception of a part of Derry, no flint is found elsewhere in Ireland. It has been more than once pointed out that regular manufactories of flint implements existed in very old times in different parts of Antrim, usually near places where the chalk rocks came to the surface.

"I will now give an enumeration of the various objects that compose the Benn Collection as at present displayed:—Of polished stone celts there are 194; flint celts, partly polished, 8; finely worked flint arrow-heads, lozenge-shaped, barbed and stemmed, and lance-heads, 228; flint flakes, worked, 34; thumb flints, or scrapers, 18. Of the class of objects known as hammer-stones, some of which are oval, some oblong, some perforated, and some not, there are, including others that may have been spindle-steps, about 100. Of small stone disks, perforated by a central hole, which were probably worn as personal ornaments, or as charms, or amulets, or which may have been spindle-whorls, and are called in some parts of Ireland 'fairy millstones,' there are about 290. There are also several querns and grain-rubbers, making in all, of stone objects, a total of upwards of 872. The next objects which I will direct attention to are those formed of earthen and glass materials, and these are extremely interesting, as they comprise the glass beads, of which there is a very fine series, and also the cinerary urns. The beads in the collection, including those of amber, number about 400. Some of these are probably not ancient; but of undoubtedly ancient beads, both enamelled with several colours of glass, and those that are plain, there are a great many. Some of them, as might be expected, are almost unique, and it is remarkable how closely they resemble the beads found in so-called Saxon tombs in England, as drawn and coloured in a work on the Faussett collection compiled by the late Mr. Joseph Mayer. I would refer to the fine series of ancient beads that was exhibited lately by Mr. Knowles, of Cullybackey; and in considering the great number of beautiful and elaborately ornamented beads in Mr. Knowles's, Mr. Benn's, and other local collections, one cannot help being struck with the immense numbers of these fine ornaments which the ancient people here possessed. One reason, no doubt, why so many of these beads have been found in such a perfect state is because of the comparative indestructibility of glass when buried in the ground. Some of the beads may have formed the heads of pins of either wood, bone, or bronze, the pin part having long since mouldered away. It is possible that these beautiful beads may not have been made in Ireland at all, but may be of Continental, possibly Italian, workmanship. Very similar beads have been found in England and Scotland, and also in Denmark and about the Swiss lake dwellings. Mr. Day, in a Paper on

enamelled beads in his collection, communicated to the Association in 1869, says:—"I would be led to suppose . . . that these beads were imported, and that they may be classed with the antiquities which belong to the late bronze and early iron period. When found by the peasantry they are still regarded as possessing a talismanic power, and are sometimes called *gloine-an-drudgh*, or "the magician's glass"; and in Scotland they are called "adder stones" and "snake stones." In speaking of the colours of these beads, Mr. Day writes:—"Blue appears to have been the favourite colour; but, while this is so, our museums and private collections can show others in pale green, white, yellow, and red, and with spirals and other ornaments of varied colours; while others have a dark ground-work, and are studded with fragments of red, green, yellow, blue, and white enamel, which are set without any attempt at order on the surface. There is one form of glass ornaments which, so far as I can ascertain, is found only in Ireland; it is shaped somewhat like a dumb-bell, and is made of green vitrified porcelain or opaque glass." Some of these small double-headed beads are in the Benn Collection. I am aware that Mr. Edward Benn considered his collection of beads very important, and that he communicated a Paper upon them to the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, which was published in their "Transactions." There are several fine cinerary urns in the collection, but unfortunately most of them are more or less broken, while some consist of mere fragments. These urns contained the ashes of individuals of a race which practised cremation, that extremely satisfactory way of disposing of the remains of our dead, and to which ancient practice there now seems a disposition to return. Such urns have frequently been found in Ireland, and in England and Scotland. They are filled with fragments of charred bones, and are generally discovered with the mouth or open downwards, resting on a slate or small slab, and surrounded by a rudely-built chamber of stones. One of the urns in this collection was found in a sand-hill near Dervock, county of Antrim; another one was found at Belsallagh, parish of Skerry, county of Antrim, in 1834; and another larger one is labelled as having been found in the townland of Legagrane, parish of Dunaghey. Several small crucibles, which had evidently been used, are in the collection. Such crucibles are occasionally found about the crannogs or lake dwellings, and were no doubt used for melting the gold, bronze, and findriuné, or white bronze, of which the ancient inhabitants of the country formed the beautiful personal ornaments and weapons which are so familiar to us. The finding of these worn crucibles proves that metal work had been carried on in the districts where they are found.

"The last objects which may be enumerated as coming under the class of earthen materials are some of those small clay tobacco pipes which are found in many places, generally about towns or places which were centres of population a couple of hundred years ago. The peasantry call these Danes' pipes, from the fondness they have of attributing everything ancient that they do not understand to the Danes; or sometimes, by calling them fairy pipes, they attribute a supernatural origin to them. In reality, however, they have a much later and more prosaic origin, as they were just the ordinary smoking pipes of about two hundred years ago. They are often found in street-cuttings for sewers, associated with copper coins of the Williamite period, and many of them are stamped with initials or other trade-marks, which are known to have been used by

pipe-makers who lived at Broseley and other places in England. Of these pipes there are seven. There are also some objects of jet which are curious. This exhausts the articles that are formed of glass or earthen materials, and I therefore pass on to a more interesting class of objects—namely, those of bronze. These are more interesting, because they show an entirely fresh departure in human culture.

“Hitherto I have spoken of axes and lance-heads formed of stone; now we find them formed of a hard and handsome metal, taking a keen edge, many of them carefully and thoughtfully ornamented with patterns formed by incised lines or dots, the very kind of ornament that was most suitable to the material and the objects. One may well imagine how soon a race of people armed only with stone would go down before a race armed with bronze weapons. They would be either exterminated or enslaved.

“The division of pre-historic time into a stone, a bronze, and an iron age, as far as regards man’s advancement in civilization, is an extremely simple, and at the same time an ingenious one. This division was first suggested and adopted by the Danish archæologists, and was founded on the results of their investigations in the peat-bogs of Denmark. They found that low down in the peat the only implements or objects of man’s workmanship were formed of stone; then, at a higher level in the peat, weapons of bronze were found, associated with stone. As the explorers examined higher beds they found that bronze increased in quantity, while stone diminished; and, passing still upwards, when the maximum of bronze implements and weapons had been attained, iron began to make its appearance as the material of which weapons, &c., were formed; and, getting still nearer the surface, as bronze decreased so iron increased, until the iron age was fairly entered on.

“Sir John Lubbock divides pre-historic archæology into four great epochs. This is done by making two stone periods, that is, an earlier and a later. The following are the divisions he adopts:—‘I. That of the drift, when man shared the possession of Europe with the mammoth, the cave-bear, the woolly-haired rhinoceros, and other extinct animals. This we may call the ‘Palæolithic’ period. II. The later or polished stone age, a period characterized by beautiful weapons and implements, made of flint and other kinds of stone, in which, however, we find no trace of the knowledge of any metal excepting gold, which seems to have been sometimes used for ornaments. This we may call the ‘Neolithic’ period. III. The bronze age, in which bronze was used for arms and cutting instruments of all kinds. IV. The iron age, in which that metal had superseded bronze for arms, axes, knives, &c., bronze still being in common use for ornaments, and frequently, also, for the handles of swords and other arms, though never for the blades. Stone weapons of many kinds, however, were still in use during the age of bronze, and even during that of iron, so that the mere presence of a few stone implements is not in itself sufficient evidence that any given find belongs to the stone age.’ For instance, I believe that arrow-heads of flint, of which there are such large numbers in the Benn Collection, continued to be made and used far down into the bronze and iron periods, and it has been asserted that the dark-coloured stone celts or axes, of which such numbers have been found, were in use in Ireland as late as the time of the Stuart monarchs. The discovery of copper was, of course, what led

to the introduction of the mixed metal, bronze, which is a very hard metal, formed of a mixture in certain proportions of two soft metals, copper and tin. Tin is too soft for weapons of any kind. Copper is not so soft; and, as might be expected, the early metal-workers evidently tried how it would suit for weapons, and accordingly we find axes of pure copper in many collections, but they are very rare. I have not heard of copper spear-heads or arrow-heads as being found in Ireland. With regard to copper implements in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Sir William Wilde writes:—‘The only copper implements of very great antiquity in the Academy’s collection are some celts evidently of the very earliest pattern and greatest simplicity in construction, a couple of battle-axes, a sword-blade of the curved broad shape usually denominated scythes, a trumpet, a few fibulæ, and some rudely-formed tools. There can be little doubt that these copper celts are the very oldest metal articles in the collection, and were probably the immediate successors of a similar class of implements of stone.’

“In the Benn Collection there is one copper celt, rudely fashioned, of flat shape. The scarcity of copper implements in such finds as have been made is probably to be accounted for by the facts that copper was not found to be a very suitable material for weapons, owing to its softness, and that bronze superseded it before long; and also because what copper celts were still in the possession of the early metal-workers at the time of the introduction of bronze were probably re-melted and worked up into bronze implements. Of bronze celts there are, in the Benn Collection, eighty-five, from two inches to seven and a-half inches in length. This is a very large number to find in a private collection, and is a proof of the late Mr. Benn’s industry in collecting, and also of the exceptionally good opportunities which he had for forming a collection. Of these celts fifty-four are either flat-shaped or of the winged form, which have been called Paalstab or Paalstav celts. These and the solid celts were, it is supposed, mounted for use by being inserted in a handle of wood, which either lapped over the tang portion of the axe, or was pierced by a hole of suitable shape to receive the small end of it. The socketed celts, of which there are thirty-one, were cast with a hollow or socket, into which the wooden handle was inserted; these frequently had small loops cast on, at the sides, which were most likely for the purpose of passing a tying through, to secure the head more firmly to the handle. These two classes of weapons—the one in which the metal head was inserted into the wood, and that in which the wood shaft was inserted into the head—are considered by O’Curry to have belonged to two distinct but contemporaneous races of people in this country; and in his “Lectures” he cites an ancient account of the first battle of Magh Tuireadh, which was fought, according to O’Flagherty, in the year A. M. 3737, or, according to the chronology of the Four Masters, in A. M. 3303. The battle was fought between the Firbolgs and the Tuatha Dé Danaan, near the village of Cong, in the modern county of Mayo; and the ancient records give very full details of the weapons which were used on both sides. The weapons seem to have been of bronze, and Professor O’Curry examines and criticises in his usual painstaking way the various kinds of weapons which are mentioned, as regards their form, material and mode of use; and in translating the Irish names for them he endeavours to identify them with ancient bronze weapons preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish

Academy. O'Curry's arguments are too long for repetition here; but I will give one extract concerning this battle, which is very instructive in itself, and illustrates the careful way in which O'Curry treats his subject:—"The Firbolgs had settled their seat of sovereignty at Tara, where they lived under the government of a distinguished warrior, King Eochaidh Mac Erc, when they heard of the appearance of their rivals, who had entered the island on the north-west, and had established themselves in the strongholds of the present county of Leitrim. The Firbolgs, on consultation, determined to send a picked champion of their force to enter into communication with the strangers, and to ascertain what their intentions were; and their choice fell upon Sreng, the son of Sengann; and it is in the description of the meeting of this warrior with Breas, the equally renowned messenger of the Tuatha Dé Danaan, that the first description of the weapons on both sides, both offensive and defensive, is found. Without occupying any unnecessary space, then, in detailing the description of the battle itself, I shall proceed to refer to those passages only which contain any description of the shape, size, construction and use of the various arms employed; and I shall afterwards endeavour to classify these, as well as I can, with reference to the collection of specimens open for examination in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. Upon the selection of Sreng by the council of the Firbolgs, "he arose then," says the ancient writer, "and took his hooked, firm, brown-red shield, and his two thick-handled spears, called *craisechs*, and his keen-gliding sword, and his elegant quadrangular helmet, and his thick iron club, and he set out from Tara," &c. And when Sreng arrived in sight of the camp of the Tuatha Dé Danaan, Breas, the champion of the latter, came out to meet and speak with him, "with his shield upon him," proceeds the history, "and his sword in his hand, and having two huge spears with him." The two champions, we are told, wondered each at the peculiar arms of the other, their form and character being different; and when they came within speaking distance, each of them, it is said, "stuck his shield firmly into the ground" to cover his body, while he looked over the top of it to examine his opponent. On conversation, they agree to raise and put away their shields; and Sreng observes that he had raised his in dread of the "thin, sharp spear" of his adversary; while Breas expresses similar respect for the "thick-handled spears" of the Firbolgs, and asks if all their arms are like them. Then, to give Breas an opportunity of examining them, Sreng "took the tieings off his two thick-handled *craisechs*" (or heavy spears), and asks Breas what he thinks of them, who replies in surprise and admiration of the "great, pointless, heavy, thick, sharp-edged arms," and refers to the sharpness of their touch, their power when cast at an enemy, the wounds that would come of rubbing to their edge, and the deadliness of their thrust; thus describing both the form and modes of use of this peculiar kind of spear. Sreng then explains that the name of the weapon is *craisech*, that they are "gorers of flesh" and "crushers of bones" and "breakers of shields," and that their thrust or stroke is death, or perpetual mutilation. On separating they exchange weapons, we are told, that the hosts on each side might thus form an opinion of the other by examination of a specimen of the arms. Breas gives Sreng his two *sleghs* or spears, and sends word by him that the Tuatha Dé Danaan will insist on half of the island; that they would take so much in peace, but if so much were not con-

ceded by the Firbolgs they must try the issue of a battle between them. Sreng then returns to the Firbolg camp, and it is in his account of the champion of the Tuatha Dé Danaan that we have a description of their weapons. "Their shields," he says, "are great and firm; their spears are sharp, thin and hard; their swords are hard and deep-edged." And Sreng recommended his people accordingly to agree to the proposed terms, and to divide the country equally with the strangers. This, however, they would not consent to do, for they said if they gave the Tuatha Dé Danaan half they would soon take the whole. On the other side, the Tuatha Dé Danaan were so much impressed with the report of Breas, and with the appearance of the terrible craisechs, that they resolved to secure themselves by taking up a better military position before the impending battle, and they retired, accordingly, farther west into Connacht.¹

"After this follows an account of some of the events of the battle, in which the uses of the several weapons are most minutely described. O'Curry also gives an account of the second or northern battle of Magh Tuireadh, fought thirty years later than the first, between the victorious Tuatha Dé Danaan and the Fomorians, or sea rovers. In this account the weapons are described still more fully. And in an account of a later battle, that of Ath Comair, O'Curry again goes most minutely into the subject of the weapons used, and he draws particular attention to a missile weapon called a *Lia Lamha Laich*—translated a 'Champion's hand-stone'—which was carried for use in the hollow of the shield, and which O'Curry suggests was the polished stone 'celt' just mentioned. Of bronze sword-blades, and what may be called dagger-blades, there are in the Benn Collection twenty-four. Of bronze spear- or lance-heads, many being of beautiful workmanship, there are twenty-six; these have sockets for the insertion of the shaft. The sword-blades, on the contrary, were made with rivet-holes, and were rivetted to handles which were made of scales of wood, bone, or hard tusks, such as those of the seahorse. There are about thirty bronze brooches and pins. It is in antiquities of this class that we find some of the most exquisite workmanship of the old artificers. Some of Mr. Benn's are richly ornamented, and are worthy of a careful examination. There are many other bronze objects, to some of which it is difficult to assign either a name or use. Some of them are undoubtedly parts of horse-trappings, spurs, bits, &c., many rings of bronze, which have evidently been cast, and some of which are still adhering together in twos and threes as they came from the mould. There are some small finger-rings and seals of different materials; a curious object made of thin bronze, hollow, and evidently in imitation of a human finger, with the nail and folds of skin at the knuckles all complete. This, probably, was the case or shrine in which the finger-bone of some saint was preserved as a relic. There are two bronze smoking-pipes and two iron ones, and also a brass or bronze 'beggar's badge,' issued in the parish of Shankill in 1774.

"The most interesting object of bronze, and perhaps the most interesting object in the whole collection, is the small urn, or vase, bearing an Irish inscription, which has lately been described in Miss Stokes's work on *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*. This little urn, which probably was an altar vessel, was described by the late Dr.

¹ *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, by E. O'Curry, vol. ii., p. 235.

Petrie, in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. ii. He says—'This very interesting little altar vessel . . . was found in the ruins of an old church in Islandmagee, in the county of Antrim, and fell into the possession of an old woman in the neighbourhood, who used it for many years to hold oil for her spinning-wheel. Its workmanship is of great beauty, being not only of graceful proportions, but as round and smooth as if turned in a lathe. The inscription round its neck, which is in a beautiful square Irish character, enables us to ascertain with precision its age and original owner. It is as follows:—'Pray for Martin O'Brolachain.' From the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' as well as from the 'Annals of Innisfallen,' we find that this Martin O'Brolachain was Professor of Divinity in the Abbey of Armagh, and died in the year 1188. He is designated as the most wise of all the Irish of his time.' Mr. Benn was owner of this precious relic in 1832, having rescued it several years previously from its ignoble position at the old woman's spinning-wheel. Miss Stokes in her work gives a different reading of the inscription, and no doubt the correct one. It reads—OR DO M [AC.] ETAIN UA BROLCHAIN ('pray for Mac Etan, descendant of Brolchan'); and it would seem that this individual has not been identified, although several members of this family belonged to Armagh, and others were connected with the church at Kells. The vase is two-and-three-quarter inches in height and seven inches in circumference. In the collection there is an ancient square ecclesiastical bell, found near Ballymena; a small square bell, cast of bronze; and some of the round bells or crotals, which, however, are not so ancient. There is also a large rivetted caldron of a well-known type, and a circular brazen dish, which was found at a crannog near Randals-town. At this crannog, or lake-dwelling, many objects of human manufacture have been found from time to time.

"In the collection there are a few articles of wood—namely, two paddles from the peat which occupied the site of a dried-up lake, a wood spade, a cattle-yoke, and some mothers, or drinking cups. There are three gold ornaments and a silver bracelet. I think most of the antiquities in the collection have now been noticed, with the exception of the coins. Of these there is a very large series. To deal effectively with these requires a special knowledge, and I may now express a hope that the coins in this collection may shortly be catalogued. I may say that there is an entire series of the tokens of the Belfast merchants of the 17th century, with one exception—that of the joint token of Thomas Atkins and William Lockhart, of which there is a beautiful drawing by Dr. Aquilla Smith, of Dublin. These tokens are about thirty in number. A very interesting token in the collection is that of W. Johnston, of Belfast, of which only this one specimen is known to exist. From its size and the character of the letters it may probably have been issued early in the 18th century. It probably represents on copper a part of High-street as it then was; the market-house, with its little steeple, the river apparently unenclosed flowing in an open stream, and one of the bridges which crossed it. It is strange that no other specimen of this 'Belfast ticket' has turned up.

■ "Mr. Benn has also presented, with the collection, a number of valuable books on antiquarian subjects. I estimate that, not counting the coins and books, there are in the Benn Collection about 1500 separate objects. These, along with the collection of Irish antiquities already in the So-

ciety's Museum, will form a very fine nucleus, around which, it is to be hoped, many interesting objects will from time to time be gathered. The Irish antiquities-room should form, and I expect will form, one of the chief attractions in the Museum."

The Rev. Henry W. Lett, A. M., gave the following account of Megalithic Structures near Killeavy, Co. Armagh :—

"Dr. Joyce's delightful volume of old Celtic Romances has recently made Slieve Gullian famous, but the neighbourhood has long been interesting to Ulster antiquaries as containing the well-preserved ruins of the old church of St. Moninna of Killeavy, which is the only example in the counties of Armagh, Antrim, Down, and Tyrone (excepting the ruins on St. John's Point) of a building with no arches, the doorways being covered by a horizontal lintel formed of a huge single stone. This ruin nestles under the shadow of Slieve Gullian; and has been thought worthy of two photographs in the magnificent and luxurious volumes of Lord Dunraven.

"The three megalithic structures of which the following notes have been taken are all situated within one and a-half miles of the ruins of Killeavy church, some few miles south of the town of Newry. One consists of the roofless walls of what was, till half a century back, a cairn containing a series of chambers. The landlord, when erecting Killeavy Castle, removed the stones composing this cairn, and also all the huge coverings of the passages and chambers (finding it a convenient quarry) except one stone, about 2½ feet thick and 7 feet by 7 feet, and employed them as building material. However, there still remain the great stones, between 3 and 4 feet high, of the side walls of a long chamber, measuring 48 feet by 6 feet, and a smaller one, about 3 feet square; and abundant traces of others may still be discovered. A few hundred yards to the south, in the same townland (Clonlum), near the middle of a field, is what the Ordnance Survey marks as a 'cromlech.' This is a chamber formed of four large stones, and measuring inside 4 feet high and 4½ feet by 2 feet. This was anciently covered by two immense stones, which still remain uninjured, though forced aside from their original position. These covering-stones measure respectively 6 feet by 4 feet, by 2 feet thick, and 5 feet by 3 feet, by 2 feet thick. This monument is nearly entire, and being of an unusual type, at least in the province of Ulster, is well worthy of being preserved.

"On the very summit of Slieve Gullian, a quarter of a mile south of the enchanted Lough Calliah Berri, is an erection of dry stones, marked on Ordnance Survey as a cairn, but which is, in reality, a beehive-shaped house or cell, closely resembling some similar structures figured by Lord Dunraven. The roof of this has partly fallen in. The writer is not aware of the existence or, rather, survival, of any other building like this in the counties of Armagh, Antrim, or Down. And it would be a sad loss if hereafter some enterpriser import it off the face of the mountain, or utilitarian should covet the stones to build something else, as was done with the cells of Saint Domangard on the top of Slieve Donard, in Co. Down."

The Rev. Canon MacIlwaine, D. D., read the following notes on a human skull, held to be the skull of Carolan, which he exhibited :—

“Turlogh Carolan, or as he is more correctly designated O’Carolan, was born at Nobber, county Meath, 1670, and died on Saturday, 25th March, 1738, at Alderford, county Leitrim, in the house of one of his oldest and most attached friends, Mrs. M’Dermot. The facts connected with the close of his life, which, as is well known, was one of wandering and pilgrimage almost throughout, are fully and affectingly detailed by Hardiman in the first volume of his work entitled *Irish Minstrelsy, or Bardic Remains of Ireland*.

“This close of Carolan’s earthly career, under a roof not his own, and among comparative strangers, accords hut too well with the character of a wandering minstrel, adopted by him through the greater part of his life, and which give to him the title of ‘the last’ of that race. Carolan’s burial, however, was marked by all the characteristics of his countrymen. He was interred, as his biographer records, ‘in the MacDermott Roe’s vault, in their chapel, at the east end of the old Church of Kiliman,’ county Fermanagh. The particulars of his funeral are thus told by his biographer, already quoted :—‘When his death was known it is related that upwards of sixty clergymen of different denominations, a number of gentlemen from the surrounding counties, and a vast concourse of country people, assembled to pay the last mark of respect to their favourite bard. All the houses in Ballyfannon were occupied by the former, and the people erected tents in the fields around Alderford House. The harp was heard in every direction. The wake lasted four days. On each side of the hall was placed a keg of whiskey, which was replenished as soon as emptied. Old Mrs. M’Dermott herself joined the female mourners who attended to weep, as she expressed herself, “over her poor gentleman, the head of all Irish music.” On the fifth day, his remains were brought forth, and the funeral was one of the greatest that for many years had taken place in Connaught.’ The remains of the last of the bards appear to have rested quietly in the grave assigned to them with so much national distinction for a number of years, and little more is heard of them until 1750, when, as Hardiman relates, ‘On opening the grave to receive the remains of a Catholic clergyman, whose dying request was to be interred with the bard, the skull of the latter was taken up.’ The Hon. Thomas Dillon, as Hardiman further relates, brother of the Earl of Roscommon, *caused it to be perforated a little in the forehead*, and a small piece of ribbon to be inserted, in order to distinguish it from other similar disinterred remnants of mortality. It was placed in a niche over the grave, where it long remained an object of veneration, several persons having visited the church for the sole purpose of seeing this relic of a man so universally admired for his musical talents. The narrative continues until the year 1796, when the skull disappeared; and various accounts remain traditionally of the cause and manner of its disappearance. The one to which Hardiman seems to give most credence is, that a barbarian, whom he describes as a Northern Orangeman, came to the ancient church, desiring to see the relic of Carolan, when, in a fit of mingled fanaticism and brutality, he discharged the contents of a loaded

pistol at it and shattered it to pieces. After bestowing sundry imprecations, which hardly bear repetition, on Carolan's co-religionists, he is described as riding away and escaping the pursuit of some neighbouring gentlemen. One cannot help wishing, if this account be true, that their pursuit had been successful, but the question remains whether the narrative is true. That it is at least doubtful may appear from the fact that a perfectly different version of the transaction is given in a note to the passage above quoted. It may be further stated that the circumstances connected with the burial of Carolan and the ultimate fate of the skull have given rise since, periodically, to very warm debates and a variety of conjectures. It would be manifestly out of place to introduce any of these hypotheses here. I shall only mention one, given in the note above referred to, inasmuch as it serves to connect the narrative with the relic now before us, and, as I am disposed to believe, with quite as much, or indeed more, credibility than any other. The writer proceeds to remark that according to the statements of some, the skull of Carolan might be seen, at the date when he wrote, that is, in 1831, perfect and entire in the Museum, at Castlecaldwell, county Fermanagh, having been presented to its former proprietor, Sir John Caldwell, by the late George Nugent Reynolds, Esq., who conveyed it privately from the burying-ground of Kilronan for that purpose; and I shall merely add, that the few additional particulars, which I now proceed to state, appear to me to give a considerable amount of credibility to the statement.

"It will, I am sure, be of interest to know that this skull under consideration is the identical one abovementioned. It remained in the Castlecaldwell Museum from the date just quoted, 1831, until 1852, when it was exhibited in the Belfast Museum, during the visit of the British Association to Belfast in that year.

"I may add that, in company with the members of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, I again saw this remarkable relic at Castlecaldwell on the occasion of our visit to that mansion in the year 1870.

"There it remained until the dispersion of the Museum by its present proprietor, J. Rochfort Bloomfield, Esq., a few years subsequently. Having the pleasure of the acquaintance of Mr. Bloomfield, on meeting with him in Dublin about a twelvemonth since, I inquired the fate of the object in which I had long felt a deep interest, and was informed that it had passed into some person's hands whose name he could not at that time recall.

"I am extremely happy in being able to name that person. It was the good fortune of a young friend, now resident in Belfast, to become possessor of the relic—James Glenny, Esq.—and it now forms part of the valuable antiquarian collection of that gentleman's cousin—John Glenny, Esq., of Glenfield, near Newry, by whose kindness it is now exhibited.

"Its exhibition here in 1852 gave rise to a considerable amount of discussion and inquiry, as I have already intimated. Some of these found their way into *Notes and Queries*; but it is foreign to my design to pursue them thither.

"I may to better purpose refer to some which, in the year following, 1853, appeared in the antiquarian '*Notes and Queries*' of the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, edited by our townsman, R. MacAdam, Esq.

These notices occur at pp. 226 and 304 of the first volume of that valuable publication.

"The genuineness of the skull then, as now exhibited, was questioned, in the first instance, by a writer signing himself 'MacStephen,' as follows:—

"Quoting from *Walker's Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, and referring to a visit paid to the grave of Carolan at the date of that publication (1786) by a gentleman named O'Connor, he cites this testimony as to its then being found there:—'I stood over poor Carolan's grave, covered with a heap of stones, and I found his skull near the grave, perforated a little on the forehead, that it might be known by that mark.'

"This, it may be observed, fully corroborates the statement of Hardiman, already referred to; but the writer proceeds to argue against the identity of the skull exhibited in the following way:—'Now, the skull shown in the Museum of Belfast as Carolan's has no indication of any perforation such as spoken of by Mr. O'Connor, Carolan's personal and intimate friend in life; and therefore I am disposed to think that the skull exhibited was of very doubtful authenticity, if not an imposition.'

"My reply is, that in the very skull now before us—identical with that which is thus attempted to be proved an imposition—such a perforation does actually occur. When carefully examining it, along with my friend Dr. Moore, I observed a small aperture (just such as is said to have been made) at the right side of the forehead, and, on Dr. Moore's making the experiment, a piece of ribbon, as you may perceive, was easily passed through the frontal sinus, on to the orbit of the eye, and thence to the outer surface. We have thus furnished to us, I venture to assert, not only a refutation to the denial of its genuineness, but a very striking confirmation of the belief that the skull of the bard has been preserved, and is at this moment before us.

"Another objection raised by the same writer is based on the smallness of the size of the skull, and the defectiveness of its phrenological development, respect being had to the musical taste of its owner. The reply is simple. The skull is certainly, comparatively speaking, small, but I have not met with any notification of Carolan being of large stature. He was of Keltic origin, and the crania of that race are not remarkable for their size; but rather the contrary. As regards the phrenological argument attempted, although far from an adept, not even a professed student of that science, I beg to differ from the judgment passed on the skull in question. It seems to me to be a well-proportioned, evenly-balanced one, rather long from front to rear, but still symmetrical. It is evidently that of an aged person, and the organs of observation seem to be well developed, while the occipital portion commonly assigned to the emotional part of our nature, without being exaggerated, is just what one would imagine the head of a musician or a poet would present.

"A second correspondent, signing himself 'George Ellis, M.B., Dublin,' relates a highly amusing story, with which I need hardly trouble my audience. After repeating the objection that no perforation existed in the skull exhibited, he proceeds to tell of an aged relative of his own, then in his 83rd year, who was, as I think, thoroughly gulled by a countryman on the spot, at the grave of Carolan, as he rode off with some pieces of it, as he believed, in his

pocket. Those who are disposed to read the entire communication, which certainly appears to me highly incredible, will find it at page 304 of the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. i., 1853.

"After a careful examination of the entire question, while admitting, with the learned editor of the *Ulster Journal*, that the evidence of identity may be divided, I am still of opinion that the preponderance is on the side of the relic under discussion.

"Its identity from the date of its appearance at Carolan's grave, 1750, until its disappearance in 1796, is unquestioned. That it remained in the Museum at Castlecaldwell from that date to 1831, and thence until 1870, admits of equally clear proof. The real question at issue is, whether we are to believe the account of its removal mentioned by Hardiman, and the story of its demolition by 'the Northern Orangeman,' or the consistent tradition and belief that it was conveyed to the Castlecaldwell Museum. In my judgment, the balance of probability is much greater for the latter than the former.

"We have the statement of Mr. Wakeman, no mean authority, to the following effect:—'That for over twelve or fourteen years he had been familiar with that skull in the room at Castlecaldwell. On one occasion he was talking to the proprietor, Captain Bloomfield, on the subject, and he said there was no doubt about the authenticity of the skull: that it was brought from the church where Carolan was buried to his grandfather, by Reynolds in consequence of a wager that was made that he dare not do it; and he said, moreover, that he was quite sure, if he had time to make a search, he could produce documentary evidence to prove it.'

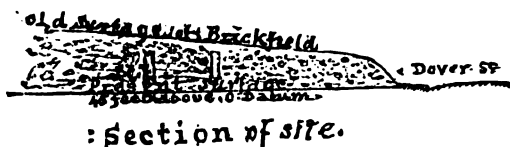
"On these grounds, to which others might easily be added, I venture to express my decided opinion, if not my conviction, that the veritable skull of the last of Ireland's bards has survived destruction, and is now before us.

"NOTE.—Since the reading of the foregoing Paper, I have had the satisfaction of a communication from J. R. Bloomfield, Esq., strongly confirmatory of Mr. Wakeman's statement. He thus writes:—'I had a full description of the finding of Carolan's skull by Reynolds, and its being conveyed by the latter to Sir John Caldwell; but I do not know where it (the description) is now. The tradition is, however, of much better evidential character than many others.' It may be hoped that Mr. Bloomfield may yet succeed in discovering the mislaid document, and thus mainly contribute to completing the proof required."

Mr. Robert Young read the following notice of oak logs, squared and morticed, discovered embedded in the boulder-clay drift on the site of what is now Dover-street, Belfast.—

"The communication which I have now to make to the Association was suggested to me by learning that an oak house had been discovered in a bog in the County Fermanagh, of which a description would be given by Mr. Wakeman at this Meeting. It occurred to me that this would be a fitting opportunity for exhibiting the only portions, as far as I know, which now exist of what seems to have been a wooden house, discovered here some years ago, so that, by comparing them with what has

been found elsewhere, possibly some further light might be thrown on the matter. Although this Belfast find has been made known, yet, from the want of a published illustration, it does not seem to have obtained the notice of antiquaries in other places. These blocks of oak were found in 1867, along with several others of similar form, embedded in the boulder-clay of a brickfield, on the west side of Dover-street, about one hundred yards from the Falls Road, Belfast.



Sections of Boulder-clay, showing Oak Blocks imbedded, where now stands Dover-street, Belfast.

"As the excavation, which was about seven feet in depth, proceeded slowly, one and then another of these curious logs made its appearance in the face of the *bank*, at intervals of many days apart. The workmen unfortunately did not call the attention of anyone to what they had found; and it was only that I chanced to turn into the field one evening to examine a heap of boulders gathered out of the clay, to seek for a good specimen of polish and scratching combined, that one of the labourers, who got into chat with me on the subject of these boulders, told me they had met with several queer lumps of oak timber in the clay, and he thought some of them were still about the field.

"A search being made, four of them turned up, of which you have two before you. One—and it the last—was subsequently found. I saw it before its removal from the clay; and I was told that another was carried off by a bog-oak carver, making in all six accounted for. They were all about 3 ft. 6 in. to 4 feet high, rudely squared, about one foot on each side at base, and generally tapering to about 10 inches at top, having grooves and mortices roughly cut into them close to the base, as if to receive a longitudinal walling piece; but the most extraordinary phenomenon of all was, that each was found at the same level, standing vertically on its butt end, and with not less than two feet of the undisturbed virgin clay passing over its top. That it was undisturbed, I concluded from the careful examination I made *in situ* of the last of these blocks that was found, and this was confirmed in the strongest manner by the independent opinion of Mr. James Wallace, the lessee of the brickfield, a man of great experience, and accustomed to observe. He assured me that the appearance they presented as he saw them exposed in the cutting, time after time, was only consistent with the theory that they were *there*

first, and the clay was washed about them or dropped on the top of them afterwards.

“When I gave a short notice of this discovery to the Natural History Society, in their Session of 1868, I only ventured to hint at its possible connexion with an inter-glacial epoch; but so many facts tending in the same direction having been recorded during the last twelve years, and the question of the antiquity of man in a *geologic sense* being now seen in so much clearer light than formerly, for my part I now find it impossible to avoid the conclusion that these blocks were fashioned and set up here by human agency, and formed the substructure of a house at a time (if not anterior to the glacial epoch) at any rate before the submergence of the land which followed it. If I am correct in the age I have assigned to the relics of the house in Dover-street, it must be admitted that it clashes with the generally accepted theory that, as we go farther backward in time, we find man more barbarous and degraded. This notion seems to have arisen from a very partial and hasty generalisation, founded, I think, mainly on some slight differences in the fabrication of the implements found in the earlier deposits, compared with those from the gravel, and without taking into account such qualifying facts as the high type of crania of the cave-dwellers found associated with the oldest implements.”

Mr. Wakeman stated that the blocks produced were very nearly identical with those of the ancient wooden house lately discovered under peat in the county Fermanagh.

Mr. Gray said, that if Mr. Young's theory was correct, he had made one of the most important discoveries known to the Association.

The Meeting was then adjourned to 8 o'clock, P. M., at the Museum.

The Chairman gave the following Address:—

“On this, the second occasion of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland meeting in Belfast, I believe I may fairly congratulate the Members on the manifest advantage that has arisen from this newly-devised plan of holding the Society's meetings in the chief towns of the several provinces. We feel that your visit last year did us a great deal of good. We were then brought into relations with the Association such as we could never have hoped for, with Kilkenny as the central point. Archæologists from the South and West had the opportunity of meeting and interchanging opinions with the Northerners; and, whilst I cannot but think we were by far the greatest gainers by the change that brought northwards to us so many good friends, yet I venture to think most, if not all, of our visitors carried back with them memories of the antiquarian sayings and doings of their short sojourn here that were far from disagreeable. My regret is that so few have repeated their visit this year, and that we miss so many that we would

have been delighted to meet again. My predecessor in this chair, addressing us last year, referred in eloquent terms to the efforts being made to prevent the Irish tongue becoming extinct. It is pleasant to know that the Society formed with this object has had a large measure of success so far, and, among other things to their credit, have, by their intervention, induced the Commissioners of Intermediate Education to admit the Irish language among the subjects for examination. As Irishmen and archæologists, we should rejoice at this beginning. It is to be hoped that one outcome of this movement will be, to recruit the numbers of the sadly diminished band of genuine Irish scholars and scribes who have hitherto kept up the credit of our country's literature. In spite of all that has been done by such men as O'Curry, O'Donovan, O'Beirne Crow, and others in this field, only a beginning has been made in transcribing and translating the remains of our country's literature, not to speak of what are dispersed through foreign countries. It is, perhaps, not generally known, that a vast number of manuscripts, from the earliest to the latest periods, are stored in the library of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin. To give you some idea of its wealth in the single department of poetry, I will quote the words of the late Mr. Herbert F. Hore, from his account of the Irish bards :—' This mass of Irish poetry, comprising ballads that are the very autobiography of history, and songs that breathe forth the national spirit of religion, patriotism, love, humour, sorrow, and almost all the range of passion, may be said to, as it were, daguerreotype the men and women, the manners and miseries—in short, the entire past of the Irish nation.' May we not hope that with the new zeal for the old language an impetus may be given to the Council of the Royal Irish Academy, so that the transcription and publication of these treasures may be proceeded with more rapidly than hitherto. I am far from attaching blame to that Society. They are entitled to the warmest gratitude of Irishmen for what they have done, considering the funds at their disposal. But why should not a portion of the Disestablishment Funds, which will shortly call for appropriation, be devoted to this noble purpose of setting before the world the remains of a literature so valuable to the scholar and the historian, not only here, but in every seat of learning in the Old and New World? And since I have ventured on this topic, allow me to offer two other suggestions, which I trust you will not consider either ill-timed or out of place. They are both in the same plane as my first—that is to say, they are directed to truly national objects, of great importance to the honour and reputation of the country, and completely unsectarian. A few words will explain. When the Irish Ordnance Survey was in progress, the late G. Petrie, O'Donovan, and other antiquaries, of whom our friend Mr. Wakeman is, I believe, the only survivor, were employed to collect and classify all the topographical, historical, and legendary knowledge of the various districts in which the surveyors were engaged. Under the direction of such an admirable organizer as Lieutenant (afterwards General) Larcom, and with all the learning and enthusiasm of Petrie thrown into the work, it was not surprising that the result was the accumulation of a large series of documents and essays, comprising information of the most valuable character. The intention then was to publish the entire; but the great expense of the first and only part printed, which comprised the single parish of Templemore, county Derry, caused the project to be abandoned, and the rest of these

precious materials have been lying on the dusty shelves in the Survey Office, Phoenix Park. Now, I ask, could a more undeniably suitable purpose be found for a portion of the surplus fund than to continue the publication of these memoirs? I think their claim is even stronger than that of the old Irish literature, for in this case the materials had been collected and arranged with a view to printing, and all at the public expense, not to speak of one volume issued. I cannot but think that, if the whole history of this case was put before the proper quarter, a very favourable impression would be made, and the idea would be adopted. This brings me to my third suggestion. It is a matter of great satisfaction to all Irish antiquaries that the ecclesiastical remains of the country, as far as handed over by the Church body, are being well cared for by the very able gentlemen employed by the Board of Works. But a vast number of the earlier remains are entirely uncared for, not being included in their jurisdiction, as we know by sad experience. Now, they are often destroyed through sheer ignorance, occasionally through avarice, usually through neglect. There seems, however, to be a good prospect of Sir John Lubbock's Bill for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments being passed into law, if not this Session, at least in the ensuing one. I understand the schedule to the Bill only includes three or four—if so many—Irish monuments, our Giant's Ring being one. I presume these are only specimens or types of what are afterwards to be filled up under the authority that will be given to the Commissioners in whom the executive power will be vested. Now, we know that if this Act is to be a reality, and not merely *vox et præterea nihil*, many thousands of these ancient relics scattered over the country would demand at least some care—oversight in all instances—and, in many cases, a considerable outlay in the shape of protection by fencing and other means. After thinking over this matter a good deal lately, I see no way that the necessary supervision would be so well done as by entrusting the charge of the monuments of each county to its Surveyor. In this way there would be no necessity for special officers being appointed; and I believe there are now many instances where the conservation of this class of monuments would require the special knowledge which is essential in dealing with the remains of church architecture. I think, however, there should be some recognized court to determine difficult or doubtful cases that may arise. Perhaps a joint committee composed of Royal Academicians and archæologists would carry most weight in such matters. But this is matter of detail, and what I have been leading up to is the point of finance. How are the county surveyors to be remunerated for the extra work thrown upon them? and out of what fund are private owners to be paid where their vested rights are interfered with? It would, in my opinion, be unwise, if not unjust, to put such charges on the county rates. It would tend to make the farmer still more careless of the rath or cromlech on his land, if he found he was taxed for its safe keeping. The wiser way will be to make it worth his while to preserve it. For the carrying out of the National Monuments Preservation Act in Ireland, I believe we have a most just and well-founded claim upon the surplus fund before referred to. I think it is one on which Irishmen of all sects and parties would cordially agree, as being in its very essence national and patriotic. The outlay, in the first instance, in making compensation for owners' and occupiers' rights might require a considerable sum, for

which there are no data to estimate ; but when all would be in working trim, I consider a yearly expenditure of about £1600 would be amply sufficient.

“ There is just one other topic on which I venture to say a few words. Of all the treasures Ireland possesses, there is no one of which she has better reason to be proud than her old melodies. Compare them with the national airs of any other country, and their superiority is at once manifest. It is a music *sui generis*—indigenous to the soil, and strangely characteristic of its people.

“ In 1792 a number of gentlemen in this town resolved to preserve the old music of Erin. To this end they invited all the harpers then known to meet in Belfast, and play their airs in competition with one another. This gave Bunting the opportunity he so much desired for noting down the music, and the results were published in the following year. Bunting subsequently made a further collection, which appeared in 1840. Dr. Petrie, whose enthusiasm for what was old was supported by his fine musical talent, gave to the public what he had collected, in 1856, and some years ago we have had another series, edited by Dr. Joyce, and yet there are many still unpublished in private hands.

“ In connexion with this subject, it may be of interest to know that about a year ago a visit was made to this country by Herr Sjeden, a native of Sweden, a distinguished musician, and well known in the musical world by his performances on the harp.

“ In the course of a visit to this town, during which he was a guest of Canon MacIlwaine, he informed that gentleman that almost all the old airs in Bunting's collection were familiar to him, being nearly identical with those of his own country.

“ Herr Sjeden has promised another visit to Ireland, in further pursuit of its ancient music, which, if fulfilled—as we hope it will—may prove of much interest, and help to clear up this curious subject.

“ For the present, I should be inclined to say that *our* music was carried northwards by the Danes, whose intercourse with this country in early times was much greater than was welcome to its inhabitants ; but, in any case, it serves to confirm the opinions of those who assign a very high antiquity to many of these old melodies. I also cherish the hope that the visit of Herr Sjeden may impart a new impulse to the study of our native music ; and when the tide of popular feeling turns in its favour—as some day it is sure to do—we shall have less reason to complain of the studied neglect and contemptuous attitude which it pleases many of the musical profession to assume in regard to our old Irish melodies.

“ How does it come, then, that so little attention is given to it ? A few of the finest melodies, having had the good fortune to be wedded to Moore's exquisite words, are no doubt occasionally heard, but even they seem to be going out of fashion ; and the modern young Irish lady, as a general rule, seems quite ignorant of the lovely melodies of her native country, but has been taught to play and sing the compositions of foreigners, of many of which it is not too much to say that the words and music are well matched, being equally vapid, trivial, and worthless.

“ Surely a reform is needed in this matter, and Belfast is, of all others, the place where it should begin.”

Dr. James Moore, adverting to the closing remarks

of the Chairman in reference to the national music of Ireland, said that the last struggle to keep alive Irish music was fostered by Dr. James M'Donnell, of Donegall Place; and he recollected well the house in Cromacstreet where the last of the Irish harpists lived a considerable time.

The Rev. Dr. Hatley Waddell, Glasgow, read a Paper on the connexion of Ossian with Ireland, distinguishing between the two schools or classes of Ossianic literature—the one representing the mediæval romances of the Seannachies in Ossian's name, chiefly Irish; the other claiming to represent the poetry of Ossian himself in the translation by James MacPherson. It was the Ossian represented by MacPherson of whom alone Dr. Waddell proposed to speak—of Ossian the son of Fingal and Roscrana, the son, the grandson, the great-grandson, and great-great-grandson of kings and queens, both Scotch and Irish, on either side of the house; who was neither a convert nor a pervert to any religion in his day; who was a hero and a heathen, a prince and a poet, and an epic historian of the highest rank; to whom both Scotland and Ireland, and the whole Scandinavian world, were equally indebted, whether they could recognize the obligation as yet or not; one of the grandest types of our aboriginal savage humanity; and would to God there was but another like him, among the poets or heroes of modern civilization in the nineteenth century. It was of this man alone Dr. Waddell condescended to speak; and it would be a thousand times better, in his opinion, for the literature and historical dignity of both Scotland and Ireland, if the scholars of both could separate entirely so splendid a theme as this from all the weak and wearisome fabrications of succeeding ages in imitation of it. Dr. Waddell then defined the era represented by Ossian and his father, as from the end of the second to about the end of the third century, and specified the chief nationalities introduced by him in his poems—including the Romans and North British Celts, the Norwegian, Icelandic, and Orcadian sea-kings; the Scots who had settled in Ulster, and constituted a separate

nationality there, under kings of their own of the same line as Fingal; and, finally, the aboriginal Irish of the south and south-west, who were in constant collision with these, under the leadership of native princes like Cuchullin and Cairbar. He then indicated the area occupied by the Scots in Ireland, of Fingal's kindred, as from Lough Larne to Lough Neagh, and from the Glenwherry water to somewhere about the sources of the Bann, beyond which limits neither Fingal nor Ossian could be traced, at least in the text of his poems. The poems themselves were then enumerated and briefly epitomised, and the events of that century, as regards Ireland, therein recorded. In "Fingal" the invasion of Swaran was repelled; in the "Death of Cuchullin" a terrible aggression of the southern Irish was detailed; and in "Temora" both that triumph and the several atrocities connected with it, including the assassination of King Cormac and of Oscar, were avenged, and the heir-apparent, Teradantho, reinstated on the throne of Ullin; after which Fingal returns home, but was murdered by mistake on the shores of Arran. Ossian himself, some ten or twenty years afterwards, died in the same neighbourhood, and was buried there, between ninety and one hundred years before St. Patrick was born. Dr. Waddell then proceeded to identify several of the most important points in the topography of the above campaigns. The "Bay of Moilena," for example, was Lough Larne; the "Stream of the Battle of Thousands," where Cuchullin was defeated by Swaran, was the Glynn water; The "Narrow Way" above that was the Pass of Glenoe; and the scene of all the grand succeeding conflicts was the valley of Six-mile-water. The Temora, or palace of Ullin, was identical with the grand old rath at Connor, now swept from the face of the earth for a railway station; "Castle Tura," the residence of Cuchullin, was Duncrue, on the Woodburn water; the "Lake of Roes" was Lough Mourne, so called from the lady that was murdered there; and the cave where the boy-king, Teradantho, was concealed, might still be recognized in the Skerry at Magerabhan, with the very oak that once grew before it still living in the ground. In conclusion,

Dr. Waddell maintained that the best proof of MacPherson's fidelity in all this was—First, that the grand geological fact on which the whole of it was founded—viz., the much higher sea-level at the time—was not even suspected by him; second, that the scenes themselves so described were unknown to him; and third, that if he had altered a single important word or syllable in his rendering of the original, it would have been impossible for anybody else to recognize them. As for minor matters, in the way of editorial license, the less said about MacPherson's treatment of the text, perhaps, the better, considering what is at present being said of Moses and the prophets. For his own part, Dr. Waddell was an assured believer both in Ossian and in Moses, and he saw nothing in modern criticism, either home or foreign, that was at all likely to touch either the authenticity of the one or the Divine authority of the other.

The following Papers were contributed:—

NOTICE OF A JADE CELT, DISCOVERED IN CO. ANTRIM.

BY THE REV. CANON MAC ILWAINE, D.D., M.R.I.A.

THE intrinsic interest attaching to the object which have the pleasure of exhibiting to the Association on the present occasion will, I trust, account for, and, if necessary, plead my excuse in so doing.

Its material is unquestionably jade, and that of the finest description; and its contour will strike any intelligent observer as closely resembling, if not identical with, that of the pre-historic celts so familiar to us.

It is now about twenty years since it came into my possession, and found a place in my collection of ancient stone implements and objects.

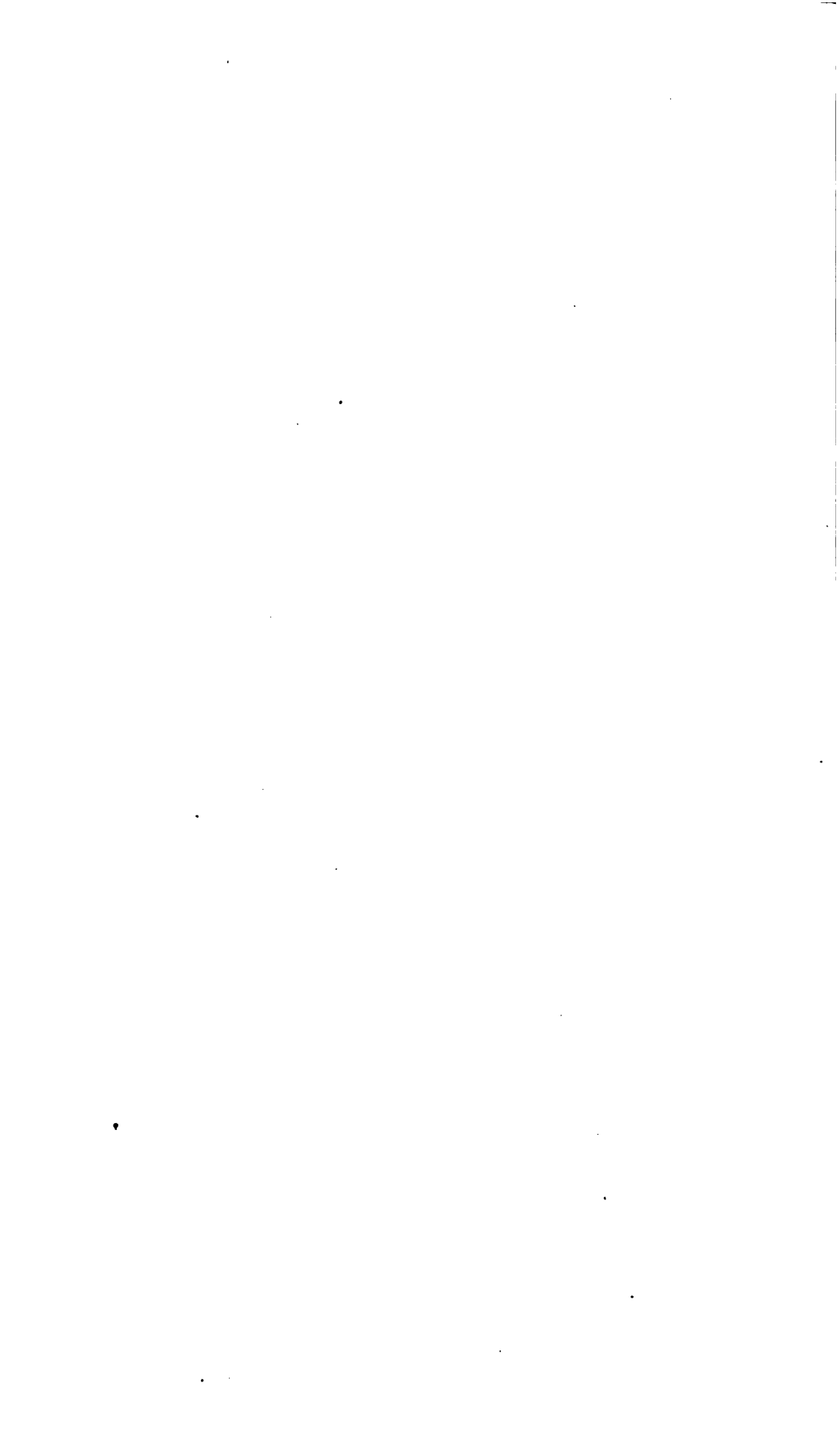
Of that collection I may be permitted to state that, although comparatively limited in extent, it has been procured with all possible care that the objects included therein may be accounted as undeniably genuine. With very few, indeed scarcely any, exceptions, they have been procured by myself, generally purchased from persons of the peasant class, who discovered them, *in situ*, and who brought them to me, as to other collectors, for purchase. These are nearly all "finds" from the county Antrim, with a few from the county Down, and this celt is one of the former.

I had hoped to be enabled to state with entire precision the exact locality where it was originally discovered, but regret my inability to do so. My memory suggested that it came into my possession at the date just referred to, and that it had been found on the glebe land of the parish of Ahoghill, when my friend, the Rev. A. T. Lee, LL.D., now resident in London, was Incumbent of that parish, and when, as I believed, and am still disposed to think, this celt, together with another ancient relic (a stone mould for casting a bronze spear-head), was presented to me by him. If I am correct here, it came into Dr. Lee's hands from the house of his kinsman, Marriott Dalway, Esq., of Bella Hill, Carrickfergus.

In any event, however, from what I have above mentioned regarding my own collection, the alternative remains, that it has found its way thither as a "find" in the county of Antrim, and under circumstances exactly parallel to others of that class.

Having passed into my possession, it lay in my collection for nearly the entire of the period above named, and was occasionally exhibited to friends as certainly peculiar, of fine make and polish, but, as I was led to think, composed of green limestone, from the quarries of Armagh or some other of the western counties of Ireland. It will be in the recollection, perhaps, of all present that at the close of last year and the commencement of this a remarkable correspondence, accompanied by some leading articles, appeared in the *London Times*, on the subject of jade implements discovered in the lakewellings of Switzerland and in other parts of Europe. My attention having been thus attracted to the subject, I was at once led to examine more carefully than I had previously done the celt in my possession, which, to my surprise and no small satisfaction, I was convinced to be a genuine jade implement, its material being of the finest description—of a rich green colour, translucent when held to the light, harder than steel, and capable of marking the surface of glass. On further submitting it for examination to some experts, lapidaries and geologists, my impressions were confirmed, and it only remained that I should endeavour to ascertain its due place among Irish archæological objects. I may add that its present exhibition, and the discussion likely to arise thereon, will, I hope, tend to the furtherance of this object. Its first introduction to public notice is on the present occasion, and when to this it can be added that no such implement of jade has, to the best of my information, been ever discovered either here, or perhaps in the United Kingdom, I trust I shall be pardoned for thus introducing it to the notice of the Archæological Association. As to the importance and variety of the object itself but little need be added. Referring to the correspondence in the *Times*, I may particularise a letter from Professor Max Müller, which appeared under the

date of January 15, and a leading article of the same date. In that article mention is made of "a piece of polished stone," which had been brought up by certain "Swiss dredges from the bottom of the river Rhone" in the preceding month of December. This proved to be a piece of eastern jade, and its discovery in that locality gave rise mainly to the correspondence which followed, and to the comments of Professor Müller and others. The nature and origin of manufactured jade, as proof of a vanished civilization, involves us, as the writer of the article asserts, "in a dense thicket of problems." One of these is the hypothesis of Professor Max Müller, that these objects had been imported into Western Europe from the East, by the Aryan race, "traces of whose language appear in an unbroken chain from India to Ireland." Letters appeared in the *Times*, one from Professor G. Rolleston, on January 17, and another, January 19, under the signature of Robt. K. Douglas, in which are discussed the connexion of jade with the East, and especially with China, and the value attached to objects manufactured from it amounting even to idolatry. In the course of these discussions the exceeding rarity of the jade objects occurring in Western Europe is dwelt on, and the remarkable fact is adduced that no chippings of the mineral, or flakes occurring in the process of manufacture, have been here discovered, a proof being thus afforded that all such objects are importations, carried with them by the Aryan or pre-Aryan races, which were the precursors of civilization in the West. Professor Maskelyne, in a communication to the *Times*, of January 1, under the heading of "Jade as an Old-World Mineral," endorses the opinion of Professor Rolleston in ascribing to the objects of jade found in Europe an Oriental source. He remarks that "Jade celts are very rare; they are found, however, few and far between, from Messopotamia to Brittany, and they evince the passion of every race of mankind for the possession of green stones, as objects endowed with an intrinsic preciousness." It may not be, perhaps, altogether beside the question here raised to remark, that in the apocalyptic vision of St. John, so full as it is of





2



3



1

MARCUS WARD & CO

CELT OF JADE.
(full size)

IN POSSESSION OF CANON MACILWAIN.

Eastern imagery, the mystic rainbow, said to encompass the throne in heaven, is described as "in sight like unto an emerald." A question also of some interest might attach to the facts just noted, whether this colour, bright green, might not in some way connect itself with the Eastern origin of its early Church and inhabitants. The necessary limits of this brief notice prevent my entering more fully into the subject, interesting as it is, or to quote from the distinguished writers in the *Times* during its discussion, the references which occur to the antiquities of Greece and Rome, as well as to the researches of Dr. Schlieman among the ruins of Hissarlik, all illustrative of the great interest attaching to these pre-historic relics of a by-gone age. To return, how-



Supposed mode of sawing out Jade Celts.

ever, to the object now before us, of which a brief description may be given. It is, as we may perceive, fashioned with great care and skill, very nearly after the normal and well-known form of the celt, but with certain peculiarities not found in polished stone or flint celts. Its length is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches on one of its sides, the extreme end having suffered a slight fracture, which diminishes in length the other side. Its breadth, at the base and bevelled end, which is quite sharp, is two inches, and its thickness $\frac{11}{16}$ th of an inch, exact measurement. A double line of indentation runs along each side, causing a raised flattened ridge in the middle:

showing that the celt had been sawn out of a flat plate of jade, in order to save the precious material, probably as represented in the above ideal diagram of the process; and the entire surface is highly polished, bringing out its extremely beautiful bright green hue. Except a fine polished celt, $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, 4 in. in extreme width, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick, found in Cornwall, and now in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh (*Proc. Soc. Antiqu. Scot.*, vol. iv., p. 52), and of jadite, the nearest locality to Ireland where jade celts have been found is Brittany; and it is remarkable that here they occurred in a chambered tumulus. Connected with that part of the Carnac allignment of standing stones known as Le Maenec (The Stones), is the tumulus now known as Mont St. Michael, more than 400 feet in length by half that dimension in breadth at the base, and now only 60 feet high, the top having been removed in order that a church might be built on the platform thus formed. From this platform the best view of the great allignment is to be had. The tumulus was opened in 1862 by M. Renné Galles, who has published an account of it. In the chamber found in its centre, besides 27 celts of stone and 120 polished and pierced beads of jasper and turquoise, there were found *eleven beautiful jade celts*; whilst at Plouharnel, about a mile and a-half west of Mont St. Michael, in a double dolmen, opened a good many years ago, *along with ornaments of gold and bronze*, were found some jade celts, which Mr. Ferguson afterwards saw at the inn of the village (*Rude Stone Monuments*, pp. 355, 358). That the shaping of jade celts by sawing is not confined to those from New Zealand is evidenced by the fact that the jade celts found in the Swiss lake dwellings, as well as those of hard green-stone, like our Antrim jade celt, have been partially fashioned by means of sawing, a fracture being effected before the opposite groovings met (*Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, p. 40, Evans). This peculiarity, if it exists in the Mont St. Michael and Plouharnel jade celts, has not been recorded; but it is plain that its occurrence in the Antrim jade celt is not alone sufficient to prove its New Zealand origin. The celt is represented full size in Plate No. 1. After careful inquiry, I have been



B



C



A

MARCUS WARD & CO

CELT OF JADE.
(full size.)

able to ascertain the existence of but one similar specimen in Ireland. Through the courtesy of Captain M'Enery, the accomplished curator of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, I have been informed that an implement formed of jade is among those of the Petrie collection, and described as probably foreign, and from New Zealand. Its form is short, thick, and chisel-like, and no indication of its formation by sawing remains. Its material is nephrite, but not apparently of the Eastern species, and it cannot, therefore, be classed among Irish or prehistoric objects. While celts manufactured from jade or nephrite have been discovered in Switzerland, Normandy, and elsewhere on the Continent, chiefly from the lake dwellings of the first named region, I am not aware, as already observed, of any implement of a precisely similar nature to that which I have the privilege of now exhibiting being found either in Ireland or, except that found in Cornwall, in any other part of the United Kingdom. In this sense it appears to me unique; and if it can be carefully interpreted as affording a link in the chain which connects Ireland and its present inhabitants with our Aryan ancestors, and with the prehistoric period, I shall not regret having been drawn into the foregoing remarks.

NOTE ADDED IN THE PRESS.—The foregoing Paper having, in substance, appeared in some of the Belfast newspapers, happened to attract the notice of the Rev. B. B. Gough, Rector of Maghera, Co. Derry, who was thereupon led to examine another similarly formed, but even finer, stone implement in his possession, which also proved to be a celt, somewhat larger than that in my collection, and of the finest jade.

Mr. Gough at once forwarded the celt to me by the hands of his servant, the son of the finder.

This celt is figured full size in Plate No. 2, and its history is as follows:—It was discovered some twelve or fourteen years since by a person in the employment of a possessor of land, while working in a field near Rathmore headland, at Portrush, Co. Antrim. The name of

the finder was Thomas Stewart, in whose possession it remained until his death, when it fell to the lot of his son ; and both he and his sister, still living, have a distinct recollection of their father's finding the celt, and bringing it home with him from his work on the farm, where it remained until his death, and was, as above stated, transferred to the keeping of his son, by whom it was presented, as an object of curiosity, to the Rev. B. B. Gough.

Under such circumstances, both these archæological remains are presented to the consideration of the Members of the Association. Their discovery in Ireland, and in the locality above indicated, is unquestionable. Their transport hither, and their connexion, historically, with the place of their discovery, are questions yet to be determined.

Since the foregoing Paper was written, I have also had the pleasure of a personal interview with Dr. Lee, during a visit to Belfast, and of submitting to his inspection the jade celt which I got from him. On seeing it, Dr. Lee at once recognized it as having been in his possession at the date mentioned by me. He also perfectly recollected having transferred the celt, together with another antiquarian relic, to my possession, both, at the time, lying on the mantle-piece of his study. The latter is the stone mould for casting a bronze spear-head, which is still in my cabinet.

Dr. Lee, at this distance of time, cannot recall the circumstances under which both came into his possession, although I have a tolerably distinct recollection, as being interested in them, of his telling me that one or both of them had been lately ploughed or dug up on the glebe land of Ahoghill.

Dr. Lee's present impression is that the celt may very possibly have reached him through his late father-in-law, Marriot Dalway, Esq., of Bella Hill, near Carrickfergus, a locality which, as is well known, has yielded many prehistoric stone implements of the highest interest. All these circumstances go to confirm the conclusion that the celt may be classed, whatever its age and antiquity, among Irish "finds." It may be added, that

previously to the date of its being transferred to my collection, Dr. Lee was engaged a good deal in the search after such relics, as will be seen by his Paper contributed to the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. vi., 1858, on the exploration of a sepulchral mound in the neighbourhood of Bella Hill, Carrickfergus.

It is but right to add here that both the celts have been submitted to Canon Greenwell, and copies of the plates have been shown to Mr. John Evans, and that these gentlemen are strongly of opinion that the celts are of New Zealand type and material.¹ Their occurrence, however, in Ireland and in the county of Antrim, as given in the preceding Paper, is undoubted. After due inquiry, I have been unable to trace any facts connected with their importation, and therefore leave to others interested in the matter to account for their appearance, as detailed, in Antrim.

¹ NOTE BY G. H. KINAHAN, M.R.I.A., &c.—There are three kinds of rock called jade—First, *Nephrite*, which, for the most part, is compact, fine-grained tremolite; second, the Swiss Alps jade, or *Saussurite*, which is a compact epidote; and third, *Jadeite*, or China jade. The first is the stone used in Turkey to make into handles for swords and daggers, whilst in New Zealand and other Pacific islands it is fashioned into celts, clubs, &c.; and in Mexico and Peru into carved ornaments. The rock of the second class is not recorded as having been used for celts, &c.; yet I strongly suspect that some of the implements in the Royal Irish Academy are varieties of saussurite. The third rock, the *feitsui* of the Chinese, is, according to Fellenberg, the jade principally found in the Swiss lake-dwellings.

Tremolite is not uncommon in some

of the metamorphic rocks of Galway, Mayo, Donegal, Londonderry, and Tyrone. In Galway, Mayo, and Londonderry I have collected it, while I have seen specimens from Donegal, Tyrone, and Antrim (?). Some of the tremolite of a pale green colour from Cannavar island, Lough Corrib, is closely allied to nephrite. If an Irish vein of this rock was known to any of the ancient workers they would have carefully concealed it; but it may yet be re-discovered if carefully searched for. Saussurite has been found in England and Scotland, and of late years it has been recorded from Ireland. The rock Eklogite is saussurite in part. I cannot find a record of any European locality for *feitsui*; but, according to Mr. Pumphelly, "it is perhaps the most prized of all stones among the Chinese."

ON CERTAIN RECENT DISCOVERIES OF ANCIENT CRANNOG
STRUCTURES, CHIEFLY IN THE COUNTY FERMANAGH.

BY W. F. WAKEMAN, HON. SEC. FOR ENNISKILLEN DISTRICT.

MANY years have passed since Captain Mudge, R.N., enlightened the antiquarian world by his account, published in the *Archæologia*, of the discovery, 14 feet deep beneath the surface of a bog at Drunkellin, county Donegal, of a hut formed of oaken posts and planks, which had seemingly been fashioned by the aid of stone implements. Indeed, one stone hatchet, the edge of which was said to correspond with markings upon the timbers, was picked up from within the structure. This curious work, possibly the oldest instance of a wooden hut then recorded as having been discovered in Europe, was perfectly square in plan, 12 feet in each side, 9 feet high, and was divided by a floor of planks into an upper and a lower chamber. It has often been described, and a model of it may be seen in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. In the year 1848, long after the Drunkellin discovery, during the operation of clearing a little river-course which passes through the bog of Lagore, near Dunshaughlin, county Meath, the labourers came upon an immense quantity of oaken stakes, or piles, which had evidently enclosed and pinned in an artificial elevation rising from the basin of what had in ancient times been a *loch*. Several hundred of tons of bones of animals, comprising those of the *bos-longifrons*, and *bosfrontosis*, of red deer, wild boars, four-horned sheep, goats, foxes, wolves, or dogs, horses, and even of human beings, lay in the boggy matter which surrounded the piled enclosure; and along with these were discovered a hoard of ancient manufactured articles of bronze, glass, iron, wood, clay, and bone. The objects comprised swords, spear-heads, knives, battle-axes, saws, gouges, shears, bridle-bits, horse-shoes, scales for weighing, small culinary vessels, such as pots and pans, combs of bone or wood, whorls, crucibles, beads of semi-opaque

glass, brooches, pins, needles, chains, and even fetters for human hands or feet. Besides these there were innumerable whet-stones, querns, and other remains. This was our first crannog noticed in modern times; but it was *Loch-gabhpa*, a chief stronghold of the O'Melaghlin princes of Meath. Within the enclosure a number of huts remained. In the summer of 1849, when a portion of the "Island" was re-opened for the purpose of turf-cutting, I had an opportunity of examining more than one of these interesting domiciles. Let the reader imagine a foundation formed of four roughly-squared planks of oak, each about 12 feet in length (so arranged as to enclose a quadrangle), the ends of which were carefully fitted together. From the angles of this square rose four posts, also of oak, to the height of about 9 feet. In these grooves were cut, into which roughly-split planks of oak had been slipped, so as to form the sides of the house. The irregularities between the boards were tightly caulked with moss; a low and narrow opening in one of the sides had evidently served as an entrance. There were no traces of window or chimney. Such appears to have been the ordinary crannog house. It is much to be lamented that no sufficient account of this most interesting discovery has been recorded. Dr. Petrie, and Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Wilde, had been requested, I believe, to attend to the matter in the interest of the Royal Irish Academy—one to devote himself to a description of the antiquities, the other to that of the numerous animal remains. These gentlemen, however, as it appears, did not pull very well together; and their investigations do not seem to have produced any result such as might have been expected. The "find" is now widely dispersed, and can never be re-collected; but nevertheless, the Petrie Museum, deposited in the Academy, as well as some private cabinets, including that of Lord Talbot de Malahide, would still furnish material for scores of illustrations of objects of the highest interest to all who would compare the habits and even *menage* of some crannog dwellers with those of our Aryan forefathers, who appear to have struggled westwards, from the highlands of Asia even to Erin, in

days of which, in the west, the work of their hands forms the only record. A number of discoveries of perfectly similar lacustrine retreats almost immediately followed, as at Ballinderry, near Moate, Clonfinla, near Strokestown, and elsewhere. The subject became a favourite one amongst antiquaries and engineers, through whose investigations no little light was thrown upon the habits of our remote ancestors. It may be computed that up to the present time upwards of eighty crannogs (the word simply means a small wooden structure) have been discovered in Ireland. In Scotland, as might be expected, a considerable number occur; and it seems that "Lake Dwellings" are not unobserved in some parts of England. In several of the Swiss lakes, as well as on other parts of the continent of Europe, structures every way identical with some of our crannogs may be seen—I allude to artificial islands, composed mainly of stone, with piles driven into the soil round the water's edge, to prevent the mass from slipping. "Still in the main," writes Mr. John Stewart, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, "the use of piles in Switzerland was for the purpose of sustaining large platforms upon which whole villages were erected." We appear to have had no villages of this kind in Ireland, but clusters of crannogs, as in Lough Eyes, county Fermanagh, sometimes occur, and would occasionally seem to have been connected together by a causeway or bridge of timber supported on piles.

With regard to the age of Irish crannogs, I cannot but believe that not a few of them belong to a pre-historic age in this country. No doubt many of the earliest founded were from time to time repaired, renewed, added to, or perhaps re-constructed; some of them bear evidence to that idea. Flint flakes, and cores, from which almost *shavings* would appear to have been removed (so delicate seems to have been the process of manufacture), occur in the crannogs of Monaghan, and of Fermanagh. In other counties of the North of Ireland the same facts have been noted, as also the presence with these flints of articles of bronze, and even of iron. In a Monaghan crannog, stone celts, a rough piece of

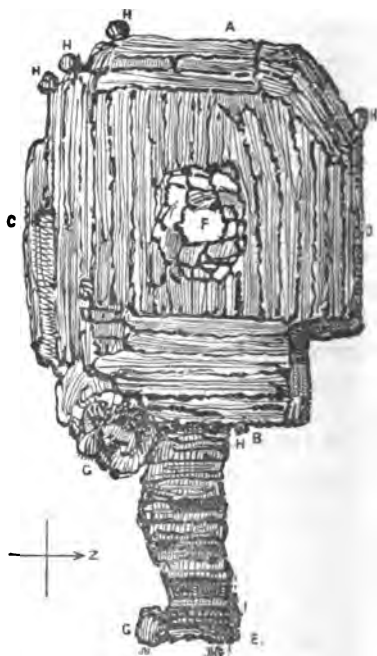
flint, apparently intended for an arrow-head, three bronze celts with loops at their sides, a dagger and chisel of bronze, as also two bronze arrow-heads, and a shield-boss of the same metal were found, and have been described by Mr. Shirly. Such findings in the bog-stuff surrounding a crannog, and resting probably upon the ancient floor of the loch, may possibly indicate little more than the long occupation of the site as a habitation. People of what is called the "Stone age" were there; after them the workers of bronze, and then came the "Iron period." Such would be the generally received opinion. Yet notwithstanding all that has been surmised and written about these special ages of "Stone," "Bronze" and "Iron," we have, in Ireland at least, strong evidence, historical and other, to show that the generally accepted idea of an exclusively Stone, Bronze or Iron age as having existed in Erin cannot be sustained. No doubt something like a classification of such periods in the west might plausibly be promulgated, but the "overlapping" of one age into the other has not, as yet, been explained, or sufficiently illustrated.

The most recent discovery of seemingly prehistoric crannog huts was made a few weeks ago, not far from Enniskillen, by labouring men employed in turf-cutting. These log-huts, two in number, and placed at a distance of about 50 feet apart, are of the same class as that noticed by Captain Mudge; but, unlike the Donegal example, are not divided into an upper and lower compartment. A considerable tract of the townland of Kilnamaddo (*the wood of the dog*), county Fermanagh, has evidently been the basin of what in the north is called a land-lough. Here in very ancient times was certainly a sheet of water, and upon one of its shoals or islands some primitive tribe selected a site for a crannog. The piling of this retreat can be sufficiently traced; but the chief antiquarian attraction on the spot consisted in the remains of huts formed of oak, and which lay in the bog at a distance of about 17 feet from the original height of the surface. They are, as usual, of a quadrangular form; the slightly larger and more perfect specimen exactly measuring 11 ft. 6 inches by 10 ft. on the outside. Their mode of construction is

as follows :—To make the structure, four massive posts of oak, averaging 7 feet in length, and 7 feet in circumference, were set in the ground. These timbers near their upper ends have mortise-holes averaging 11 inches in height, by $8\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth, through which the ends of beams to which slabs of oak were attached passed. The floor was also composed of oaken planks. The roof, as well as much of the sides, did not remain *in situ* at the time of the discovery; but a number of timbers immediately adjoining each of the structures, and admirably suited for the purpose of forming side-walls and roofing, were found. The lower frame of the work appears to have been very similar to that upon which the roof had rested. There were very curious mortise-holes in the lower portions of the four upright posts, evidently intended for the reception of beam ends. That the sides were pressed to the frame below by a number of small, well-sharpened piles was quite evident. From a difficulty of ascertaining the manner in which the upper portions of the sides were kept in position, there being no sign of pinning or of a groove in the upper frame, after careful consideration I have come to the conclusion that the structures were originally built within an excavation, and that the bog-stuff was then heaped against the sides, and probably over the roof. It is a significant fact that evident traces of a "Kitchen-midden," occurred in the bog close to the hut, and at a height slightly above it. A small passage might be left as an entrance. We would thus have a structure of wood every way analogous to souterrains of stone such as are often found in raths, and with which antiquaries are generally familiar. Six English miles ("as the crow flies") due south of Kilnamaddo, not far from the ruined church of Killesher, may be seen a most remarkable subterraneous work styled "St. Lasser's Cell." It is formed of uncemented stones, and contains three very small and low-roofed apartments connected together by passages through which an explorer must creep on his hands and knees. It does not appear to have been accompanied by a rath or mound. I take this souterrain, which is certainly older than the time of any Irish Saint, to be strictly

analogous to the huts under notice. Had the roof at any time been destroyed by fire, the posts could not remain without showing symptoms of having been charred. It would be absurd for a moment to suppose that the mortise-holes, cut clean through timbers more than 7 feet in circumference, had been formed by the aid of stone hatchets. Indeed several of the piles and other portions of the work show long clean cuts which must have been executed with the aid of some sharp metallic instrument. These structures could never have been *houses* in the proper sense of the word; they were doubtlessly used by savage men, possibly thousands of years ago, as sleeping dens which, with a well-secured oaken door, would afford their occupants ample security from lupine or elemental attack. The height of the chamber of the more perfect *cell* was under 4 feet. It is indeed not improbable that they had only been used for the reception of perishable commodities by the occupants of the crannog. From facts observable in connexion with these very curious edifices, it is most difficult to arrive at an idea of their precise or even approximate age. The roots and stump of a yew tree appear in the bog in position somewhat higher than the roof of the more perfect hut. This tree would take at least 1000 years to grow; and the 11 feet of bog which appeared above the roots would take at least another 1000 years to form. That some of the timbers, and some only, were more or less worked by the aid of stone implements, is possible, though not probable. Amongst the *disjecta membra* of the place was found an ordinary crannog whetstone, the appearance of which suggests the idea that metal was sometimes there used. A hammer-stone, or two, some flint-flakes, and a large tray-like vessel composed of oak, some fragments of rude pottery, as also a pair of rubbing-stones, were exhumed from the immediate vicinity of the huts or *cells*, by turf-cutters. All these are precisely similar to articles found in ordinary crannogs together with well-steeled axes and adzes, of iron, as also with swords, knives, and numerous other remains in bronze, glass, amber, and iron, all of a Celtic character earlier or later. I should add that large

lumps of the substance usually styled "bog-butter," rolled up in cow-hides, also occurred. Supposing even that the structures had been designed as *souterrains*, the ever growing peat must have accumulated above, and this for ages. Slightly above the top-level of the so-called "houses" we found, as already stated, the ruins of a magnificent yew tree. My friend Mr. Mecredy, of Portora Royal School, who had assisted in the making of measurements, &c., &c., secured a specimen of the wood, which, on being examined by a number of practical cabinet-makers in Enniskillen, was pronounced by them to be *yew*, not pine, as had been supposed by superficial observers. It is possible, as we may judge from the rude style of construction which the Kilnamaddo or Coal-bog works exhibit, that they represent the earliest types of their class to be found in Ireland. In this north-west portion of the country they are far from uncommon. In our *Journal*, Vol. I., 3rd Series, p. 270, will be found a communication from Mr. George Morant, jun., Carrickmacross, giving an account and illustration of an ancient floor composed of oaken slabs or planks. "The floor," he writes, "is approached by a narrow causeway of black oak planks, similar to those of the floor itself, very rudely formed, and of unequal size, and laid loosely, without any apparent fastening except by occasional posts." "At the end of the causeway, nearest to the floor, are the remains of posts which must have formed



From A to B, 18 ft. 4 in.; from C to D, 17 ft. 6 in.; from D to E, 11 ft. 6 in.; F, fire-place; G, large tree-stump; H, remains of posts; I, dotted lines showing ends of planks first bared by digging the peat.

Ancient floor beneath peat-bog, in the townland of Cargaghoge, barony of Forvey.

the entrance to the house, and at one side is a large tree-stump of some soft wood like willow." "I have ascertained that the bog in former days was at least 14 feet over it" (the floor); "and that, in the memory of persons still living, this portion of Cargaghoge bog was entirely covered with water. About the centre of the floor I found a collection of stone slabs, closely fitted together with a substratum of blue clay, but all laid on planks of timber forming part of the floor. On this there were quantities of ashes—proving that this was the fire-place of the ancient dwelling." During the excavation of this primitive hut, which measured 18 ft. 4 in., by 17 ft. 6 in., quantities of ashes, nutshells, some pieces of very rude pottery, a few small worked flints, and a small corn-crusher, occurred.

Fermanagh, undoubtedly, must in former days have been remarkable for the number of its crannog structures. At a place bearing a singular name (the Miracles) situate not far from the village of Monea, turf-cutters some five or six years ago discovered the ruins of a hut occupying a position near the centre of an artificial island which had stood in a small lough. Unfortunately the timbers of which it was built were carried away before anyone in the least degree skilled in archaeological subjects had seen them *in situ*. In the turf-yard of a man named Macaully, who resides near the scene of the find, amongst other bog timbers I was shown the posts etched in figs. 11, 12, and 13 of the accompanying Plate II. They had evidently formed angle pillars like those at Kilnamaddo, and like them did not exhibit anything like the tooling of stone hatchets. Yet here, strangely enough, a beautifully-formed and highly polished axe-head or chisel of stone (see Plate, II. fig. 10) was discovered, together with a number of articles composed of bronze, which, from the description given to me by persons who had seen them, were probably fibulæ. It is sad to be obliged to mention that these objects of metal have all been lost. That during some portion of the period of its occupation inhabitants of this crannog were in the habit of manufacturing objects of iron is extremely probable, as pieces of iron slag, quantities of burnt wood, a well formed crucible,

sharpening-stones, and at least two grinding-stones were found. I may mention also the occurrence here of a stone exactly like that found in a Kitchen-midden at Ardnahue, county Carlow, accompanied by a lozenge-shaped stone axe or hammer. The former was thus described by the editor of our *Journal* for July, 1864. "This celt-shaped stone has all the appearance of having been grasped in the hand for use, hence the edges polished from constant handling. It may have served for crushing corn or peas, as its flat end is blunt, and shows marks of wear and tear when used as a pounding instrument." We may hope that during future turf-cutting operations at this interesting spot, some valuable metallic remains may be discovered. A beautifully formed oaken paddle from the "Miracles" was, together with a number of other antiquities from Fermanagh, presented to the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy by J. G. V. Porter, Esq., of Bellisle, Lisbellaw.

In the basin of the nearly drained lake of Loughavilly (the lake of the ancient tree), near Garvary, county Fermanagh, may be seen a piled mound which, in the memory of persons not over middle age, was an island. Many of its timbers remain, and two portions of the oaken walls of a log-house which stood upon it. The foundation is probably less ancient than that of Kilnamaddo, or the Miracles, as the chief of its remaining wood-work shows grooving like that which occurred in the frame of the Ballydodough house (certainly a work of a comparatively late Iron period), described by me in a former number of this *Journal*.

I shall now describe the objects figured in the accompanying Plates, taking them in the order of their numbering. No. 1, Plate I., represents one of the angle-posts of the more perfect hut at Kilnamaddo. It is 5 ft. 6 in. in length, and 4 ft. 10½ in. in circumference. Another post, of exactly the same design, is 7 feet long by 7 in circumference, having a mortise in its upper portion 11 in. high, by 8½ in breadth. It is quite evident that none of the mortise-holes found in the Kilnamaddo posts could have been cut with a stone instrument.

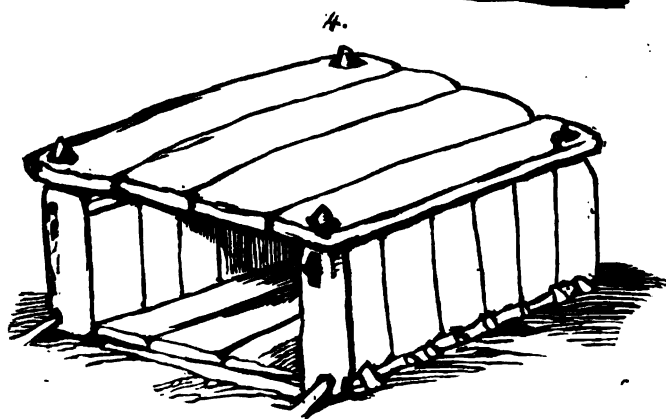
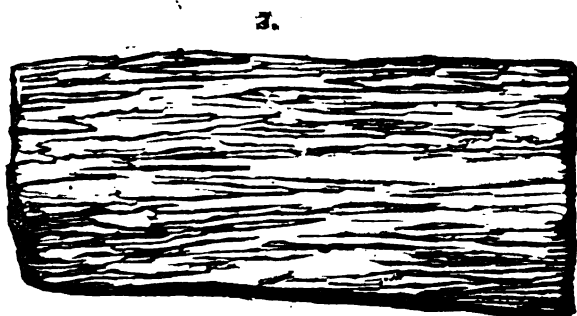
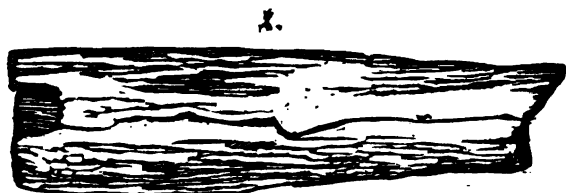


Plate I.—Crannog Hut, Kilnaddo.

Fig. 2, Plate I., represents a slab of oak which belonged to the more perfect hut. It measures 5 ft. 10½ in. in length, by 1 foot 6 in. in breadth. The depression at its broader end 5 in. by 6. It is 1 foot 2 in. in thickness. This, there is every reason to conjecture, formed a portion of the roof.

Fig. 3, Plate I. Here we have a second slab which probably helped to form the roof. Its measurements are 6 feet 6 by 2 feet 9. It is not quite so thick as fig. 2. This, and other timbers, were found lying by the side of the hut.

In fig. 4, Plate I., I have endeavoured after careful consideration to produce an etching which would represent the hut as it originally stood. All the timbers represented in the illustration were on the spot when, on the 10th of June, I took the drawings and measurements. Some of them still retained their original positions.

Figs. 5 and 9, Plate II., are carefully drawn representations of the angle-posts of the hut No. 2, which was greatly pulled to pieces at the time of our visit. Neither of these timbers appears to have retained its original proportions. They measure respectively 3 ft. 11 in and 4 ft. 9 in.

Figs. 6, 7, and 8, Plate II., which are about 1 foot 4 in. in length, are pegs by which I beg to suggest the lower logs were kept from slipping out of place. That they have all been cleanly cut by a sharp metallic instrument cannot be for a moment doubted by any candid mind, or by anyone not wedded to foregone conclusions. They were of various sizes, all of them, however, being small. I only give these as examples, as indeed I have done of all the timbers here illustrated.

In giving figs. 11, 12, and 13, Plate II., I am glad to rescue from oblivion the appearance of three of the angle-posts of the Miracles hut. The largest was 5 feet in length; the smallest 3 ft. 8 in., but all of them seemed to be imperfect at the lower end. Figs. 14 and 15 represent two of the logs remaining in the crannog of Loughavilly, referred to *supra*. The larger measures 4 ft. 3 in length by 1 foot in breadth and 9 in. in thickness; the

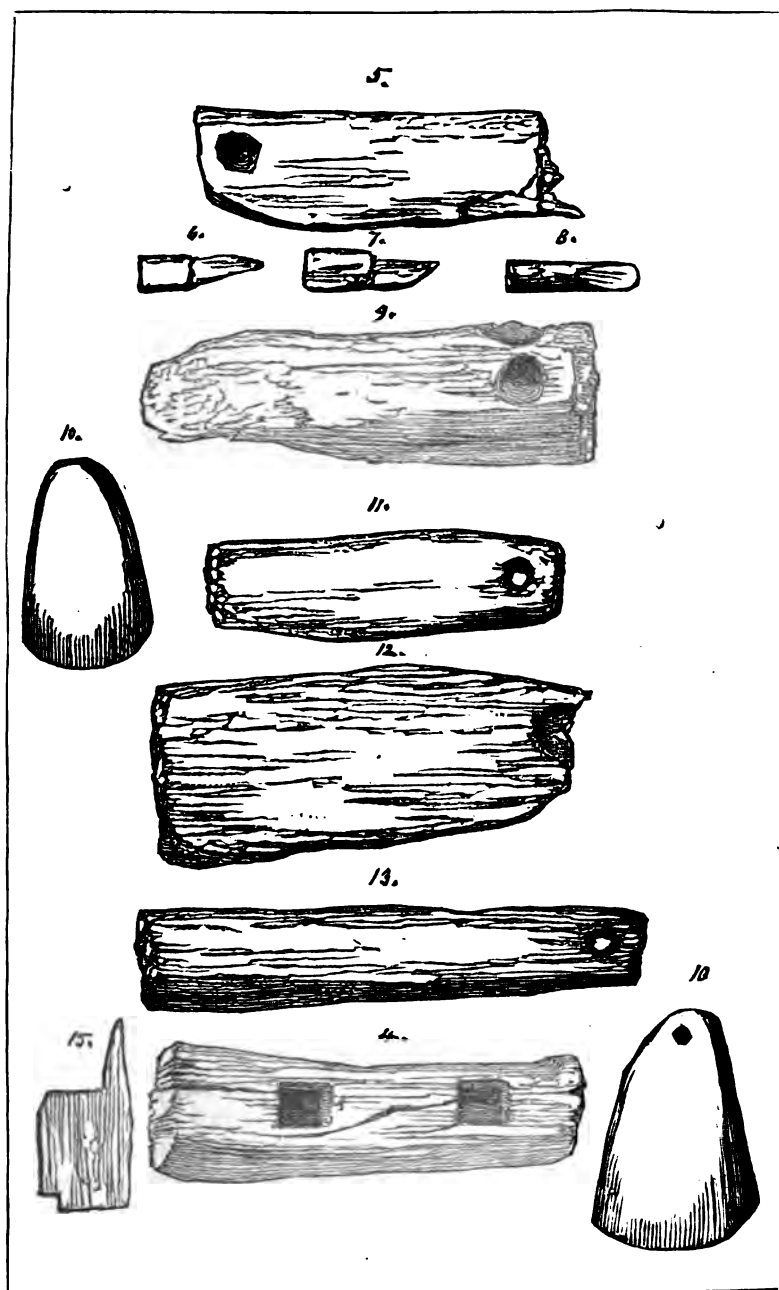


Plate II.—Crannog Timbers, &c., Kilnamaddo, the Merodes, Loughnavilly, &c¹

mortise-holes were 6 in. square, and did not sink very deeply into the wood. My last sketch for this Paper refers to a rather rudely-shaped stone axe-head or chisel $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in extreme breadth, found at the last described crannog. It is remarkable in being partially perforated at its smaller termination. I may state that I heard, upon the spot at Gortalough, near Drumgay Lake, within three miles from Enniskillen, that not many years ago a log-house had been there discovered under many feet of turf. Of this no trace remains. It probably indicates a place of refuge in time of trouble, belonging to the occupiers of a magnificent earthen rath or *les*, by which much of the surrounding country is overlooked. It has, I believe, been already observed how frequently our crannogs are found in the immediate vicinity of a stronghold on the neighbouring mainland.

The substance of the foregoing Paper was read before a Meeting of our Association, held in Belfast, in July, 1880. I am now tempted to refer to a communication lately received from my old friend and pupil at Portora Royal School, H. Russel Joynt, Esq., relative to the discovery of a most interesting "dwelling" situated in the lake of Effernan, lying about two miles distant from the mansion house of Cahercon, county Clare. I take this liberty, believing that some of the facts now noticed bear most suggestively on the question of the great antiquity of not a few of our northern crannogs. It would be out of place here to enter upon engineering details, however interesting, or to describe how successfully Mr. Andrews, of Dublin, C.E., completed his arduous task: suffice it to say that it was deemed essential to bring down from the lake, which is situate about 300 feet above the level of the house, an abundant supply of water for domestic and other purposes. To carry out this plan a syphon was adopted; but before that apparatus could be established it became necessary to lower the lake far below its ordinary summer level. This feat was accomplished by clearing and deepening an outlet; and as the waters subsided a wonderful sight was presented. The following extract from the report made by Mr. Andrews

cannot fail to interest many of our geological as well as antiquarian readers :—

“An interesting geological fact occurred by the opening of the trench in the bog and the lowering of the lake. In the peat bog, 6 feet below the surface, there was a densely intertwined layer of the roots of a pine-tree forest. They evidently had grown in peat to maturity, in the position in which they were found, and the period since their decay was sufficient for the accumulation of 6 feet of that substance over them. The same forest extended under the lake, but the water had washed the roots bare. Their white appearance in the sunshine struck one, at first sight, with the thought of the ‘Valley of Dry Bones.’ The forest must have been very ancient, as there could have been no lake formed at the time of its existence; but the fact that only a few—perhaps not more than half a dozen—of the trunks were seen, leads to the conclusion that the trees grew within the period of man, and were removed by his hand. The roots were in the exact position in which the trees grew, and these, with the direction to which their stumps pointed, seemed to indicate that while the present prevailing wind is the south-west, it must then have been the north-west. Hills and valleys guide the direction of the wind, and some convulsion of the earth’s crust may have altered these and formed the present lake.”

It is to be regretted that we have not the advantage of any report of this ancient habitation, and of the cause-way leading to it, brought to light by the subsidence of the waters, from the pen of Mr. Andrews. It is also to be lamented that no one thought of searching within, and around the island to which reference shall now be made, for relics of the past. No doubt a rich mine in such matters would have been struck. It is only after drainage such as occurred at Lagore, Clonfinla, Lough Gurr, Ballinderry, Ballydoolough, and in one or two other places, that anything like an extensive “find” may be hoped for. The great majority of our “Lake Dwellings” are surrounded by weeds, and mud, or soft pulpy bog, to such a depth and extent as to defy the

exertions of the most energetic seekers for a "relic bed." In the present instance all has been lost, and even the house and causeway are once more beneath the waters.

Mr. H. Russel Joynt kindly writes:—"During the progress of the works, a small ancient Irish house, built upon what was formerly an island, and on logs, was found. It was unmistakeably an early Irish habitation known as a "'Crannogue.'" There was clearly an ascertained causeway, but it differed in no respect from well-known descriptions of other ancient Irish houses, especially of those referred to in Sir William Wilde's Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy Museum."

Mr. W. R. Joynt obligingly states:—"I visited the Lake of Effernan during the summer of 1873, when the waterworks of Cahercon House were in progress. The lake had been drained to about 9 feet below the usual level. A low neck of land ran into the lake, the outer end of which was higher than the rest, so that if the water had been about 3 feet higher it would have formed an island. Along this neck were a row of posts, in irregular order and from 4 to 6 inches in diameter. Some of them were higher than 18 inches over the ground, and very few that height. Most of them only topped the ground—the causeway so formed did not go in a straight line from the shore, but had an angle about the centre, or rather towards the further end. On the end of the promontory were the remains of a circular house. Wooden piles the same as those which formed the causeway were numerous round the outside. The floor was apparently of stone. One large stone, seemingly for a fire, took up a large part of the floor. Nothing else that I can remember was discovered. The lake has risen to its present level within present memory. The outlet which carries off surplus water has gradually become filled up, but no one in the locality had any knowledge of the existence of the home beneath the waves. The posts were all pine, as I took care to examine."

The existence of a piled causeway at Lough Effernan would indicate that our crannog builders

possessed not a few constructive instincts similar to those which prevailed amongst an ancient people who at one time occupied the "Lake Dwellings" of Switzerland. Can the crannog here be as old as the neighbouring submerged pine-forest? Possibly its builders erected their homes near the edge of a morass which gradually overflowed, and ultimately swamped them as well as the trees. Who can tell? Mr. Andrews suggests that the forest had been destroyed by men since whose time the prevailing winds, and consequently the climate, had changed! To what epoch does this variation point?

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT a QUARTERLY MEETING, held in the Royal Institution,
Cork, on Saturday, October 16th, 1880,

JOSEPH BENNETT, Esq., in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Rev. P. Hurley, Presbytery, St. Mary's Cathedral,
Cork.

W. Ringrose Atkins, Adelaide Place, Cork.

John Kincaid, Cloonamahon, Collooney.

Dr. Caulfield exhibited a stone celt, twelve in. long, which, with eleven others, were found under the following interesting circumstances :—In the autumn of 1854, Mr. Richard B. Hungerford was shooting on his property, on the top of the hill of Ballyrizard, barony W. Carbery, county Cork. Having taken shelter in a small cave on the hill side from a heavy shower, he observed a liquid of a green colour percolating through a small aperture in the inner side of this recess. Subsequently he probed it with an iron bar, but without any result. But on striking the bar into the ground at the entrance of the cave, it immediately disappeared. Two or three labourers were employed to dig it out, commencing some feet west of the place where the bar went down, and on clearing out the rubbish they came on a chamber about twelve feet square. Here, amongst the *debris*, a quantity of bits of copper ore was found, and in a corner the twelve

celts above alluded to. This discovery pointed to some ancient mining operations carried on here in the Stone age, and to the use of copper, the link between the Stone and Bronze period. Doubtless, had the miners been acquainted with the use of bronze, stone implements would not have been found. All the celts had been much chipped at their edges. This fact led to an examination of the entire farm, on which ten or twelve parallel loads of copper ore were found, running east and west.

The Rev. Canon Hayman exhibited a drawing, by Grose the antiquary, of a cross-legged effigy formerly in the Dominican Abbey, Youghal, but now lost. To obtain a list of monumental effigies, to classify them according to dates, to describe the arms and armour as yet presented to us, would form an interesting feature of our Association's objects. So far as his own knowledge extended, he discovered existing monumental effigies in seven of our counties—Cork, Derry, Dublin, Kildare, Kilkenny, Roscommon, and Tipperary—but in all probability there are other shires which also possess those very interesting relics.

The Rev. Canon Hayman exhibited a curious stone relic which had been sent to him by Mr. Fitzgerald, clerk of works at Lismore Castle. It was found last autumn at a place called Ballynoe, about 18 inches below the surface. They had no knowledge of what it was, but the conjecture was that it was used in some sort of game; it was of a somewhat dumb-bell-shape, but hollow at both ends. A relic somewhat similar in shape had been found by Mr. Smyth, at Careysville, near Fermoy, in the county Cork, and in close proximity to it were found two or three stone balls, which fitted into the hollow at either end.

Mr. J. T. Rearden exhibited a beautifully formed stone axe found by him in his garden near Douglas.

Mr. Westropp exhibited a curious stone mould for castings, which had been discovered some time since near Five-mile Bridge.

Mr. William Ringrose Atkins exhibited a rubbing of a marble tombstone which had lately been discovered in the crypt of Christ Church, Cork. The border had been

mutilated, so the inscription cannot entirely be deciphered. The stone was elaborately decorated, and two bore shields—on one “a chevron between three covered cups in chief, ermines in base, for Fagan; crest, a lion standing against a tree fructed,” on the other “a fess wavy between six leopards’ heads erased; crest, an angel.” The inscription, as far as it can be deciphered, reads “. . . . animis Thomas Sub Marmore Fagan atque Alsonia. . . . Sponsa Walter.” . . . The emblems of the Crucifixion are also finely cut on the top of the stone. There are some other monuments in the crypt of an equally interesting character, and same date (*temp.* Elizabeth), which will come under the notice of the Association on a future occasion.

Dr. Caulfield said that another stone, full of curious devices (*temp.* Hen. VIII.), was found in the crypt of this church; but in the year 1754 the executors of a certain Captain Morris, of Lieut. Wynyard’s Regt., effaced much of the ancient inscription, and incised on it his name and that of his son Wynyard.

Alderman Day, F.S.A., exhibited a bronze seal and said:—

“During a recent visit to Mullingar, I heard from a jeweller there that a curious old bronze seal had been found by a peasant, and offered to him for sale; but he, placing no value upon it, declined to purchase. A jeweller from Longford, however, who was present became its owner by giving eighteen pence to the finder. Getting this clue I followed it up, and found that the Longford purchaser, only the week before, had resold it to ‘a traveller from Birmingham, for 7*s.* 6*d.*’ He very obligingly gave me the gentleman’s name and address, who, upon getting my letter, at once sent me the seal. I had thus the good fortune to secure this hitherto unpublished matrix, which may be described as a circular bronze seal 2½ inches in diameter. The central object in the seal is a water-wheel beneath an archway, under which water is flowing. Immediately above this is an implement resembling the square beetle, with a diapered pattern which washerwomen use, but equally resembles a heckle for teasing or tearing flax, or carding blankets. On the sinister side of the arch is an embattled tower, out of which issues a demi griffin rampant, while on the dexter side is what may be a church spire, with a bird resting on its cross, and beneath is a tented field, with pennants flying. Around the margin is the legend—‘+ Sigillum Comune de Mollingar.’ I have searched in vain for the meaning of the word Mullingar in Joyce’s *Irish Names of Places*, and elsewhere, as I hoped to have got some light upon the meaning of the central emblems of the seal. I am, however,

informed by an Irish-speaking friend, that the word 'Mullin' is the shaft of a mill-wheel, and that the 'gar' forming the final syllable of the name is literally 'to cut,' or to reft or tear.¹ If correct in this derivation of the name, we have upon the sigil the symbol of the town, in the water-wheel and heckle, which probably were typical of the staple trade of the place in



Fig. 1.—Seal of the Town of Mullingar.

the sixteenth or seventeenth century, from which the seal dates. The flange-like handle upon the back of the seal is partly perfect. In other respects the seal has been well preserved. I was also, while in Mullingar, presented by Mr. T. Murray, of that town, with what I believe to be the unique forepart of an Irish saddle. It somewhat resembles in shape the wooden forepart of a cavalry saddle of the present day, but here the likeness ends; this piece of horse furniture is covered with interlaced knot-work of the choicest kind, similar to the well-known ornamentation upon our ancient Irish crosses. The timber composing it is yew,

¹ Since the above observations were made, I have received communications from two learned Members of this Association, and through the courtesy of the Rev. James Graves a letter from Dr. Joyce, all of which differ in the meaning for the last syllable in Mullingar, and I fear overthrows my theory of the heckle being placed upon the seal as symbolical of its name. One of my correspondents gives "the word Mullinn to mean simply a mill, and 'chearr' left-handed, i. e. at the left side of the stream."

Another writes "Mullingar means simply the short mill, *gar*, is the Irish word for short." While Dr. Joyce, the well-known authority on such mat-

ters, writes "Mullingar is written in the Annals sometimes Muillann-chearr, and sometimes Muileann-cearr; the first part signifies a mill, the second part is a limiting term of some kind, and forms the difficulty. I believe it is an adjective, though in this case the name should and would be always written Muileann-cearr. Still I believe it is an adjective; *cearr* may mean either *red* or *dumb*. The term *dumb-mill* would be applied to an old mill that had fallen into disrepair and disuse—silent for ever. But I incline to believe that Muilean-cearr signifies red mill—so called of course from the original colour of the mill itself—painted red."

which fortunately was preserved by being deposited in the peaty mould of a lake bottom at Ballinacarriga, near Moate; from this it has become impregnated with the tanning property of the peat, is a rich brown colour, and in fine preservation. It was fished up by a man who was spearing eels. This lake, now almost dried up, has yielded numerous objects of great interest, among them the fine bronze harp which came to the Royal



Fig. 2.—Forepart of Ancient Irish saddle. Back and front view.

Irish Academy in the late Mr. Murray's collection of Irish antiquities. The centre of the pommel is pierced by a very Moorish-looking horse-shoe ornament, and both sides of the timber are carved in compartments, no two of which are alike in their filling up of scroll and net-work. Even the top of the pommel at both near and off side differs in the patterns of the ornament. The points of the pommel at both sides

are pierced with two holes, where the mark of the fong is apparent by which the forepart was secured to the lateral boards which formed the



Fig. 3.—Top of Pommel of Ancient Irish saddle.

seat of the saddle, and both points are grooved for the reception of these boards. I am also enabled, by the courtesy of their lady owner, to exhibit



Fig. 4.—Silver Armlet and Bracelet.

a silver armlet and bracelet which have quite recently been dug up in the county Kerry. I regret that I cannot *now* give the detailed particulars of their finding. The bracelet is a plain, heavy, flattened penannular band

of silver, which was probably worn as such. Similar objects have been found from time to time in the country, and were at one time supposed to have passed current as ring money. *Vide* Papers read before the Royal Irish Academy in May and June, 1836, by Sir William Betham, where exactly similar objects are figured. The longer of the two is of twisted silver, and may have been worn as an armilla or necklet; it tapers from the points where it is brought together, and secured with a silver loop, and swells out to its fullest proportions in the centre. This is an extremely fine example of its kind."

Dr. Caulfield exhibited a crystal ball set in an antique bronze frame, gilt, which had been kindly lent by Miss Helen Cecil Archer Butler, of Garnavilla, Cahir. This crystal has been in the possession of the family for many years, and is often borrowed by the country people of the neighbourhood as an antidote to disease in cattle. It is suspended from the loop, round the neck of the beast, and drops into the food as the animal stoops to eat. The accompanying drawings represent its actual size when measured from each side.



Fig. 5.—Amulet in possession of Miss H. C. Archer Butler. Front and side view.

Mr. Woods said some idea may be formed of the gorgeous appearance which a mayor of Cork presented in former times when he appeared in state, by an inspection of the saddle and holster-cloths and standard, which

he exhibited, and which were used by Samuel Maylor when mayor in 1766. The holster-cloths were made of crimson silk velvet, profusely adorned with heavy fringed silver lace, encircled by a wreath of shamrocks, and surmounted by the motto "Pro Patria," and in each corner a sword entwined with laurel. The colour, three feet by one foot nine inches in size, was formed of two pieces of blue satin, each of which had on the outer side, beautifully wrought in needle-work, the following device in silver, gold, and crimson—the Harp and Crown. The whole was fringed with gold lace; the head and tassels still remained. The shaft, which was 9 feet long, was handsomely carved, and painted blue and gilt. The standard was in perfect preservation, and still quite fit for use. Mr. Cecil Woods exhibited the standard of the Cork Cavalry Volunteers, commanded by Colonel Chetwynd, of the county Cork. This corps, which appears to have been enrolled in the year 1775, consisted of four officers and about one hundred men. The uniform was scarlet, faced with blue, the epaulettes and lace silver, and the saddle and holster-cloths were blue cloth laced with gold.

Mr. Arthur Hill, B.E., M.R.I.A., exhibited five plates from the "Sketch-Book," a private publication of the Architectural Association (London), measured, drawn, and lithographed by the exhibitor, viz.:—1. Wrought iron work—Brunswick Cathedral. 2. Elevation, south side of apse, Courwelles Church, near Soissons. 3. Plan and details of the Chapter House, Cistercian Abbey of Vauclair. 4. House at Kinsale—Elevation and details. 5. Plan and details of the Abbey at Kilmacduagh, county Galway.

The following Papers were contributed:—

NOTES ON KERRY TOPOGRAPHY, ANCIENT AND MODERN,
WITH EXTRACTS FROM THE UNPUBLISHED DESMOND
SURVEY AND INQUISITION.

BY MISS HICKSON.

(Continued from page 168.)

THE ruins of Brown's Castle (as the chief stronghold of the old owners of *Crioch Brouneh* in North Kerry before 1584 is called) stand near the verge of one of those tall cliffs which line the coast between Ballyheigue or Kerry Head, and the mouth of the Cashin river, not far from Ballybunnion. Brown's Castle, although, like its very interesting neighbour Barrow Castle, never once noticed by Dr. Smith, Archdeacon Rowan, Mr. Hitchcock, or any other writer on Kerry history and antiquities, must have been a fine one in its day; and considering its exposure for at least six hundred years to the fierce Atlantic gales which beat on this iron-bound coast, it is in fair preservation. It is quadrangular in shape, with square or round towers at the angles, and the older part was probably erected in the early years of the thirteenth century, when Sir Reginald Broun¹ was High Sheriff of Kerry and Limerick, and Sir Gilbert Broun and his near neighbour at Ballyheigue Castle, Maurice Cantillon or Cantlon, were appointed "guardians of the town of Traly," and of "the peace of Kerry." (*Exchequer Records, Edward I.*) Two or three small arched windows of finely cut stone remain; and there are quadrangular ones of ruder work, as well as loopholes and arrow slits, with an arched doorway and the fragments of a staircase in the thickness of the wall at the north-east side of the ruin. In a tower on that side there is a small room on the ground floor, 6 feet high and 5½ feet wide, lighted by a narrow window little larger than a loophole. As this room is close to the chief entrance, it was probably occupied by the warder. Over this entrance,

¹ The name is hardly ever found in the old records in the modern spelling, Brown; until the middle of the sixteenth century it is generally written Brun or Broun.

which is a deep arch, there is some trace of a chamber with the usual "murdering hole" or aperture in the floor through which boiling lead, stones, or other missiles could be rained down upon the heads of enemies who might have succeeded in getting inside the outer door of the arched entrance. The stone sockets for the hinges and bars of this door are perfect. The walls of the building are in some places 6 feet in thickness, and on the north-west side, fronting the Atlantic, it is rather more than 33 feet in length, while on the south-east side, on which was the chief entrance landwards, the ruins extend to a length of 51 feet. The south-west end is now only 21 feet in length; and at the north-east end, which overlooks an iron-bound creek with high precipitous sides, out of the depths of which rises a curious natural pillar popularly called the Kippin Rock, an islet at high tide, the length is 31 feet. The north-west and south-west sides of the castle, as might be expected on this coast, have suffered most from the weather. Its site is in the highest degree picturesque, standing as it does close to the verge of the cliffs of dark red sandstone, perfectly inaccessible at this point, and for a long distance east and west of it, to human foot from the shore beneath. Although the red sandstone is the prevailing formation here, the cliffs and the huge slabs at their feet look jet black in contrast with the foam which churns and leaps amongst them and around the tall Kippin in the creek. When the tide leaves the latter place, the cottiers go down over its cliffs in baskets fastened to a primitive kind of windlass, worked by horse power, to collect the seaweed, a peacefuller "harvest of the sea" than many a one reaped here and at the neighbouring castles of Ballyheigue and Barrow, in the olden times, when De Clahulls and Cantillons and Brouns had royal license or their own license to profit by the wrecks of the sea of Offeriba (*v. ante*, p. 167). The land on which the castle stands is called on the Ordnance maps and generally by the English and Irish-speaking people around it nowadays Clashmelcon, but in Petty's Book of Forfeitures it is set down as Closmolchan, and in a list of

Roman Catholic proprietors in Kerry on 27th January, 1656 (v. 2nd vol. of *Kerry Records*, p. 36), which is in the Record office, we find the names of John and William Brown of Clashmollane. At first sight the conformation of the ground around the old castle would seem to account for the first syllable of the name (*clash* a trench or furrow) on the Ordnance map, as there is not only a very deep furrow or trench in the ground on the south-east side of the castle, but the narrow creek described above presents the appearance of a rocky cleft or trench in the coast line and the round bare Kippin Rock, which stands in the centre of the cleft, and is an islet when the tide rushes in there, is exactly like other little round rocky islets, which, as Dr. Joyce tells us (1st Series of *Names of Places*, p. 361), are called on the south and west coasts of Ireland *mweelaun*. Looking down into the cleft from the north-east side of the castle, one feels that the name Clashmollane in the Cromwellian list of proprietors in 1657 is likely to be a corruption of Clashmweelaun, the trench of the little round bare island, but the Irish-speaking inhabitants of the district have a legend which seems to show that Petty's version of the name Closmolchan (taken down probably from the lips of an Irish surveyor in 1650 or thereabouts) is nearer to the original one. According to this legend, the place was and is still occasionally haunted by a black hound with closely cropped ears, or no ears at all, which appears not at the orthodox hour for such appearances, midnight or twilight, but in the open day, when it starts and captures hares and rabbits innumerable, from the furze and fern, and then vanishes in the deep grassy furrow to the south-east of the castle. The Closmolchan of Petty's book, read by the light of this legend, seems to be Clooshmael-con, *i. e.* the ear of the cropped or bald dog, and the modern Clash-mael-con its corruption, or else the trench or furrow of the cropped dog. The dog legend suits either of the two latter readings. There is no doubt that legends to suit names of places are often invented by the imaginative Irish people, but the spelling of the name of the place in

Petty's book, two hundred and thirty years ago, shows that the legend cannot have been a modern invention. Before leaving Brown's Castle, some notes of its former owners may be found interesting, especially as in the female line they and their kindred and namesakes have still descendants left in Kerry and Limerick, and I rather think also in Clare. Philip Brun and Richard Cantillon¹ were sureties for David Fitz Gerald, Sheriff of Kerry in the 34th year of Edward I.; and in the 3rd year of Edward II., Sir Reginald Broun, Knight, filled the office of sheriff. Two years later, according to the Exchequer Records relating to Kerry, the lands and tenements of Robert de Clahull deceased, probably the son of the Godfrey de Clahull who had "the grant of the wrecks of the sea at Offeriba" (*v. ante*, p. 167), were granted to John Fitz Thomas, the Earl of Kildare, the said custody being in the king's hands during the minority of the said Robert's heir, one of the Earl's securities being Sir Gilbert Broun. In the pedigree of the O'Connor Kerry certified by the head of that family in 1688, now amongst the Madden MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin, Connor O'Connor Kerry (called *Caum*, or the crooked), the grandfather of John O'Connor Kerry, who founded Lislaughtin Abbey, is said to have married Kathleen, daughter of Sir John Broun, knight. Two of the Broun family in North Kerry are mentioned in the Exchequer Inquisition taken at Dingle on the 6th of October, 1587, respecting the Earl of Desmond's forfeited estates, as follows:—

¹ The history of the old English family of Cantilupe or Cantillon will be more fully noticed hereafter in connexion with their lands of Ballyheigue; but I may here correct a serious mistake made about it by Professor Stanley Jevons, in a late contribution of his to the *Contemporary Review*, entitled the "Nationality of Political Economy." Professor Jevons states that "from their name" the Cantillons of North Kerry are evidently the descendants of Spanish settlers in Ireland. But they are really the descendants of Mabilla, daughter of William Fitz Gerald (by his wife Catherine De Kingsley), and sister

of Raimond Le Gros, the ancestor of Lord Lansdowne and her husband Nicholas De Cantilupe, a member of the great English house of that name, and kinsman to Thomas called St. Thomas, Bishop of Hereford in the thirteenth century, and William, Bishop of Worcester in the same. The old English name is spelt variously in the *Exchequer Records* of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries relating to Kerry, Cantelupe, Cauntelon, Cantelou and Cauntelo; in the sixteenth century we find it written Cantlon and Contlon, but in the seventeenth it assumed its present form Cantillon.

“Item dicunt quod Johannes Brown de Kerry-browne (i. e. Crioeh Browneh), et Mauricius Brown de Killmore intrabant in rebellion’ pred’ adversus Dominam Reginam sed certitud’ terr’ ignorant.”

Killmore, the land of Maurice Broun here mentioned, adjoins Clashmelcon on the east; the latter place with Ardnoghter and others, already mentioned at p. 167, were part of Crioeh Browneh called Kerybrouneh in the Inquisition. In other documents of the sixteenth century the word is corrupted into Kyrybrownogh. The whole of North Kerry was so wasted and depopulated when the Inquisition and Survey were taken, that it was found impossible to ascertain the limits of the forfeited freeholds and estates, even those of the lords of Lixnaw and Kerry. Thus the jurors on the Inquisition say:—

“Quod Thomas Baron de Lixnawe, Patricius fitz-Morris, Robertus fitz Morris, et Gerald fitz Morris ejus filius intrabant in rebellion’ pred’ cum domino Geraldo nup’ Comite Desmonie adversus d’ tam Dominam Reginam: certitud’ terr’ eos ignor.’ Item dicunt quod omnes generos’ et liber’ tenentes cantred’ de Clanmorrisset except’ Iohanne Mac Thomae de Ballykeylee, Iohanne Oge de Ballyvicinkoyne, et Gerald Duffe Stak, ceperunt arma adversus d’ tam Dominam Reginam et quod intrabant et quilt’ eor’ intrabant in rebellion’ predict’ cum domino Geraldo nup’ Comite Desmonie.”

John Mac Thomas of Ballykealey, in Kilmoyley parish, was a Fitz Maurice, as was, I believe, John Oge of Ballyvicinkoyne, now Ballymacquin, in Ardfert parish. Black Gerald Stack was a member of an old Anglo-Irish family which had given a bishop to Ardfert in the fifteenth century. The Stacks were the old proprietors of Ballyloughran in North Kerry before 1600 (when they sold that place to the Raymonds, who sold it in the present century to the Rices), and of Garrenea, and Stackstown, now Crotto, until 1649. The Commissioners for taking the Survey of the Palatinate were Wallop, Alford, Peyton, Jenyson and Valentine Browne, ancestor of the Earl of Kenmare, and,

needless to say, no relative of the old Brouns of Clanmaurice and Offeriba before 1584. In their report of their work of surveying, the Commissioners say that the "rents of the freeholders in the countrye of the Clanmorrissse" are returned by them at "*nil*" because that "no court could be held there for want of inhabitants in the time of the Survey, nor can be held up to this time (1589) for the same reason." The process of rent collecting in Clanmaurice had even in more prosperous times been a difficult one. In November, 1568, the Earl of Desmond, then a prisoner in the Tower, writes to the Knight of Kerry and to "John Brown at Aneyto" (qu. *Awneytuath*?) ordering them to assist the Countess in collecting his rents, and in "maintaining the peace of Kerry;" an order which involved a contradiction in terms, inasmuch as the rents which the Earl, in the exercise of his palatine rights, claimed from his proud and powerful kinsmen the Fitz Maurices, Barons of Lixnaw, could never be collected except at the sword's point, after a fashion utterly destructive to the "peace of Kerry." Not even the value of a quarter of a "Griffith"¹ could the Earl obtain on any other terms from his Lixnaw cousins. The John Brown to whom Desmond wrote in 1568 was Master of Awney in the county Limerick, where there was an Hospital and Preceptory of the Knights of St. John, and the son of Ulick Brown of Camus and Knockmunihy in the same county. The Master of Awney was either identical with or the near relative of the John Brown of Brown's Castle, in Crioeh Browneh, mentioned in the Inquisition of 1587. The whole family in Kerry and Limerick continued devoted to the Earl after he returned to Ireland, and when he entered into rebellion. But before he had taken that fatal step, one of the ten daughters of John Brown, Master of Awney (he had no male issue) married a Captain Apsley, an officer in the Elizabethan army, and had by him a son who died young, unmarried, and two daughters, Joan and Mary Apsley. On the 9th of August, 1580, Sir Henry Wallop writes to Walsingham announcing that "John Brown,

¹ Griffo—Monetæ species decem florenis et decem solidis æstimata.—*Du Cange*, s.v.

Captain Apsley's father-in-law, had been slain by Mr. Thomas Norreys; " and on the 17th of the same month Sir Nicholas Malby writes to Walsingham confirming the truth of this piece of intelligence, and adding that the slain man, John Brown, was the "wisest of all Desmond's councillors." On the 13th of May, 1581, Ormond wrote from Cork to the Lord Deputy that "Sir John of Desmond and the Browns were repulsed from preying Kilmallock," and that "Ulick and Thomas Brown were both slain." This Thomas Brown was the forfeiting owner of Listrim (*v. ante*, p. 163). The Lord Deputy's copy of this letter to Walsingham is certified by Edmund Spenser. From another letter of Ormond's, written shortly before Desmond's capture and death, it appears that junior branches of the Brown family submitted, and were pardoned by the Government. One of these branches must have remained at Brown's Castle, for, as I have already shown from the Cromwellian Records, John and William Brown were at Clashmelcon in 1641-1656, when they forfeited that place and Ardnochter and Ardagh lying south of it. They do not appear to have received transplantation certificates, but I am inclined to believe that they migrated to Clare and Limerick of their own accord, and that their posterity were in these counties after the Restoration and in the eighteenth century, if not at a still later period.

The son of Annabella Brown by Captain Apsley died, as I have said, unmarried, and her younger daughter Joan, who was the first wife of Sir Richard Boyle afterwards Earl of Cork, died without surviving issue, but her eldest daughter, Mary Apsley, married Sir Thomas Browne, younger son of Valentine Browne the Commissioner for Surveying of Forfeited Estates, before mentioned. Sir Thomas had a grant in 1604, of the hospital and lands of Awney, forfeited by his wife's maternal grandfather, and from this marriage descends in the female line the present Earl of Kenmare. Annabella Brown, on the death of her first husband, Captain Apsley, married secondly Captain Thomas Spring, an officer in the Elizabethan army, highly commended in the letters of Sir Walter Raleigh, and by him she had two

sons and five daughters. The male line of her eldest son, Walter Spring, is believed to be extinct, but from her second son descends in the female line Lord Monteagle, and in the male line the Spring family in Kerry. From her daughters descend the Blennerhassetts (Baronets), and Rowland Ponsonby Blennerhassett, M.P. for Kerry; the Husseys, formerly of Castle Gregory; the Walkers, formerly of Laharren; the Hicksons of Fermoyle (who also descend in the female line from her eldest son, Walter Spring above mentioned); my father, John James Hickson of Hillville, near Fermoyle, John Busteed, M.D., J.P., Castle Gregory, and many others in Kerry. Alice Spring, fourth daughter of Annabella Brown by Captain Spring, married James Ryeves of Carrignafeely, county Kerry, and had by him, besides the daughter who was ancestress of the Hicksons of Hillville and Dr. Busteed, another daughter, Annabella, whose grand-daughter, Annabella Fitz Gerald of Ballynard, in Limerick county, married her cousin Ulick Brown of Ballyvrinny in the same county, the great-great-grandson of Margaret Brown, sister to Annabella the wife of Captains Apsley and Spring. Ulick Brown and his brother George joined the Austrian service, in which they achieved great distinction. The former was made a Fieldmarshal by the Emperor Charles VI., and a member of the Aulic Council of War. Maria Theresa made him a Privy Councillor and Generalissimo of all her forces. He was killed at Prague in 1757, and left sons whose descendants I believe still remain in Austria. His brother Colonel George Brown was Governor of Milan in the last century, and a highly distinguished officer. It seems likely that the father of the two brothers was of the old Camus and Offariba stock; but at all events they descended from it in the female line, as we have seen, and the children of Fieldmarshal Ulick Brown were doubly descended in the same line from John Brown of Awney, "the wisest of Desmond's Councillors."

After this genealogical digression we will return to the old home of the race in North Kerry. Keeping along the coast line of Clashmelcon, on the summit of

the tall dark cliffs carpeted with the freshest and greenest thymy grass, but whose faces are worn and hollowed into strange caverns and splintered fragments and pillars by the surges, about a quarter of a mile from the castle, we reach Poultarriff, a great square cavity in the ground. Looking down into its depths you can see the waves pouring into them through a tunnel which they have worn in the face of the cliff. Near Poultarriff Clashmelcon ends, and the townland of Meenagahane, part of the old estate of the Pierce family, once large landowners in North Kerry, and still having representatives there, begins. The Exchequer Inquisition before quoted says that the jurors find that—

“Nicholas MacShane Piers alias MacShane de Clanmorris in eodem Com’ Kerr’ generosus, ingressus est in rebellione predict’ adversus dominam Reginam et sic in rebellion’ predic’a existen’ obiit in rebellion’ et quod tunc seitus fuit in Dominico suo ut de feodo de quibusdam terr’ in Clanmorris predict’.”

The exact limits of his possessions, like those of the Browns and Fitz Maurices, could not be ascertained in 1587, and for the same reason. At a short distance from the cliffs of Meenagahane an enormous mass of the dark-red sandstone rises from the great ledges of the same which form the shore. It is an island at high tide, and is popularly called Pierce’s Island, after the old owners of the mainland. The original name of this old Kerry family was Fitz Maurice. Its founder was Pierse or Peter Fitz Maurice, younger son of Thomas Fitz Maurice, first Lord Kerry of that name, the founder of the Abbey of Ardfert, and the grandson of Raymond Le Gros (son, according to the indisputable testimony of his first cousin Giraldus Cambrensis, of the elder brother of Maurice Fitz Gerald, ancestor of the Duke of Leinster), to whom the MacCarthy, King of South Munster, had granted lands in North Kerry, or, more accurately speaking, the rents and tributes arising out of such lands. The “rent of the acres” as it was called, which was paid down to the end of the last century to Raymond’s descendants, has,

I believe, passed away from his present representative, the Marquis of Lansdowne. Maurice, eldest son of Raymond Le Gros, married Joanna Fitz Henry, daughter of Meyler Fitz Henry, Chief Governor of Ireland for Richard I., and to whom King John subsequently granted the territories of Ciarrighe Aicme, Offeriba, and Onaghtlokelean, probably the lands of the Eoghannacht of Lough Lene, present Killarney. Joanna Fitz Henry brought to her husband, as portion, the land of Rattoo, Killury, of which Meenagahane forms part, and Ballyheigue. Their eldest son was the above mentioned Thomas, first Lord of Kerry, the founder of Ardfert Abbey, to whom King John had granted, as we have seen (*v. ante*, p. 166), the "ten knights' fees in Iveforna and Ivefarba" in Kerry, and their youngest was the before mentioned Pierse, or Peter Fitz Maurice, "ancestor," says Archdall, "of the families of Ballymacequim, Meenagahane, and Croshnishane, who changed their name to Pierse about the latter end of Elizabeth's reign." Long before that time, almost the whole of North Kerry had passed into the possession of the Fitz Maurices and their sub-feudatories of native Irish or English descent, from whence it took the name it still retains, Clanmaurice. Ballymacequim Castle, *recté* *Baile-mhic-an-chaim*, "the abode of the son of the crooked man," still exists, a tall ruined pile, a most conspicuous object on the plains of Clanmaurice, not far from Abbeydorney. The land on which it stands was probably once owned by a son of that O'Connor *Caum* who married the daughter of Sir John Broun, but the castle was probably built by the Fitz Maurices. It suffered much during that process of rent collecting by Desmond and his officials in Clanmaurice to which I have already referred. On September the 1st, 1576, the Baron of Lixnaw wrote a long letter to Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord Deputy, in which he complains that Desmond had taken away his horses, killed his servants and hounds, and plundered his tenants. A postscript to the same letter adds, that since it was written, the Earl had returned to Clanmaurice, had carried off 2400 cows, 800 sheep, 200 horses, with "hogges and goodes that cannot be

reckoned," had taken the Baron's "strong castle of Ballymicawhyme" (*sic*), killed and wounded eight or nine persons, and "burnte a whole churchfull of householde stuffe."

The Castle of *Baile-mhic-an-chaim* as it now stands is a very strong square fortress, of great height for its circuit. The doorway is quadrangular, and there are only loopholes and arrow-slits in the upper portion of the walls still standing. But the ground floor is in fair preservation, and is now used as a dairy by the tenant on the lands which are owned by William Rice, Esq., of Ballylongford; which may be only a return in some degree to its former uses, for in old times the lower parts of those rude fortresses were often used as cow-houses or stables. From the Elizabethan State despatches we know that Desmond's Castle of the Island had its ground floor thus occupied. The whole district between *Baile-mhic-an-chaim* and Meenagahane is thickly dotted with raths of various sizes, some having two caves which it would be well worth while to open up. In the grounds of Bushmount House, the residence of Justin Dominick Rice, Esq., J.P., a worthy representative of an old Celtic family which has been settled in Kerry as long as, perhaps longer than, the Fitz Maurices themselves, and which has regained much of the large estates it lost in successive confiscations, is a rather interesting rath. When Mr. Rice's labourers were lately removing some trees from its circular enclosure, they came, at some distance below the surface of the ground, upon a large flat stone which they, hopeful of finding the traditionary "crock of goold" associated in the popular imagination with such spots, ventured to raise, but all that apparently lay beneath was a deep well having its sides lined with walls of closely fitted but mortarless stones. It contained water to the depth of a couple of feet, with a subterraneous outlet which could not be traced without excavation on a large scale, which was not undertaken. I do not know of any other instance of a carefully constructed well of this kind having been discovered in a Kerry rath. It was evidently made by the old tribe who raised the earthwork. Between Bushmount and

Lixnaw the raths are less numerous, probably because the Clanmaurice of the English descent congregated thickest around the latter place, occupying stone keeps which have been swept away. But the first castle of the Barons of Lixnaw, erected probably in the twelfth or thirteenth century, still stands within a short distance of the picturesque ruins of Lixnaw Court¹, occupied by their descendants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The old castle is an immensely strong, square fortress, much larger than *Baile-mhic-an-chaim*, but resembling it in its loopholed and arrow-slitted walls, which rise from a little hillock partly artificial, close to the river Brick, which passes here through a wide marshy plain to join the Feale and the Galey, which united form the Cashin that enters the sea near Ballybunnion. Under the castle there are deep dungeons, now half choked with rubbish from the crumbling ruin above. The land around here must have been a well-nigh impassable morass in early times. In the last century, Smith says that the tide flowed up the Brick close to Lixnaw Court. The castle was probably moated and had a draw-bridge attached to it. Maurice, second Lord of Kerry, who sat in the Parliament of 1295, was one of those Anglo-Irish magnates summoned to attend Edward I. in his Scotch wars. He married a wife of Scotch descent, Mary, heiress of Sir John MacLeod, knight, a scion of the old Dunvegan tree, and with her he acquired the lands of Galey on the before mentioned river, as well as those of O'Brenan and Cloghan MacQuin. Sir John MacLeod had probably a grant of those Kerry lands from the English King, in return for service done him in Scotland. Junior branches of the knight's family settled in Kerry, their name passing through a series of curious changes in the old records between 1400 and 1600, being set down as MacAlliod, FitzElyoth, MacLyod, MacElgott, until the seventeenth century, when it assumed the form it

¹ The Rev. Mr. Nolan, P.P., of Lixnaw, who kindly guided us over the ruins, the day I visited Lixnaw with a friend, showed us a broken stone (which had been built into a way-side fence) having

a Maltese cross carved on it, and a fragment of a Latin inscription. The Knights of St. John had a preceptory not far from Lixnaw, and this stone may have been a scattered fragment of the building.

has since retained, Mac Eligot. Their possessions will be noticed hereafter. In right of his ancestor's marriage, as above mentioned, with Mac Leod's heiress, the Marquis of Lansdowne quarters her arms of *Azure a Tower Argent* (*qu.* one of the triple towers of Dunvegan?) on his ancient shield. Mac Leod's heiress must have found many things in North Kerry to remind her of the cradle of her race in Skye, with its two Irish Patron Saints, Columba and Maelrhuba. From Brown's Castle and Meenagahane she could look upon the bold headland of *Leim Cuchullin*, called after the Red Branch hero who gave his name to the fine mountain range in Skye. Then Mel-Brandan-Ui Ronan, Bishop of Kerry in 1161, recalls that Isle Rona, of the Scottish seas, with its ruined oratories of St. Ronan and St. Barr, who gave his name to Barra, another of the Hebrides, where his two ruined churches remain, and who may probably have been the founder or patron of the primitive churches at Barrow south-east of Kerry Head. Many are the links connecting the Hebrides with the south-west coast of Ireland; and to trace and brighten them would be deeply interesting work, for the sake of those devoted early Christian missionaries whose names "like stars appearing" form the common glory of ancient Ireland, Wales, and Scotland.

The country between Lixnaw, the centre of the Fitz-Maurice's land, and Tralee, where stood one of the chief castles of their cousins the Earls of Desmond (which, however was, as we shall see, originally a castle of the Fitz Henrys), is uninteresting to the antiquary or the artist, until he reaches the brow of the hill of Doon, a few miles to the south of O'Dorney. Here, in the upper corner of a small field called Garrane, but which in early times I am sure formed part of a neighbouring large farm called Lissanearla (the *lios* or rath of the Earl) there is a remarkably fine rath having, as its name *Lios-na-dtri-gcladh* (pron. Lisnadreeglee) denotes, three circular ramparts. The inmost enclosure is small for the size of the whole, but the second rampart is of great height and almost perpendicular on its outer side. Through the deep wide trench between this second rampart and the outer one a stream now flows, forming

a shallow moat. The whole circuit within the first and second ramparts is so thickly covered with a matted growth of briars and the tall Irish hill fern, that it is difficult to walk through them; but their remarkable height alone makes it nearly certain that there are caves beneath both, which might yield objects of interest to the antiquary and the ethnologist. It is indeed greatly to be wished that the Royal Irish Academy or the British Association would generously grant a small sum to defray the cost of opening this rath, and two others near Barrow and Ballyheigue with which Mr. W. M. Hennessy, M. R. I. A., and others, were greatly struck when they visited them a year or two ago, also a curious tumulus called the Giant's Grave, near Scartaglin. The view from Lisnadreeglee includes the whole of the vale of Tralee, the territory of the Altraighe, according to O'Donovan, and the birth-place of St. Brandon, called in the 16th century, after Desmond's fall, the Seignory of Dennyvale. This fair vale lies at our feet as we look down from the heights of the old *Lios* on the steep hill side; the Desmond's castle has vanished, but the woods of his demesne, now owned by his daughter's descendant Sir Edward Denny (*v. ante*, p. 161), still flourish, with the purple peaks and glens of the Sliabh Mis range in the background. The view extends westward to the still finer mountains around Brandon Bay, and eastward to Ballymaceligot, and towards Castle Island, where the summits of the Killarney and Cork mountains appear on the horizon. It is one of those scenes the beauty of which, as Mr. Froude tell us, made the hearts of the Elizabethan soldiers "thrill within them" (like Fitz Eustace's looking down on Edinburgh) as they traversed the hills of Kerry during the Desmond's last great rebellion. Little wonder that he loved the green rath here, as the name of the townland Lissancarla implies, and that he fought hard to retain his fair palatinate. Not far from *Liosnadtrigcladh*, but lower down on the hill side, is Lismore; but the great fort there has been nearly destroyed, Lismore House occupying part of its site; a little to the east of the house are the ruins of two or

three tiny oratories or churches, and a well called Tub-
 bernataggart, *i.e.* "the priest's well"; but the grass-grown
 foundations, with a few scattered stones, are all that
 remain of the former, since an enterprising Scotch
 (Lowland) farmer carted away the rest of the sacred
 buildings a few years ago to build his fences, although
 there was a limestone quarry near at hand. The follow-
 ing report of the Desmond's possessions in and around
 Tralee, before his fall, is from the Survey already quoted,
 taken in 1587:—

"From a certain large town or village called Tralye,
 which was formerly a well inhabited Barony with a Castle
 and edifices in it, formerly well and fully repaired, but
 now ruined and broken with divers Burgage lands and
 tenements with their appurtenances within the said town
 and its franchises, particularly the following are here va-
 lued and hereunder declared, viz.:—

"In rents of the Burgage and lands of Chayer M'Brian,
 formerly the property of Brian M'Murrough, called Farren
 Brian O'Knogher, containing two carucates of land. The
 Burgage and lands of the late Terence Oge, called Ratass,
 containing one carucate of land.

"Two Castles with gardens belonging to Robert Ryce.

"The land of M'Ellistrym, containing one carucate
 of land.

"Several other Burgages and gardens there, being in
 the streets and broadways called the Burgess-street and
 Great Castle-street, and others within and without the
 said town now prostrated, which were worth per annum
 in rents from ancient times in the money called half-face,
 to be paid at the aforesaid feasts of Easter and Michael-
 mas in equal portions fifteen marks, making of English
 money per annum,

£13 6s. 8d.

"Certain other Burgages tenements and lands lying
 within the franchises of the said town of Tralee which
 were escheated to our said Lady the Queen, for want
 of heirs, viz.: the Burgage and Castle called Farren
 M'Brandon *alias* Brandon's lands, late a burgess of that
 town, and slain in the rebellion aforesaid, containing in
 all one quarter of land worth per annum,

£4 0s. 0d.

"And also another Burgage with lands and tene-
 ments there similarly escheated to the said Lady the
 Queen, lately in possession of Redmond Mc Bryan of
 Clogan in the said county, who with his brothers Morrough
 Mc Bryan and Kenny Mc Bryan was slain in rebellion,
 containing 30 acres worth per annum,

£2 0s. 0d.

"And several towns and lands that belonged to the
 aforesaid Redmond Mc Bryan one of which is called

Clogan, lying upon or near to the mountain of Slieve Mish in the county aforesaid similarly escheated to the said Lady the Queen and worth per annum, £10 0s. 0d.

"And further another castle with a town and lands called Garranieraughten (*sic*) formerly being the lands of O'Harraghton a Burgess of the aforesaid town containing among themselves two quarters of land worth per annum, £8 0s. 0d.

"The site of the broken castles of the manor of Castellamore *alias* the great castle of Tralye, with the demesne lands and appurtenances following, viz: a most fertile piece of land, called Loghercennaen containing two carucates of land with two quarries of stone for building in them; a good piece of land called Clone-lower, containing twenty acres of land which together with the aforesaid castle, closes and gardens lying near the said castle are valued by the aforesaid Commissioners of the said Lady the Queen per annum at, £9 6s. 8d.

"And another manor called the New Manor with an old and broken castle called the Countess's Castle and Manor containing by estimation five quarters of land which was always used and occupied by the Countess of Desmond; and a street in Tralye called the street of the New Manor together with several lands and tenements and gardens in the said street which are now nearly prostrated and waste and are in the whole extended by the aforesaid Commissioners (except another small castle with a mill there) and five acres of land of Irish measure adjacent to the said castle and lying within the lands of the New Manor aforesaid being in the possession of John Oge at per annum, £20 0s. 0d.

(*To be continued.*)

ON CERTAIN WELLS SITUATE IN THE NORTH-WEST OF IRELAND; WITH REMARKS ON THE OCCURRENCE OF THE CROIX GRAMMÉE, OR SWASTICA, AS FOUND AT ST. BRIGID'S WELL, NEAR CLIFFONY, CO. SLIGO.

BY W. F. WAKEMAN, HON. LOCAL SEC. FOR ENNISKILLEN DISTRICT.

HAVING during portions of the summer or autumn of last two years been engaged by Colonel Cooper of Markree Castle, county Sligo, to draw for him each and every object of antiquarian interest which could be heard of as occurring in the county Sligo, and in not a few of the neighbouring districts, it became my fortune to meet with two spots of extraordinary interest—one of which at least has been long famous in the history and traditions of Ireland—the other, for reasons hereafter to be shown, or at least suggested, may not, without more than a shade of probability, be identified as a pool referred to in the life and actions of our famous St. Brigid.

I would here for a moment glance at what must be confessed by all who have paid even a passing attention to the peculiarities of Irish antiquities to a hiatus in the enumeration and classification of objects which form one most important branch—I allude especially to the subject of our so-called “Holy Wells,” and secondly to certain “Sacred Pools,” scores of which still highly venerated are to be found in every district of the country.

There is probably no western archæological fact so amply proved as that of the origin of what may be called “Well Veneration” as still found existing in Ireland, in portions of Scotland, in Wales, and in some degree in England. Essentially Asiatic in birth, and imported hither by a wave of population whose history has been lost to us, we can say little more concerning the subject than that in pagan days sacred wells and pools such as existed in the Far East from time immemorial, and such as exist there to this day, are to

be found in the British Islands in our own nineteenth century—and most notably in Ireland.

Travellers from India describe the appearance of, and the rites practised at, holy wells situate in various parts of the East, in terms which remind us who have lived in Celtic portions of Ireland (and those districts comprise nearly the whole island) not a little of what we may often have witnessed at home. It is the same there as here, the main features of the scene being absolutely identical. A venerable tree festooned with many-coloured offerings of rags, a sacred well surrounded by devotees more or less, form the picture. Abroad as well as at home, pins and nails are frequent offerings. How it has happened that this wonderful veneration for certain springs or fonts has been continued in Ireland, I hope presently to show. In the meantime it may be proper to refer to the estimation, if not veneration, in which certain fishes occasionally found in connexion with some of our most famous wells were or are still held. Who that has beheld the noble ash tree which to this day throws its shade over the holy fount of Tober Kieran, on the Blackwater, near Kells, county Meath, will readily forget the scene of which it forms the chief feature? The well, now comparatively shallow, rises in a diminutive rough-sided basin of limestone, of natural formation, and evidently untouched by a tool. The water is particularly sparkling and clear, almost always; and at a time neither too bright nor too sombre, a visitor looking through it may usually discern a brace of "miraculous" trout, which, according to tradition, have occupied their narrow prison from time immemorial. They are said never in the memory of man to have altered in size; and it is stated of them that their appearance is ever the same, with such slight changes of effect upon their speckled sides as might be expected under various conditions of light or shade. These at least mysterious fishes are considered very sacred. Legends assert that upon more occasions than one they had been taken and removed by impious hands; but nevertheless, immediately afterwards they might be observed as usual in the full enjoy-

ment of enchanted existence, or at any rate of some species of metamorphosis, and quite themselves again, within their pristine bounds. About thirty-two years ago, I myself saw these wondrous troutlets, which were rather under what fly-fishers are wont to style "herring size." They were certainly there at that time, looked quite unspiritual, and for anything that I know to the contrary may be still there visible in the body.

Within about one mile of Cong, county Galway, is a deep steep and weird depression in the limestone called the "Pigeon Hole." A beautiful, generally subterraneous, rivulet, which at the base of the chasm takes a half peep at the daylight, is believed to contain a pair of "enchanted" trout. At any rate the "fish" are to be seen there on almost every day of the year. They, like those of Tober Kieran, are of a small species with bright colours, and with faintly zebra-like striped sides. Local tradition saith that the darkish markings were made by the bars of a gridiron upon which the uncannies had been broiled by a hungry unbelieving sergeant of some yeomanry corps which was quartered in Cong sometime during the close of the last century. The story has it that one of the fairy things stood fire without flinching; but when the soldier presented cold steel, the creature at once changed into a beautiful young woman, and starting straight before him, and pointing to her shoulder, which was wounded, exclaimed, "look where you cut me, you villain." The transformation, it appears, did not last long; and it is needless to say that the fish, or the lady, "the take," or whatever it may have been, was soon returned to the stream. The late Dr. Ball, M.R.I.A., during his visit to the Pigeon Hole some years ago, being anxious to test the superstitions of some native lookers-on, and at the same time hear the effect of echoes for which the cavern was famous, produced a pistol which he proposed firing at the trout. The people as he presented the weapon veiled their eyes, or turned away their faces; nevertheless he fired: but just before the trigger was pressed, a small cloud obscured the sun and he could not see the fish, which on the return of the light was observed to be untouched.

"I have no doubt," wrote the Doctor, "the accidental occurrence of the momentary obscuration has tended to confirm the country people in their belief."

But of all the "enchanted" wells of Ireland, that of Tullaghan, a townland situate in the county Sligo, near the summit of a lofty rock or hill bearing the same name, appears to be the most noteworthy. It is styled Tubber Tullaghan, and was one of the *Mirabilia Hiberniæ*, or wonders of Ireland, described by Nennius, Giraldus Cambrensis, O'Flaherty, and other well-known writers upon the subject of Irish Topography. Nennius gives it as the seventh wonder in his list; and his notice of it has been thus translated by the editors of the Irish version of the *Historia Britonum*, the late Dr. Todd; and The Hon. Algernon Herbert:—"A well there is of sweet water in the side of the Corran; the property of that well is, that it fills and ebbs like the sea, though it is far from the sea too." Giraldus, in his celebrated Topography, dist. 2, cap. 7, writes:—"Est et in Conactia fons dulcis aquæ in vertice montis excelsi, et procul a mare, qui die naturali bis undis deficiens, et toties exuberans marinas imitatur instabilitates." O'Flaherty makes it the fourth wonder. It appears that the peculiarities of Tullaghan well, real or supposed, are also recorded in an ancient MS. tract preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. In the autumn of 1879 I visited this wonderful spot, illustrations of which were desired by Colonel Cooper. The well is still extant, and measures 2 ft. in diameter, by about 18 inches in depth, and is enclosed within a roofless circular building of dry stonework, about 4 ft. in height, and having an opening which may have been a doorway, facing the east. The water I found to be anything but clear or tempting, it being full of minute weeds, and covered with an oil-like scum. But this might be the case with any long-neglected enclosed spring. Its flavour was slightly brackish; and we were informed on the spot that the water often suddenly rose and fell—a circumstance not uncommon in limestone springs. The whole place presented a wofully abandoned look; and but for the carn imme-

diately adjoining, and the presence of a pillar stone, called an altar, placed a little to the left of the well-building, it was difficult to imagine that it had ever been of any importance. There is a tradition that this well burst forth at the prayer of St. Patrick, who had chased to the spot one of the demons of Croagh Patrick, named Caerthanach, and here found himself sinking from thirst. Naturally enough, the well subsequently became associated with the name of our national Saint. "But," writes Archdeacon O'Rorke, D.D., P.P., in his most learned and interesting History, &c., of the parishes of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet, "it was famous long before St. Patrick was born; for in the Book of Dinnsenchas we read that Gam, the servant of Eremon, was slain on the mountain, thus giving the name of Slieve-Gamh, and that his head was cast into the well, which became, in consequence, enchanted, containing salt water at one time and fresh at another, ebbing and flowing with the tide." See also Book of Extracts for the county Sligo, prepared for the use of the Topographical Staff of the Ordnance Survey, and now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

Pilgrimages, or pious visits to Tubber Tullaghan, though for ages very common, have long ceased, chiefly through the exertions of Roman Catholic bishops, and other clergymen; yet, it is traditionally said, here, in times not very far remote, many miraculous cures were experienced by the faithful.

A brace of trout not always visible to ordinary eyes, but which trustworthy people still living declare that they themselves have seen, are said to have inhabited this pool. That, like the Tober Kieran and Cong fishes, the Tullaghan examples must have been "enchanted," is a fact established beyond the possibility of doubt, if we can believe current stories to the effect that they have been taken cooked, and eaten, without apparent inconvenience to themselves, as they were soon afterwards observed in their accustomed spot, lively as ever, and as innocent-looking as any ordinary specimen of the red-rained tribe.

Hitherto in this Paper I have confined my remarks

to such trout-haunted wells as I had personally visited, but it is widely known amongst Irish antiquaries that numerous others could be referred to. The trout appears to have been the species of fish most usually associated with what may be called well superstition; but sometimes other denizens of our lakes or rivers have been referred to as partaking of enchanted qualities. For instance, in the townland of Ballymorereigh, and parish of Dingle, county Kerry, occurs a sacred well called "Tober Monachan" (the well of Monachan), which was formerly greatly visited every Sunday from January to December. It was, and probably still is, considered a first-class station for rounds. A salmon and an eel were supposed to occupy it, and any devotee who happened to think he beheld these "odd fish" was considered not to have made his pilgrimage in vain.

I may say that, lacking faith or imagination, or as I was not on the rounds, they were to my eyes invisible. It seems quite certain trouts of the mountain stream differ very considerably from the hugh gillaroo; and other companions in name have not unfrequently been seen in some of the beautiful gushing spring wells which abound in Ireland, especially in limestone districts. An eel too might be accounted for now and then, as the habit of that creature is to cross from river to lake, or from pool to pool, as its instinct may direct, through dewy grass or other moist herbage. This is a fact well ascertained by naturalists. The story of the salmon must be considered purely as a myth. Perhaps a trout may have been magnified into a salmon, through imagination greedy for wonders. In Vol. I. of our "Journal," March, 1856, Mr. E. Fitzgerald, in a notice of St. Bartholomew's well situate at Piltown, some four miles west of Ardmore, county Waterford, writes as follows:—"At my visit to St. Bartholomew's well, the fine old venerable thorns which overshadowed it bore a most motley appearance, actually crowded with old red, blue, and green ribbons and rags, as if torn from the dresses of pilgrims, and tied up as a finale to their 'rounds' and prayers. An old crone engaged in giving her 'rounds' told me that they were tied up by each to

leave all the sickness of the year behind them. Now such matters as these are well worth our attention." He then quotes William Hackett, Esq., of Middleton, who says:—"In this part of Ireland almost all the churches had a holy well near them, in some instances close to them. All our holy wells were originally sites of idolatry, and, as such, attendance at them has been of late universally discountenanced by the clergy of all denominations." It is manifest that the custom of offering devotions at holy wells is the same over a great part of Asia, Africa, and even of America, as it is in Ireland, though of course the prayers are as widely different as are the climes in which they are breathed. In one respect, however, the ritual seems to be unvaried—it closes always by the suspension on bushes, trees, or walls, in the immediate neighbourhood of the well, of ribbons or rags, usually of very small proportions. Probably the origin of a custom so widely prevailing, so strange and barbarous, will for ever defy the researches of the learned to trace it. Can the rite be derived from the inexplicable corruption of a once universal religion? It is only natural to assume that well veneration had its origin in the fiery East. No doubt it was carried westwards as tides of mankind followed the course of the sun. After all, it presents but one, the most striking however, evidence we have of the direct descent of the mass of our people from some long forgotten tribe, or tribes, of the old, old world.

As far as I know, few if any writers have noticed the subject of our sacred trouts in connexion with the veneration for certain scaly idols which would appear to remain established to this day, in the mythology of several oriental tribes, or nations. I take the following slip from the *Family Reader* for the week ending November 1, 1879:—"Near Tripoli there is what is called a convent of the sacred fish. It is a large high building, with a snow-white dome, and a great sycamore tree stands by the side of a crystal pool of water. Here may be seen a crowd of Moslem boys, who have come from Tripoli to feed the sacred fish, and to play on the green lawn. The old sheik who keeps the place has

much faith in the fish. He says they are all good Moslems, and are inhabited by the souls of Moslem Saints. One black fish, the sheik of the Saints, does not often show himself, but the other fish may be counted by hundreds or thousands, and resemble dace or chub. The custodian says that during the Crimean war many of the older fish went off under the sea to Sebastopol, and fought the Russians, and that some of them came back wounded. The people think that anyone who eats the fish will die immediately; but Dr. Jessop says that the American Consul, in 1856, had some caught and cooked. They proved coarse and impalatable, but not injurious." It is a known fact that in certain parts of India, Persia, and China there are wells attached to temples, in which sacred fish are preserved and fed by the priests. There can be no question that the ancient Irish, like people of the East, believed in metamorphosis. Many of our legends and old writings point to that fact. The Celtic mind is essentially eastern in character; and has ever been so, so long at least as story and record can illustrate. Some legends present a beautiful fancy; for instance, anyone acquainted with Lough Erne cannot have failed to note the noble fleets of swans which at almost every season of the year are found in snowy squadrons upon its bays and inlets. These, the sportsman will not dare to draw trigger upon, though it is well known they are *feræ naturæ*, and the property of nobody. They come and go, rejoicing, at their own sweet will, scatheless, for in the minds of the modern Erneans they represent the souls of holy women, nuns from Devenish, Inismacsaiant, Cleenish, Iniskeen, and even Clones, who had fallen victims to the fire and swords of the Northmen who, as our annals state, swept Lough Erne again and again. It would seem indeed that a colour of eastern fancy might even in our own time arise amongst a portion of the people of Fermanagh—a hill tribe of course. A noble cliff of limestone, near Derrygonnelly, containing to this day caverns carved with archaic markings so as to give one of them the title of the "Lettered Cave," still remains a landmark of the country. Here of erst, and

even of late days, was the eyrie of the eagle and of several clans of the hawk tribe. The former have been shot down, or have retreated, while the latter have become extremely rare. But the most remarkable desertion of the cliff is that of the ravens and choughs, many families of which birds were there, as it appeared, from time immemorial up to the commencement of the siege of Sebastopol. Then, they mysteriously and almost at once levanted; as is believed by not a few people of the neighbourhood, to take part in the Russian War! This story is curiously like that of the Tripoli "fishes."

I have now done for the present with the question of the holy wells, and the subject of their at least strange occupants. Besides the wells proper, which were certainly used in the administration of the sacred rite of baptism during an early period of Christianity in Ireland, certain pools or baths seem to have been applied to the same purpose. Indeed we do not know when the use of baptismal fonts or bowls was first adopted in this country. The sacred pools or baths which, like the wells, had probably in most instances been used or venerated by pagans, were most likely situated in natural hollows, and were not accompanied by masonry, or a covering of any description, excepting perhaps that which might have been afforded by the spreading branches of trees growing upon their immediate borders. In course of time, such pools or baths, becoming very famous from the concourse of pilgrims visiting them for religious purposes, or in the hope, through the supposed sanctity of their waters, of effecting bodily cures, would be enclosed, and covered by a roof of some kind, probably of stone. Of such buildings several remarkable examples remain—as at St. Doulough's, county Dublin, Innismurry, county Sligo, Mellifont, county Louth. Some of these pools were allowed to remain open—as Holywell, county Fermanagh. The water found in such structures does not always appear to be a local spring, as it is sometimes conveyed from a distance through a subterraneous channel, called in the north a "pipe." At Tober Brigid, within a few minutes' walk of the village of Cliffony, Co.

Sligo, may be seen a very interesting building of this class. It is in plan like a bee-hive hut, such as we see on Innismurry, Aran, and in several districts of the south and south-west. It is in internal diameter about 15 ft., and the wall, which presented a doorway or opening facing the west, is of considerable thickness. Whether the structure was ever completely roofed in, it is impossible to say. Upon passing through the doorway or opening already referred to, the visitor meets a flight of steps formed of very large stones, leading nearly to the bottom of the enclosure, which lies at a considerable distance below the level of the surrounding land. The pool or bath is now represented by a mere puddle, drainage operations in the neighbourhood having cut off the supply of water, which was anciently conveyed by a channel the mouth of which, formed like a flat-headed ope, such as we see in the ecclesiastical round towers, is still visible. It is quite probable that at one period of her active career Saint Brigid sojourned at this very spot. It is stated in her Third Life that while on her mission in Connaught, she went one day to receive the Holy Eucharist from a certain bishop. In D. Giacomo's account this prelate is named "Bishop Bron." There is a very ancient church in the neighbourhood of the town of Sligo, near Dorrant's Island, called *Killaspugbrone*, the church of Bishop Brone, or Bronus, a contemporary of St. Patrick. Now, between this church and St. Brigid's well, the distance is within an easy palfrey ride, or chariot drive; and we may know from numerous ancient sculptural representations, as also from ecclesiastical and bardic history, that chariots of the fifth and some succeeding centuries were finely built, *findruine* embellished, with large spoke wheels, and high-stepping, well-trained horses. Great attention appears to have been paid to the construction of ancient Irish roads, many of which in considerable portions remain, and upon examination appear to have been paved with stone, in the Roman fashion. See those at this day, radiating from the Hill of Tara. It is extremely probable that the Saint and the Bishop arranged a meeting at some point between the site of

the present well of the former, and the church of the latter; but at all events there is evidence to be derived from the record, that St. Brigid was, at one time, within the district where a very important well, or bath, bearing her name, is to be found.

In his admirable publication, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, the Rev. John O'Hanlon gives the following account of a passage in the life of St. Brigid, which, all things considered, would seem to point to the pool or well near Cliffony now under notice:—"We are told also that when St. Brigid dwelt in this part of the country, she was often accustomed to seek a pool of cold water near the monastery. There she remained immersed, while she prayed and wept, during the whole night. This



Fig. 1. Crosses cut, or punched on one of the steps leading down to St. Brigid's Well, near Cliffony.

rigorous mortification at one time she endured while the snow and frost prevailed, and in presence of one from among her sisterhood. But, as this rough corporal treatment surpassed the powers of nature to endure for any continued length of time, so it pleased the goodness and mercy of God to prevent it, by a miracle. On a night immediately following the occurrence related, Brigid went with the same companion to renew like austerities; but on arriving at the pond, it was found to have become completely dry, nothing appearing but the exposed bottom sands. Surprised at this occurrence, the virgins returned home; yet, at the earliest hour of daybreak on the following morning, its waters were

found to have returned to their usual level in the lough. St. Brigid resolved the third night similarly to repeat her practice, when a similar disappearance of the waters took place on her approach. These waters returned to the bed of that lough early on the following morning." St. Brigid and her friends seeing, as they believed, a divine interposition, refrained from practising further austerities at the strangely inconstant pool.

There is no trace of cut stone, or apparently of cement, having been used in the building; but, on one of the steps referred to, two small Roman crosses, evidently of great antiquity, appear, shallowly inscribed by the aid of a punching instrument. See Fig. 1.

The most interesting feature, however, at the well or pool is a rather rough unhammered block of hard reddish sandstone, measuring 2 ft. 11 in. in length, by 10 in. in breadth, and about 5 in. in thickness. This stone is apparently of the monumental class, and just one upon which an ogam inscription



Scale 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Inches

Fig. 2. Cross Inscribed Stone at St. Brigid's Well near Clifony.

might be expected. It presents, however, no lettering of any kind; but upon one of its larger faces has been deeply

inscribed, or punched, the figure of a cross, of the kind usually styled Celtic, on the head of which, as shown in the accompanying illustration (see Fig. 2), that very remarkable symbol, known to antiquaries as *Croix Gammée*, *Filfol*, *Swastica*, *Hammer of Thor*, *Buddhist Cross*, &c., occurs. Of the pagan origin of this peculiar form of cross, there can be no question. It is said, by trustworthy observant travellers and writers to be found cut on rocks in remote parts of India; it is to be seen on Indo-Bactrian coins; on coins preserved in the museum of Copenhagen, supposed to be of Byzantine origin; as on several spindle whorls described by Dr. H. Shliemann in his work on Troy, as having been discovered by him, on that remarkable site. Dr. Ferdinand Keller, in his *Lake Dwellings of Switzerland, and other Parts of Europe*, gives illustrations of this symbol, from the lake of Bourget, where it was found on an object of clay, said to have been portion of a hut covering. In the same work, p. 339, is an illustration of a seal, or stamp, which was evidently used for making the impression. This cross also appears on pagan Roman altars found in Britain, and on the elaborate tessellated pavement of a Roman villa lately discovered in the Isle of Wight. But its occurrence does not seem to be confined to districts of the Old World; it may be observed, strangely enough, on a counter or roundlet, either of bone or horn, found in one of the low mounds at St. Louis, United States of America, and, if I remember rightly, on antiquities discovered in more southern districts of that continent.

The circumstances under which the *Swastica* became adopted as a symbol in Ireland can be very easily explained, as I hope to show. I should, however, premise that it has not in a single instance been noticed as occurring upon any of our acknowledged pagan monuments, though such works frequently exhibit a profusion of scorings or carvings which must be regarded as symbolic. It is a fact very well known to all readers of classical history that the Roman conquerors were wont to recruit for their Pantheon from amongst the gods of countries which had been by them subdued and colo-

nised. During the reigns of Severus, Caracalla, and the pseudo-Antonines, as remarked by the Rev. Samuel Beal, Roman intercourse with India was at its height. "It will be seen then, that at this time the worship of Mitra, the *fortunate and invincible*, would be particularly familiar to the Roman merchants and the Roman soldiers, the latter of whom would carry their superstition into distant lands, and erect altars to the 'Unconquered god' wherever they went. Hence they crop up in Britain and Germany at the present time, and are being brought to light as testimony of the vast energy, and at the same time the unbounded superstition, of those who erected them."

Mithras and Mitra are the same; the former is the Persian, the latter the Sanscrit form of the name. With Mitra was often associated Varuna, another deity, Mitra being understood to represent the day, Varuna the night.

Now it is generally understood that the religion of the Britons, at least in many portions of their country, was, during the decline of Roman power, of a singularly mixed character, partly Christian and partly pagan. Some vestige of the quondam veneration in which Mitra, the *fortunate and unconquered*, was held by the Romans in Britain, and by semi-Romanised natives, would probably remain in the minds of the mass of the people for ages. This would be so particularly on what had been an outskirt of the Roman province. Every schoolboy has read of the ravages committed on the coasts of Britain by the Irish, who were then known as *Scoti*, about the time of the abandonment of Britain by the Romans. But the Scots had been long in the habit of making swoops on the neighbouring coasts, and carrying away with them immense plunder and innumerable prisoners from amongst the fair-haired Britons. Of the latter, male, or female, they made slaves. In this way was St. Patrick brought to Erin. It strikes me very forcibly that the *Swastika* may have been introduced to this country even long before the first Christian missionary, properly speaking, had visited our shores. It was an emblem of power and good fortune, and in its design may be traced

an allusion to the course of the sun, from left to right. In later times its adoption may have been sanctioned, if not encouraged, by Roman missionaries. The Bishop of Limerick has pointed to the fact that it shows itself as a Christian symbol in Roman cemeteries at the close of the third century; and states that it is found on monuments of the fourth. Dr. Graves, in the *Transactions* of the Royal Irish Academy, has described two monumental stones bearing the *Swastica*, accompanied by Ogam inscriptions. One was found in the Killeen, a disused burial-ground in the parish of Minard, Co. Kerry. It reads, MAQI, MAQA, APILOGDO; and there is very strong evidence that it belongs to the sixth century. The second example occurs on Inisvicillane (Blasket Islands), county Kerry. The name would seem to be Maelchedar; but as the stone is much weather-worn, Dr. Graves does not offer his reading of it with much confidence. This stone bears three other crosses, one of which is of the Greek type; the others have the upper and lower members of equal and considerable lengths, while the arms are extremely short. This monument would also appear to belong to about the sixth century. At Glencar, county Kerry, Dr. Graves was fortunate enough to discover, in the year 1870, two monumental stones, each about 25 inches in length by about 6 in average breadth. Both these stones exhibit crosses of what may be called the Roman type. One of them has in addition three *Swastikas*, two of which are peculiar, being curvilinear. The second stone presents two *Swastikas*, which, it may be remarked, appear to be turned the wrong way for these countries. Mr. Brash, in his very valuable work on Ogam Monuments, edited by G. M. Atkinson, Esq., &c., has given an illustration of an Ogam stone from Aberdeen, Scotland. This monument bears a second inscription, in a character which appears to possess exceptional qualities, as the legend has been read in Hebrew, Phœnician, Greek, Latin, Arian, Irish, and Anglo-Saxon!

Amongst the seeming letters of this extraordinary record appears to occur a veritable *Swastica*. It is likely that these two inscriptions will continue to baffle all attempts of the learned to decipher them. I have now

glanced, more or less, at all the *Swastikas* which I could hear or read of as occurring in Ireland or Scotland. They would seem to me to belong to an early Christian or semi-Christian state of society. This statement I feel

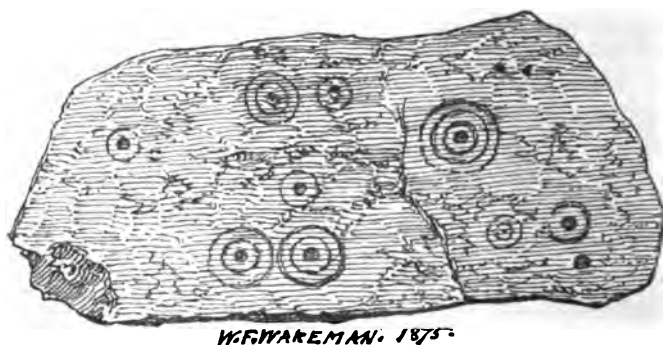


Fig. 3.—Inscribed stone from Ryfad, near Boho, county Fermanagh. Length, 7 feet. Breadth, 3 feet.

constrained to make, as I do not for a moment wish to appear to hold that the monuments upon which it is found in those countries are older than the fifth, or pos-

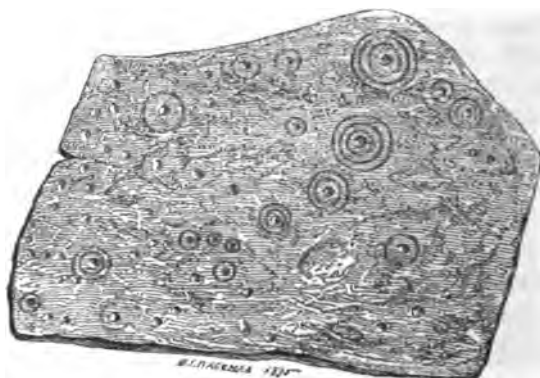


Fig. 4.—Inscribed stone from Ryfad, near Boho, county Fermanagh. Length, 11 feet. Breadth, 7 feet, 1 inch.

sibly the fourth century. They may even be considerably later. The design on the Sligo example, taken as a whole, presents the appearance of an early Christian

cross, but upon a critical dissection all its parts or details savour of a pagan origin. In the first place we have here the *Swastica* exactly as found on heathen Roman altars in England; in the second, in the centre, are three concentric circles, such as are constantly found upon monuments containing calcined human bones and sepulchral

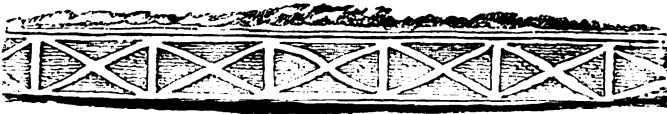


Fig. 5.—Sculptured Lintel-stone on the great Tumulus at Newgrange, on the Boyne.

urns. It is needless to say that such structures belong to ante-Christian times in Ireland (see Figs. 3 and 4, from the Megalithic remains at Ryfad, near Boho, Co. Fermanagh). Scores and scores of similar examples might be

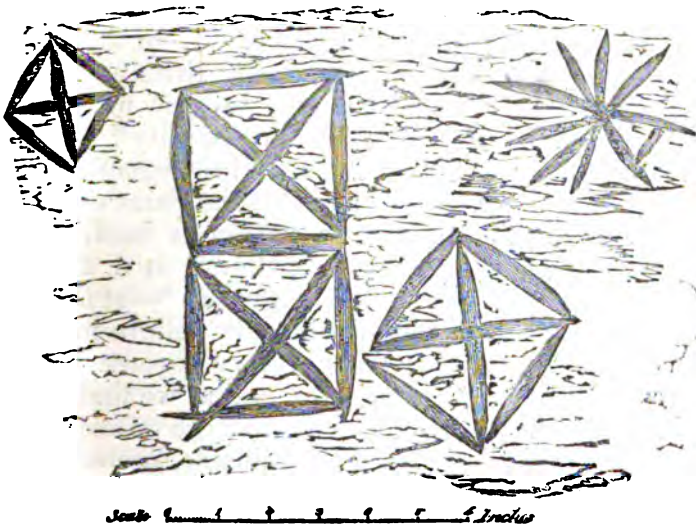


Fig. 6.—Carvings from the wall of the natural Cavern of Loughnacloyduff, county Fermanagh.

adduced. In the arms and shaft will be recognised a design which is very common amongst our primitive examples of symbolism, or possibly of mere decoration. I give an instance from a lintel-stone at the celebrated

tumulus of Newgrange, on the Boyne, near Drogheda. (Fig. 5.) A second example of this remarkable cross pattern is from the sculptured cavern of Loughnacloyduff, county Fermanagh, where, as in the nearly neighbouring caves of Knockmore, it is found most curiously intermixed with archaic carvings of various kinds. (Fig. 6.) It is also seen on the megalithic monuments on Slievenacalliagh. It may be observed that, surmounting the Mitraic symbol or *Swastica*, in the head of the cross, occurs a canopy of not ungraceful design, which is not like (as far as I know) anything found elsewhere, at least in these countries. Could it have any allusion to Varuna, the deity of night and darkness, who covered all things, and was supposed to be represented by the vault of heaven, as Mitra was supposed to be by the sun, or the light of the sun, the bringer of all blessings to man? We learn from the Vedic hymns that these two deities were usually associated together in the mythological dreams of the Indians and the Persians. Who knows what extraordinary fancies may have been imported from the East to Rome, thence to Britain, and from Britain to Erin, where for a while they may have become mixed with a loose, unsettled form of pseudo-Christianity?

There remains at St. Brigid's Well no legend relating to sacred trout, or other fish; but on the Saint's day, the 1st of February, each year a patron is held, during which pilgrims pass round the enclosure in a direction from east to west—"the course of the sun"—at the same time performing what they doubtlessly believe to be religious rites. Upon other days solitary devotees appear, or there may be more than one; and as we find in the Far East, the surrounding bushes are more or less draped with humble offerings, the most valuable, probably, the poor people can afford.

Before concluding this already too lengthy Paper, I would say a word concerning the ceremonial turn called "*Desiul*" by the Irish and their first cousins, the Highlanders of Scotland. It would be far beyond the scope of this Paper to more than refer to the erudite communication presented to the Royal Irish Academy (see *Proceedings*, second ser., vol. i., Pol. Lit., and Antiq.) by Sir

Samuel Ferguson, on the subject of this most striking, ancient, and Old-world prevailing observance. I shall only remark, in reference to Sir Samuel's Paper, that our custom, here in the West, of practising the *Desiul* on all possible occasions of ceremony, has its warrant in the usages of classical antiquity. How the Greeks and Romans, whom, when we peer into the mist of archaic times, we must look upon but as people of a middle age, became imbued with what appears to have become all but a universal instinct, we can never know. Probably they had it from races as remote from their time as they are from ours.

From left to right has ever been the processional order of our stations and funeral rounds. From left to right the piper marched, and in the same order the flowing measures of wine, or of other liquors, were filled in the days of old Irish hospitality—days which faded out during the famine of 1848, and the financial and other miseries of several following years. Sir Walter Scott has referred to the feeling prevalent amongst the mountaineers of his country which prompts them to pass round an individual whom they wish to honour, in the course of the sun. On the other hand, to go to the left is tantamount to a malediction, and is called by the singular name of “withershins.” Who would not feel awkward, and perhaps vexed, at being offered by a friend his left hand to shake? Even to look left-hand-ways was in Ireland considered most unlucky. When the late E. A. Conwell, M.R.I.A., &c., was composing his essay upon the supposed tomb of Ollamh Fodhla, he was supplied by Mr. Brian O’Looney, M.R.I.A. with an extract and translation from the Book of Lecan, a portion of which I may here quote. The matter refers to the famous fair of Taillten, now Teltown, county Meath:—

“Five hundred years, moreover, and three thousand years before the birth of Christ, this occurred; and this fair was made (celebrated) by every king who occupied Erin till Patrick came. And four hundred years [it continued to be celebrated] in Taillten, from Patrick to the Black Fair of Donchadh, son of Fland, son of Maelseachlaind. Three prohibitions were upon Taillten [namely],

to pass through it without alighting, to see it over the left shoulder, and to throw a cast that does not take effect in it."

I shall conclude by giving an extract from Gerald Griffin's admirable sketch of Irish life and habits of thought, entitled "*The Colleen Bawn, or the Collegians.*" Griffin knew his countrymen well:—

"It should be premised that this singular name" (North-east) "was given to the child in compliance with a popular superstition; for, sensible as the Dalys were accounted in their daily affairs, they were not wholly exempt from the prevailing weakness of their countrymen. Three of Mrs. Daly's children died at nurse, and it was suggested to the unhappy parents that if the next little stranger were baptized by the name North-east, the curse would be removed from their household." It is not necessary to draw further upon Griffin's tale. The superstition alluded to was at one time very rife, and may yet be so in various parts of the South and West. Allusion to the religious ceremony of the *Desiul* has been made by Dr. Joyce when referring to Tempo, county Fermanagh, in his invaluable publication *Names of Irish Places*. It is a pity that the Doctor did not follow up this subject a little more elaborately, as all folk-lore in Erin is rapidly dying out.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL
HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND:

ORIGINALLY FOUNDED AS

The Kilkenny Archæological Society,

IN THE YEAR

M.DCCC.XLIX.

THIRTY-FIRST SESSION,
1881.

If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers
in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such
like I have not written these lines nor taken these paines.—CAMDEN.

VOL. V.—PART III.

FOURTH SERIES.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
FOR THE ASSOCIATION,
BY PONSONBY AND WELDRICK.
1881.

THE Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Association, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL
HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
OF IRELAND,
FOR THE YEAR 1881.

At the ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held in the Museum,
Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January 5th,
1881 ;

RICHARD LANGRISHE, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Rev. James Graves, Honorary General Secretary,
read the Annual Report, as follows :—

“Years as they pass leave their impress on Associations as well as men, and on the whole the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland has not fared badly in the past year, although a diminution in the list of Fellows and Members, arising from death and resignation, must be noted. Successful meetings have been held at Cork and Belfast, as well as at Kilkenny, but your Committee regret to say that it has not been found practicable as yet to hold a meeting in the province of Connaught. The number of Fellows and Members now on the roll is 490. Twenty-four new Members have been elected during the year.

“The amount of the annual subscriptions in arrear is very considerable, and has entailed a great loss on the Association. It is hoped that this may be amended during the coming year ; if not, it will be needful to strike off the list the names of a considerable number of Members, which your Committee would regret, and hope that, except in a few instances, it will not be needed.”

The Officers and Committee were unanimously elected, as follows:—

President.—His Grace the Duke of Leinster, M.R.I.A.

Vice-President.—Richard Langrishe, M.R.I.A.

Treasurer.—Rev. James Graves, A.B.

Honorary General Secretaries.—Rev. James Graves, A.B.; Richard Caulfield, LL.D., F.S.A.

Honorary Curator of the Museum and Library.—James G. Robertson.

Committee.—Peter Burtchaell, C.E.; Robert Day, M.R.I.A., F.S.A.; Barry Delany, M.D., C.M.; Rev. Samuel Hayman, M.A.; Maurice Lenihan, J.P., M.R.I.A.; Robert Malcomson, A.M.; Rev. Philip Moore, P.P.; Rev. John O'Hanlon, M.R.I.A.; C.D. Purdon, M.B., F.R.C.S.I.; J. G. Robertson; Rev. John F. Shearman; Rev. C. A. Vignoles, A.M.

Trustees.—Patrick Watters, M.A.; Peter Burtchaell, C.E.

Hon. Provincial Secretaries.—*Leinster*: Rev. James Graves, Kilkenny. *Ulster*: C. Delacherois Purdon, M.B., F.R.C.S.I., Belfast. *Munster*: Maurice Lenihan, J.P., M.R.I.A., Limerick. *Connaught*: The O'Connor Don, M.P., M.R.I.A., Clonalis, Castlerea.

The following Fellow was elected:—

Rev. Joseph Henry, D.D., 18, Longford-terrace, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.

The following Members were elected:—

Captain Richard J. Rice, Bushmount, Tralee.

Rev. John S. Joly, A.M., The Rectory, Athlone.

James Martin, M.D., Portlaw, presented an ancient Irish bell of square shape, composed of iron rivetted into form, and surrounded near the lip by a zig-zag band of thin wire, which was soldered to the bell by the molten bronze into which it had been dipped to make it sonorous, and which formed a perfect and beautiful coating all over it. The sound of the bell was particularly sweet and musical: it was found in Co. Waterford, but had no history attached to it.

The Rev. James Graves presented a portion of a shrine, of bronze, found at Clonmacnois some years ago.

Timothy Doyle presented an English shilling of Elizabeth, 1564 ; and a sixpence of William III., 1696.

Mr. W. Nicholson presented a copy of Beaufort's Map of Ancient Ireland.

The following Paper was contributed :—

DID THE ECCLESIASTICS OF ANCIENT IRELAND ENGAGE IN MUTUAL MILITARY WARFARE?

BY JOHN HOGAN, T. C., KILKENNY.

IN the "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland" for January, 1878, p. 336, a learned Paper appears from the pen of the Rev. John F. Shearman, being one of a series entitled "*Loca Patriciana*," in which, with his usual research and perspicuity, he illustrates the salient epochs, events, and personages in the history of Ossory from remote to comparatively modern times. One of the events thus brought to light being of a very peculiar character, and connected with the ancient ecclesiastical history of the city of Kilkenny, appears to me to require, in order to divest it of the anomalous aspect in which he placed it before his readers, a more ample illustration than our reverend author bestowed on it at the time. At p. 283, the Rev. Mr. Shearman writes—

"The spirit of contention and jealousy so rife at this period appears to have seized even monastic communities, a thing not to be much wondered at, as the members of those establishments were generally of the predominant tribe or family of the locality in which those monasteries were situated, and were thus more susceptible of family influences and prejudices. In 1107 it is recorded that 'The family of Kilkenny gave an overthrow to the family of Leithglin.'"

The quotation at the close of this extract is taken from the "*Annals of Clonmacnoise*," and the plain reading of our author's preamble to it is, that to settle some dispute between the predominant tribesmen, or secular families, of Kilkenny and Old Leighlin, the ecclesiastics of those two churches engaged each other in a pitched battle, or faction fight, when the monks of Kilkenny defeated and put to flight the monks of the church of Leighlin.

This view of the case, no doubt rather preposterous,

is not peculiarly the author's own. Other writers of authority have taken similar views of this, and of other events of the same character, and for which the late Irish scholar, O'Donovan,¹ is certainly responsible. He accuses the Four Masters of having "intentionally omitted all the battles recorded in the older annals as having been fought between the ancient monastic establishments" of Ireland.

The Rev. James Graves,² illustrating the passage quoted above by Father Shearman, writes—"In the Annals of Clonmacnoise it is recorded under the year 1107, that 'the family of Kilkenny gave an overthrow to the family of Leighlyn.'" Mr. Graves continues:—"Family here undoubtedly stands for a society of ecclesiastics living under the rule of a superior similar to that founded at Leighlin by St. Laserian. But as not the faintest record of the abbots of Kilkenny proper appears on the face of our annals, we are *forced* to the conclusion that by Kilkenny is here meant the church of St. Cainneach of Aghabo." The "conclusion" here *forced* on Mr. Graves is simply this, that as there were then no "ecclesiastics living under the rule of a superior" in Kilkenny, it must have been the ecclesiastics from the church of St. Cainneach of Aghabo, that on this occasion marched from that locality to measure strength with, and put to flight, the monks of St. Laserian in the church of Leighlin.

Dr. Todd³ also gives the weight of his name as an authority to a similar engagement, alleged by him to have taken place between the communities of the two religious houses of Durrow and Clonmacnoise. He writes—"Thus, in the year 763, the Annals of Ulster and those of Tighernagh and Clonmacnoise tell us that a battle took place at Ardgamain between the *family* or monastic society of Clonmacnoise and the *family* of Durrow. That is to say [he continues], between the Coarbh of St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise and the Coarbh of Durrow, who mus-

¹ O'Donovan, *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i., p. 413, note.

² Rev. James Graves, *History, Architecture, and Antiquities of the Cathedral*

Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny, p. 26, n. b.

³ Dr. Todd, *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 158.

tered their retainers, and fought it out like secular chieftains." And lower down he says—"The families of such monasteries as Clonmacnoise and Durrow might muster a very respectable body of fighting men."

The extracts now submitted from the writings of those learned authors take us somewhat by surprise. We were not prepared for the very abnormal state of ecclesiastical life in ancient Ireland with which they present us. Can a more anomalous scene have been ever witnessed than to behold the ecclesiastics of the churches of SS. Kenny and Laserian, and those of SS. Kieran and Columbkille, headed and led on by the abbots or bishops of their respective monasteries, facing each other in battle—monk engaging his brother monk in deadly strife, and with fiendish hate felling each other to the earth? We shall now, however, endeavour to show, notwithstanding the high literary and scholastic status of the four authorities quoted above, that there is no foundation in our Annals to sustain this charge against the clergy of the ancient Irish Church.

The Clergy Petition the King for exemption from Military Service.—At the date of the battle of Ardgamain the clergy of Ireland were subject to military service, like the secular retainers of the respective chieftains. The abuses consequent on such exactions from the clergy, and the irregularities resulting from it to ecclesiastical discipline, compelled the Church authorities of the time to appeal to the king for redress of the grievance. It is recorded by the Four Masters, A. D. 799, that the clergy of Ireland petitioned Aedh Oirnaidhe to exempt all ecclesiastics from military service. For, say the Annalists—"It was not pleasing to the clergy to go upon any expedition; they complained of their grievances to the king, and the king, *i. e.* Aedh, said he would abide by the award of Fothadh na Canoine;¹ on which occasion Fothadh passed the de-

¹ "Fothadh na Canoine," *i. e.* Fothadh of the Canon. The metrical decision given by Fothadh on this occasion was accepted by the king, and "by it the clergy were exempted for ever after from attending military expeditions. This decision obtained

the name of a Canon, and its author has ever since been known in Irish history by the name of *Fothadh na Canoine*, or Fothadh of the Canon."—O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, pp. 363, *et seq.*

cision by which he exempted the clergy of Ireland from expeditions and hostings, when he said—

“The Church of the living God, let her alone, waste her not,
 Let her right be apart as best it ever was ;
 Every true monk, who is of a pure conscience,
 For the Church to which it is due let him labour like every servant.
 Every soldier from that out who is without (religious) rule or
 obedience
 Is permitted to aid the great Aedh, son of Nial.
 This is the true rule, neither more nor less :
 Let every one serve in his vocation without murmur or complaint.”

How very irreconcilable with this royal enactment in favour of the clergy, and made at their own urgent request, is Dr. Todd's assertion that the monasteries of that time used to muster their communities, and, under the command of their respective abbots, march forth against each other, “and fight it out like secular chieftains.” For certainly the clergy could not submit their grievances in such matters to the king for redress if they themselves had converted their monasteries into military garrisons, from which they proclaimed war and sent forth “bodies of fighting men against each other.” Let us now examine the grounds on which our learned authors have arrived at conclusions so anomalous and untenable. But before entering on this department of the subject, it will be necessary first to make a short inquiry into the derivation of the word “family,” and its original application to religious communities in Ireland.

The “Family” not necessarily a Society of Ecclesiastics.
 —The Rev. Mr. Graves defines the word “family” as follows :—“The family of Kilkenny gave an overthrow to the family of Leighlyn.” Mr. Graves continues—“The *family* here undoubtedly stands for a society of ecclesiastics living under the rule of a superior, similar to that founded at Leighlin by St. Laserian.” Here I beg respectfully to dissent from Mr. Graves's view of the case, as I undertake to show that in Irish history “the family” may and does undoubtedly stand for either a secular or a religious community.

The word “family,” applied to ecclesiastical com-

munities, according to Dr. Todd,¹ comes from the Irish word "*Muintir*," as "*Muintir Colum-Cille*, the family of Colum-Cille"; and as this point is one of importance to our inquiry, we shall supplement Dr. Todd's testimony by a few extracts from other authorities.

An ancient *ran*, preserved by the Four Masters, in which are enumerated the twenty-four personages who constituted St. Patrick's household, opens thus:—"Muinnter Phadruig na patter," which O'Donovan translates—"The family of Patrick of the prayers." In the same Annals, at the year 927, we find the death of "Tuathal, bishop of Doimhliag and Lusca, and steward of *Muinn-tire Pattraice*," which O'Donovan translates, "steward of the family of Patrick." At A.D. 951 we have the demise of "Duibhinnsi, a sage and bishop of *Muintir Beannchaire*," i. e., says O'Donovan, "bishop of the family of Beanchair." One case more will suffice. At A.D. 885 we have recorded:—"Maelcobha, abbot of Ardmagh, died at an advanced age; he was of *Muintir Chille Moire*," which the same translator renders "of the family of Cill-Mor." Hence, where the word "family" occurs in Irish history, we are to understand it as the English translation of the Irish word "*Muintir*"; and here it becomes necessary to ascertain the etymology of this word, and the origin of its application to monastic communities in Ireland.

In O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary "*Muintir*" is thus rendered into English—"Muintir, *s. f.*, people, men, parents, family, clan, tribe, servants." The definition of this lexicon is fully sustained by O'Donovan, who, in his Introduction to the "Book of Rights," says—"The word *Muintir* is now extensive in its application, and means *people* or *family*"; and he so translates the word in innumerable passages in the "Annals of the Four Masters." In A.D. 1051 "Ua Conchobhair, lord of Ui-Failghe, was killed by *Muintir fein*," i. e. by his own *people*. In A.D. 1155 "Cuilen of Claenghlais fell by Cinnfhaelaidhe, who was slain immediately after by *la Muintir Cuilen*," i. e. by the *people* of Cuilen. Innumerable passages might be

¹ Dr. Todd, *St. Patrick*, p. 159.

quoted to show that the word "Muintir," or that of "family" translated from it, is not an ecclesiastical term, but essentially a secular technicality having its origin in the primitive clannish institutions of Ireland, till in later times, when monasticism assumed such extensive dimensions, and religious communities grew up numerically into so many tribes or peoples, the ancient clan title "Muintir" became their descriptive epithet ; and thenceforward we often find the abbot and his community, and the secular chieftain and his retainers, designated by the common title of "Muintir" ; and this term, in both secular and ecclesiastical cases, being indiscriminately translated "family" and "the family" in later times being taken for "a society of ecclesiastics living under the rule of a superior," the chieftain and his clan have been often confounded with the abbot and his monks, and in this way the turbulence and excesses of the former have been charged to the account of the latter. A few cases will not only illustrate the accuracy of this conclusion, but will also demonstrate the absurdity of translating this word "Muintir" into "family," and of then making "the family stand for a society of ecclesiastics."

In the "Chronicum Scotorum" we find the following entry under the year 907 :—"An encounter between two bands at Cluain Mic Noise, viz., Muintir-Tadhgain and Muintir-Cinaeith (Kenny) ; and Muintir-Cinaeith were defeated, and the Gilla Finn, son of Mac Uallachain . . . , was slain therein." Now, if "Muintir" had been here translated "family," then the passage would read—"An encounter at Clonmacnoise between the family of Thagain and the family of Kenny ; and the family of Kenny were defeated," &c. And then if the word "family" be made to stand for a society of ecclesiastics, then we have here the monks of St. Thagain giving "an overthrow" to the monks of St. Kenny. But Muintir Cinaeith (*i. e.* Kenny) were a turbulent tribe, seated in the present county of Leitrim ; and Muintir Thadhgain were an equally restless clan within the present King's County, clearly showing the great discretion required in translating *Muintir* into *family*, and how unsafe it is to make this word "family" stand for a society of ecclesiastics.

A case more to the point occurs in the "Annals of the Four Masters" under the year 1124: "Ardghar, son of Aedh, royal heir of Aileach, was killed by *Muintir Doire*, in revenge of Colum-Cille." If *Muintir Doire* be here translated "the family of Doire," and if "the family" means a body of ecclesiastics, then we must charge the monastic community of Doire, or Derry, with the "killing of the royal heir of Aileach." But to prevent such an erroneous verdict being arrived at, O'Donovan here translated *Muintir* into *people*, and then the passage reads—"The royal heir of Aileach was killed by the people of Doire." A case still more pertinent to the point turns up in the "Annals," A.D. 890: "Scolraighe, son of Macan, lord of Dealbhna-Eathra, was slain by *Muintir Cluana Mic Noise*, in revenge of which Maelachadh was afterwards killed." If "*Muintir*" be here rendered "family," and if family must stand for a body of ecclesiastics, then the religious community of Clonmacnoise are responsible for the death of this chieftain. But O'Donovan here translates *Muintir* not *family*, but "people," and the passage accordingly reads—"Scolraighe, son of Macan . . . , was slain by the *people* of Clonmacnoise, *i. e.*, as the Rev. Mr. Shearman would express it, by "the predominant tribe or *family* of the locality."

We shall entertain Dr. O'Donovan's charge against the Four Masters.

The translator and editor of the "Annals of the Four Masters" brings the following accusation against the integrity of the compilers of these Annals:—"The Four Masters have intentionally omitted all the battles recorded in the older Annals as having been fought between the ancient monastic establishments, but the editor (*i. e.* Dr. O'Donovan) has inserted them in the notes to this edition." Under the name of the "Older Annals,"¹ O'Donovan here refers principally to the Annals of Ulster and Clonmacnoise. The original ms. of the "An-

¹ Older Annals; see O'Donovan's illustrations of these old authorities in his

introduction to the *Annals of the Four Masters*.

nals of Ulster" is not known to exist. The English version called by that name is supposed by O'Donovan to have been made for the use of Archbishop Ussher or Sir James Ware, towards the close of the sixteenth century, by an Irish scholar of eminence named Tully Conroy. The original ms. of the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" is also lost, and the translation referred to by O'Donovan was made by Conal Mageoghegan in the year 1627. Now, O'Donovan's case against the Four Masters is this—that in the compilation of their Annals, in all other cases making use of those of Ulster and Clonmacnoise, they have always designedly omitted the military engagements recorded in them to have occurred between the monastic communities; the motive imputed being an unfair partiality in favour of the ancient ecclesiastics: for which action of the Annalists Dr. Todd makes the following rather inconsequential extenuation:—"The Four Masters lived after the Reformation, and therefore they often suppress facts of this kind which might have caused scandal at a time when many were too glad to seize upon the materials for scandal against the ancient state of the Church." Now, no doubt is entertained that the Four Masters did make use of those older Annals in the compilation of their own work, and it is also certain and admitted that they have not recorded one of the battles to which O'Donovan refers as having taken place between the ecclesiastics; but that this suppression on the part of the Four Masters resulted from the motives imputed by Drs. O'Donovan and Todd, or from other special designs, I am not prepared in this discussion either to affirm or deny. But as O'Donovan has inserted in his Annotations to the "Annals of the Four Masters" the records of those battles from the Older Annals, we shall now extract them *seriatim* out of his notes, and see if their own internal testimony does not completely disprove the assertion that those battles were fought between the communities of the monastic institutions of Ireland. The first of those engagements I shall select is from the "Annals of Ulster,"¹

¹ "Annals of Ulster," quoted by O'Donovan, *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i., p. 362.

and took place between the families of Clonmacnoise and Durrow.

“A.D. 763, Bellum Ardgamain, inter familiam Cluana-Maccunois et Dermaighi, ubi cecidit Diarmait Dubh, Mac Domhnaill, et Diglac, Mac Duibhliss et cc Viri de familia Dermaighi; Bresal Mac Murcha victor fuit, cum familia Cluanu Mic Nois.”

The “family,” which occurs three times in this passage, it is granted by all our authorities, comes from the Irish word “Muintir,” and this “Muintir” we have just seen O’Donovan in similar cases rendering “people,” as *Muintir* Doire, the people of Doire (Derry), and *Muintir* Clonmacnoise, the people of Clonmacnoise; and if in the present case we adopt his translation of the same word, then this record from the “Annals of Ulster” will read—

‘Battle of Ardgamain between the people of Clonmacnoise and Durrow, where Diarmait Duibh Mac Donnall and Dighlach Mac Duibhliss and 200 men of the people of Durrow were killed. Bresal Mac Murchadh, with the people of Clonmacnoise, was master of the field.’

Now, what authority do the details of this battle give Dr. Todd to assert that it was fought between the two monastic communities of Clonmacnoise and Durrow, “that is to say,” says Dr. Todd, “between the Coarb of St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise and the Coarb of St. Columba of Durrow, who mustered their respective retainers (*i. e.* their religious communities), and fought it out like secular chieftains”? Folachtach Mac Teachtuæ was at the date of this battle Abbot or Coarb of Clonmacnoise. He died in A.D. 765, two years later, and his name does not occur in any way connected with this engagement, nor does the name of any ecclesiastic from the monastery of Durrow, or of any other church, appear on the scene. Two chieftains, respectively named Dermait Mac Donnell and Dighlach Mac Duffliss, headed the people of Durrow; and Bresal Mac Murragh incited and led on the predominant tribe or people of Clonmacnoise. Both factions met, and engaged each other on some eminence in the present King’s County, then called Ardgamain. Mac Murragh routed the faction from Durrow, killed their two leaders, Mac Donnell and Mac Duffliss, with two hundred of their

followers, whilst himself and his tribesmen from Clonmacnoise remained masters of the field. And in the face of these facts we are asked to believe that it was the two abbots of Clonmacnoise and Durrow that on this occasion headed the monks of their respective houses, and led them out to engage in this scene of turbulence and bloodshed. There is not a single ecclesiastic named in connexion with the action, nor is there any ground whatever for giving the transaction an ecclesiastical colouring, except the fact of the Irish word *Muintir* being rendered *family* in the translation, and then "family" being erroneously made to stand for a society of ecclesiastics, instead of being understood of the predominant tribes or secular families of Durrow and Clonmacnoise.

But even where the Irish word "Muintir" is rendered "family" in English, the translators as well as its own context show that in numerous instances it cannot be understood of a religious community. A few cases will suffice. In the "Annals of Clonmacnoise," A.D. 1151, we read that in the battle of Moin-mor, fought by King Terlach O'Brian, "Murtach Mac Connor O'Bryan and an infinite number of the *families* of Munster were slain." These families could not have been religious communities, but the principal clans or tribes of Munster. In the "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 759, "The battle of Dun-bile by Donnchadh, son of O'Domhnall, over the Feara-Tulach." The same engagement is thus recorded in the "Annals of Clonmacnoise": "Donough, son of King Donnell, gave a battle to the *families* of the Dowlies in Fertullagh." These families were the well-known tribesmen of Feartulla. In the "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 1119, we find recorded—"Cucollchoille . . . , chief ollamh of Ireland . . . , was killed by the men of Lurg . . . with his wife and two very good sons, and also five-and-thirty other persons, consisting both of his *family* and guests." O'Donovan here renders "Muintir" from the Irish text "family," which in this case clearly means not "a society of ecclesiastics," but the retainers or dependents of the chieftain. One other case will suffice for our present purpose. In the "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 941, we read—"Ceallach, son of Bec, lord of Dal

Araidhe, was killed at Oentrobhe by his *own tribe*." In the "Annals of Ulster" the same event is thus recorded at A.D. 942—"Cellach Mac Becce killed by his *family* murderously." It cannot be held that this family was a religious community, or other than the fellow-tribesmen of the chieftain whom they had slain. Innumerable other passages might be here adduced to show that "the family" in Irish history does not necessarily imply "a society of ecclesiastics," that it may be the denomination of either a secular or religious community, and that its context and accompanying circumstances will as a general rule determine which it represents. Thus the "Muintir" or family of a saint is to be distinguished from the "Muintir" or family of a town, locality, or district. The "Muintir" or family of Columbeill, of Brendan, of Cainneach, of Laserian, &c., undoubtedly stands for a society of ecclesiastics living subject to the rules respectively established by those saints. But the "Muintirs" or families of Derry, of Clonfert, of Kilkenny, of Leighlinn, of Fearn, of Cork, &c., do not mean so many religious communities, but the predominant tribes or secular families of those localities.

That the family of a locality or town does not imply the ecclesiastics of its monastic establishment is irrefragably established by the record of a raid made by the Danes on the island of Hy or Iona, the favourite retreat of St. Columbkille in Scotland. It is as follows from the "Annals of Ulster":—

"A.D. 805. *Familia Tæ* occisa est a Gentibus, i. lx. octo."

Thus recorded in the "Annals of Clonmacnoise":—

"A.D. 803. There were sixty-eight of the *familie* of *Hugh* of Columbkille slain by the Danes."

The Four Masters record the same event as follows:—

"A. D. 801. Hi-Colum-Cille was plundered by foreigners; and great numbers of the *laity and clergy* were killed by them, namely sixty-eight."

Here the "family of Hi-Colum-Cille" is described by the Four Masters as being composed of the "laity

and clergy," which proves that they understood the *family* to consist of the general community of the island, not of the ecclesiastics of the monastery.

The following engagement between the communities of Clonmacnoise and Birr¹ is thus recorded in the "Annals of Clonmacnoise":—

"A.D. 756. There was a field fought between those of Clon-Vicnose and the inhabitants of Byrre, in a place called in Irish Moyne-Koyse-Bloy."

The same event is thus entered in the "Annals of Ulster":—

"A.D. 759. Bellum etar [inter] Muintir Clono et Biroir in Moin Coisse Blae."

This is one of the entries in the older Annals, which O'Donovan accuses the Four Masters of having suppressed. But there is no authority in either of the two extracts quoted to prove that this battle took place between two bodies of ecclesiastics; it is clearly stated to have occurred between the *Muintir* or people of Clonmacnoise and the inhabitants of Birr. It is not improbable that some ecclesiastics of either place may have been mixed up in the *mêlée*, but there is no proof to show this—much less to show that the "field was fought" between the religious communities of Clonmacnoise and Birr.

The following interchange of hostilities between the families of Cork and Clonfert,² said to have been intentionally omitted by the Four Masters, is from the "Annals of Ulster":—

"A.D. 806. Bellum inter familiam Corcaighi et familiam Cluana ferta Brendain, inter quas cedes innumerales hominum ecclesiasticorum et sublimium de familia Corcaighi ceciderunt."

As already stated and clearly shown, the *Muintir* or family of a saint is to be distinguished from the *Muintir* or family of a locality or town; as, for instance, Muintir Columb-Cille is to be distinguished from Muintir Hi-

¹ "Families of Clonmacnoise and Birr." *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i., p. 358, note.

² "Families of Cork and Clonfert." *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i., p. 413, note.

Coluim-Cille, the former being the monastic community or family of the saint, the latter the mixed community or clan of the island of that name in which the monastery was situated. Hence neither the *Muintir* or family of Cork, nor the *Muintir* or family of Clonfert-Brendan, mentioned in the last extract from the "Annals of Ulster," was an ecclesiastical body, but the predominant tribe or secular family of each of those localities. The family of Cork could not have been an ecclesiastical community, as it included both lay and churchmen; and understanding the passage in this sense, the translation will read as follows:—"War between the people of Cork and the people of Clonfert-Brendan, in which innumerable men of the church and nobility of Cork were killed." The transaction was clearly a raid made on the inhabitants of Cork by the clansmen from Clonfert, when the ecclesiastical community of the former turned out in self-defence, and joined the people of the town in resisting the assailants. The people of Cork were, however, overpowered, and many of the clergy fell in the struggle with the laymen of the town. Whether the raiders from Clonfert were accompanied on this expedition by any contingent of monks from St. Brendan's monastery does not appear from the entry in the Annals; but whether there did or otherwise, there is not a particle of evidence to show that the engagement was a pitched battle between the religious communities of Cork and Clonfert.

The next passage, relative to the families of Taghmon and Fearn, ¹ to be quoted in illustration of the point now under discussion is from the "Annals of Ulster," A.D. 816:—

"A.D. 816. *Bellum re Cathal Mac Dunlaing, ocus re Muintir Tighe-Mundu, for Muintir Fernans Ubi cccc interfecti sunt.* Muintir Coluim-Cille do dul i Temhair do escuine Aeda." [The men of Colum-Cille went to Tara to curse Hugh.]

¹ "Families of Taghmon and Fearn." *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i., p. 425, nota.

The same event is thus entered and translated in the "Annals of Clonmacnoise," A.D. 814 :—

"There was a battle fought between Cahall Mac Dunluing and those of Timonna, of the one side, against the family of Farnes, where there were 400 of lay and Churchmen slain. The Familyes of St. Columb went to Taragh, and there excommunicated King Hugh, with Bell, Book, and Candles."

The late Dr. O'Donovan, in one of his notes to the "Annals of the Four Masters," says that the above engagement took place between the monks of Taghmon and Farnes, in the present county of Wexford, and that both it and "the cursing of Tara"¹ have been intentionally omitted by the Four Masters.

There is no authority in either of the foregoing extracts from the Annals of Ulster and Clonmacnoise to authorise the assertion that this battle was fought between the two religious communities of Taghmon and Farnes, or that any such event took place as "the cursing of Tara." Cathal Mac Dunlaing, the leader of the aggressive party, was not an ecclesiastic; he was a secular chieftain. His death as such is recorded by the Four Masters, A.D. 817—"Cathal Mac Dunlaing, lord of Ui Ceinnsealach, died," and the *Muintir* or people of Taghmon, whom he headed on this expedition, were neither monks nor ecclesiastics, but the "predominant tribes or families of that locality." Under the leadership of Mac Dunlaing they attacked the town of Farnes, when, as in Cork a few years earlier, the religious community joined the inhabitants in their defence of the town; but Mac Dunlaing and his clansmen overpowered the natives and their auxiliaries; they slew four hundred of both laity and clergy, exasperated at which, the *Muintir* or family of St. Columb-Cille travelled to Tara, and there publicly and formally excommunicated King Aedh or Hugh. But surely that was not a malediction on Tara. The Irish entry in the "Annals of Ulster" is—"Muintir Coluim-Cille

¹ "Cursing of Tara." *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i., p. 425.

do dul i Temhair do escuine Aeda," which O'Donovan himself translates—"The men of Colum-Cille went to Tara to curse Hugh," but which curse the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" render—"They excommunicated Hugh with Bell, Book, and Candles."

That this raid on the town of Fernes was the action of the secular tribes or inhabitants of Taghmon, under the command of Mac Dunlaing, and not of the monastic community of that town, is clearly to be inferred from the record of another battle fought by the same people of Taghmon, under the command of another leader, in which they gained a victory over the Danes, a few years later. The following is the entry of it from the "Annals of Ulster":¹—

A.D. 827. "Cathroined ele for Gentire Coirpre, Mac Cathal, ri hua Ceinnselaig ocus re *Muintir Tighe Mundu*."

O'Donovan gives the translation as follows from "Cod. Clarend., tome 49":—"A.D. 827. Battle-breach [overthrow or defeat] upon the Gentiles by Cairbre Mac Cahail, Kinge of Cinselai, and by the men of Tymuna." The *Muintir Tighe Mundu* of the "Annals of Ulster" is here rendered "the men of Tymuna," not the family or religious community of that town. The same event is thus recorded in the "Annals of Clonmacnoise"² under the year 825 [Four Masters, vol. i., p. 442, note]:—"There was an overthrowe given to the Danes by the O'Keannsealeys and those of Tymonna."

Here we have the *Muintir Tigh Mundu*, or people of Taghmon, led on by Cairbre Mac Cahail, son of the chieftain who ten years previously commanded the people of the same town of Taghmon to attack the town of Fernes, now inflicting a defeat or overthrow on the Danish invaders. On the former occasion, by an egregious misreading, the words "*Muintir Tighe Mundu*" is made to stand for an ecclesiastical community, and thus a purely secular engagement is transformed into a "battle between the monks of Fearn and Taghmon"; whilst in

¹ "Annals of Ulster." *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i., p. 441, note.

² "Annals of Clonmacnoise." *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i., p. 442, note.

the latter case, recorded in the same identical verbiage, the defeat of the Danes by the same *Muintir* or people of Taghmon is conceded to have been a purely secular business. But that the fight at Fernes was no more an ecclesiastical engagement than was the defeat of the Danes by the same men of Taghmon, is clearly proved by the action taken with reference to the matter by the ecclesiastical authorities of Ireland at the time.

After the battle at Fernes "the families of St. Columb went to Taragh, and there excommunicated King Hugh." From this passage from the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" it appears that the abbots or superiors of St. Columb's monastic houses in Ireland, horrified at the heinousness of this action, in which four hundred persons, both ecclesiastics and laymen, were slain, met in council at Tara to determine on what course they should adopt to express their abhorrence of the deed, and effectually obviate its repetition. Now, if this had been a battle between the monks of Taghmon and Fearn, as Dr. O'Donovan asserts, why do we not find the ecclesiastical authorities at Tara reprehending with severity or punishing with censures the monks who took part in the raid, or the abbots or superiors of those two monasteries for conniving at, or permitting, their respective communities engaging in such anti-Christian and irreligious exercises ? Or, if it was usual at that time, as Dr. Todd would have us believe, "for the communities of two religious houses to march out under the leadership of their respective abbots, or coarbhs, and settle their differences on the field after the manner of secular chieftains," why did not the authorities at Tara, on this occasion, deal with the question from some such standpoint ? If the social disorders, or ecclesiastical irregularities then complained of, resulted from either the vicious customs of the time, or from the laxity of ecclesiastical discipline, why did not "the families of St. Columb," on this occasion at Tara, denounce those customs as criminal abuses, and interdict, under pain of excommunication, all religious communities from henceforward engaging in mutual military warfare ? But no such course was there adopted, because no such cus-

toms or abuses had then existed. The action of the ecclesiastics on this occasion was the very opposite of that which would pre-suppose the existence of such customs or abuses; for instead of censuring priests or monks for indulging in military strife, they formulate a public excommunication against Aedh, or Hugh, who was then monarch of Ireland, and who had most probably incited Cathal mac Dunlaing, then king of South Leinster, to lead on the people of Taghmon in this fatal raid on the inhabitants of Fearn. But how could the ecclesiastical authorities at Tara adopt this line of proceeding if the affair at Fearn had been a battle between the monks of that town and those of the monastery of Taghmon? This action of the ecclesiastical authorities at Tara conclusively disproves the allegation that this engagement had occurred between any two bodies of ecclesiastics.

The last of those engagements said to have been suppressed by the Four Masters on which I shall offer any commentary here is the battle between the "Families" of Kilkenny and Old Leighlinn,¹ which formed our opening point, and introduced us to the subject of this inquiry. I now quote the passage again, from the "Annals of Clonmacnoise," with the illustration prefixed to it by Rev. John F. Shearman.

"The spirit of contention and jealousy so rife at the period appears to have seized even *monastic communities*, a thing not to be much wondered at, as the members of those establishments were generally of the predominant tribe or *family* of the locality in which those monasteries were situated, and were thus more susceptible of family influences and prejudices. In 1107 it is recorded that "The family of Kilkenny gave an overthrow to the family of Leithglin."

From this passage it is quite clear that the rev. author accepts the entry in the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" as the record of a purely clerical engagement, and naturally abashed at having to record a scene so unseemly between two bodies of the Christian priesthood, he en-

¹ "Families of Kilkenny and Leithglyn." *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. ii. p. 985, note.

deavours to screen the anomaly by the above extenuation. But actually this extenuation is more incredible than the case itself; for how are we to believe that when the predominant tribes or secular chieftains of various localities fell out respecting land-marks or cattle-preys, the monks turned out from their respective monasteries in those same localities, and settled the dispute in a pitched battle or faction-fight on the field. Could social or ecclesiastical life in Ireland at any period have been so crude as to render such a state of things possible ?

But, taking up the record of the battle, allow me to ask, Why not the "families of Kilkenny and Leighlyn" be the predominant tribes, or secular families of those two localities ? We have already demonstrated that the "family" does not necessarily imply a "society of ecclesiastics"; that it is the English translation of the Irish word *Muintir*, which, according to all our authorities, means the people, the tribe, or the retainers of a secular chieftain, as well as it does a religious community; but as there was no religious community established or existing in Kilkenny at the period of this battle, or, as Rev. Mr. Graves better expresses it, as "not the faintest record of the abbots of Kilkenny proper appears on the face of our Annals," the conclusion necessarily follows, that the "families of Kilkenny and Leighlyn" are to be understood in the same sense as the "chief families of Munster," or the leading tribes of that kingdom, as the "families of the O'Doolies," or Clans of Feartullagh, or as the *family* of Cucollille, viz. the retainers of that chieftain's mansion. Hence the original form of the passage in the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" would be, *Muintir Kilkenny* gave an overthrow to *Muintir Leithghlynn*," which, according to O'Donovan's translation, will read, the *people* of Kilkenny gave an overthrow to the *people* of Leighlyn.

The predominant tribe or secular family of Kilkenny at the date of this engagement were the clansmen or retainers of Donald Roe M'Gillapadraig, who was at that period king of Ossory. His mansion, or principal fortress, then occupied the site of the present castle of Kilkenny. O'Rian was at the same date, and long before, and sub-

sequently, the predominant tribe or family of Ui Drona (Idrone), which includes the locality of Leighlyn; and it is much more probable, if not indeed certain, that this battle took place between those turbulent chieftains and their restless retainers or *families*, than that the religious communities of St. Kenny's church, of Kilkenny, and of St. Laserian's church, of Leighlin, headed by their respective abbots or bishops, marched forth to settle in deadly strife and bloodshed the quarrels of the secular chieftains of those localities.

From the foregoing inquiry we are now in a position to conclude that, after the decision of Fothadh na Canoine,¹ in A. D. 799, when the ecclesiastics of ancient Ireland engaged in military warfare, they did so only in self-defence, and in conjunction with the local chieftain and his retainers; that when the locality or town in which a monastery was situated was assailed from without by an enemy, the ecclesiastics came forth from their seclusion, mixed their fortunes with the crowd, and defended their position after the manner of fighting men. That the monastic communities themselves were accustomed to join their neighbouring tribesmen in aggressive assaults on other secular or religious communities may be true, but no case of the kind appears on the face of the "Annals of the Four Masters," or on those of the older ones of Ulster or Clonmacnoise quoted by O'Donovan. But that the monastic houses trained up their respective communities as so many "bodies of fighting men," or that those houses were wont to proclaim war against each other, or "to send forth their communities in military order under the leadership of their respective abbots or Coarbhs, to fight out their differences on the field after the manner of secular chieftains," cannot be sustained by any authority from our published Irish Annals, nor by one single case recorded in them; and, as so frequently stated in the course of this inquiry, the whole error of so representing the ancient ecclesiastics of Ireland originated in indis-

¹ "Fothadh na Canoine." See this event illustrated above.

criminatingly translating the Irish word "Muintir" into family, and of then erroneously making the "family" "undoubtedly to stand for a society of ecclesiastics living under the rule of a superior," instead of making it, as the Rev. J. F. Shearman expresses it, "the predominant tribe, or secular family of the locality in which the monastery was situated."

DO MINUSAD SENCUSA GERALTACH.

'O t'chulaid Rí Saxon co ttainic milleb Éirenn 7 milleb Míde 7 Laignen antainpuid tpe gabail an Iarla, 7 nac paibe cept ina dligeð, pect na riagail in Éirinn, aet cept caig amail a nept, ier ngabail Teroitt Iarla do'n Iurcúir, amail no paibriom, ar í comairle no éinneptair 7 comairle Saxon immaille friur—cairdey et capadpacct do cengal ne hiarla Dear-Mhumán 7 ne Teraltaicib, et clemnur do denam ne hiarla Cillae Dapae, et ionad Rí Saxon do tabairt in Éirinn do'n Iarla, et tigeptur iomda oile hi Saxonuib. Ba maré an comairle do—criochnaigeð annrín .i. per a caicim 7 a cornam do leigen ind'Éirinn. Doapcúir Dia do boctuib¹

.i. A baile ui suibne.

Teroitt mac Teraile, meic Seacan, .i. Rídamna na nDéirí ndeirceptach, d'faghail baip do galan obann La beltaine do ronnad, Anno Domini, 1569.

Muirúir, mac Teraile, rí na nDéirí do écc an dapa lá do'n Noclaic, 1574.

Semur, mac Teraile, do écc in Dun Garbain, an dapa lá do'n Noblaicc, 1581.

Seacan, mac Teroitt, meic Semair Iarla, do écc ip in Cetain rí mbeltoine, et do deapbatap a depl-airpde eitreacht piren dó, oip ba rí ap ríogpacct 7 riagail na pírinne é. Ba haithgin do Suairne mac Colmáin ap feile et pírinde, ap oineac 7 éioðnacal ag diol dam 7 deoraidé 7 aibilgneach an Coimbed do pèir accobair gac aoin nohoirpé cuicce eitir mion 7 móp.

¹ Here come in fifteen lines of original, much defaced.

THE GERALDINES OF DESMOND.

EDITED BY THE REV. CANON HAYMAN, B. A.

(Continued from page 235).

After the King of the Saxons had heard that the destroying of Erin and the destroying of Meath, and of the Laigne especially, had come through the conquest of the Earl, and that there was neither right nor law, constitution or rule in Erin, but the right of everyone, according to his power, since the capture of Earl Garret by the Justice, as we have said, it is the resolve he determined and the resolve of the Saxons with him—to bind friendship and friendliness with the Earl of Desmond and with the Geraldics, and to form a marriage alliance with the Earl of Kildare, and to give the place of the king of the Saxons in Erin to the Earl, and another abounding lordship in England. Good was the resolve that was defined there, namely, to allow in Erin a man for using and for defending it.

.1. FROM BAILE UI SUIBHNE.

Garret, son of Gerald, son of John, that is, Heir Apparent of the southern Desi, died of sudden disease, May-day exactly, anno Domini, 1569.

Maurice, son of Gerald, king of the Deisi, died the second day of the Christmas, 1574.

James, son of Gerald, died in Dungarvan, the second day of the Christmas, 1581.

John, son of Garret, son of James the Earl, died on the Wednesday before May-day, and his characteristics assured the death of a just one to him, for he was a king in kingliness in the rule of truth. He was a re-birth to Guare, son of Colman, for honour and truth, for hospitality and presents, at satisfying of companies and of exiles and of the needy of the Lord, according to the desire of everyone who would come to him, both small and large. The anchorite of Lis Mor Michuda, and the

Angcaine Lepa Móir Mócúda et bhaiéne Mionúpa Eo-caille do teét áipicce di a éiméirect, go Druim Enaig inn aimpír a eirrechta, et a adhnacal ind Eo-choill i Mainirctir na mbraéar Mionúr, lá pele Mapcar Suircel, et Darbaoin ar aoi laithe réctmaine, ier mbreic buada o Demon 7 doman, 1533.

Semar, mac Seaain, mac Tomair .i. Iarla Mor Der-Mhuman, do écc an 27 do mí Octobir, dia Darbaoin do porrad, 7 adnacul i Traig Uí iar mbuaið ó Deaman 7 ó doman, 1558. A mac Deroitt, mac Semair, meic Seaain, ceiré bliadna déc a aoir indrin.

Semur na tcionol, mac Semair, meic Seaain .i. mac ingeine Mez Capéaig Móir .i. Aibilín na ruile gleoir .i. ruil dub 7 ruil glar, do cor do cum baír hi Corcaig Mhoir Mhuman ar porcongria Iarla Uir-Mhuman, .i. Tomar mac Semuir mac Diaruir, le gallaib, an luan iar pel Michil, Anno Domini, 1580.

Seaan, mac Semair, meic Seaain, do éuitim la Gall-aib .i. la Cairctin Siuit ind on creidme an Papa, Anno, 24 Do mí Ianuair, 1582.

Semur, mac Seaain, meic Deroitt óig o Spoin Chailige, do gabail imaroen re Seaan, mac Semair, 7 cetramna do denom de i Corcaig Moir Mumán : et clann an tSemair po do dul ar pluaiðed ir na Deirib Mumán, ier mbar a nachar. Oir roba maíe na cinn feòna iad-piðe por muir 7 por tior, 7 Siol mbriain an Cumbraig .i. Donchad mac Cineidig, et toirpdelbach mac Donchada, et Clann Tomair meic Ruirí, meic Maoil Muiré Mez Craíe .i. Tomar 'Og. Eogan, Ruairí do breic orra ag Máim na Caerandaiðe do'n taeð toir do Abainn Quilgen. Et po rraoined forra, et do marbad nimir diuime di a muincir, 7 do gabad triar mac Semuir ann .i. Tomar Meirgech, et Seaan an Gleanda, 7 Deroitt : et do cuiread go Dún nGarbann íad, et do cnochad la Cairctin Sir Uilliam Morgan diar dib .i. Tomar Meirgech, et Seaan an Glenda : et do cuireð Deroitt co Port Laigne, et po cnochad po'n cumma cedna, et po comrandad in a cethramnaib

Brothers minor of Youghal, came to him to minister to him, to Druim-Enaigh at the time of his death, and he was buried in Youghal in the Monastery of the Brothers minor, the day of the Festival of Mark of the Gospel, and Thursday in respect of the day of the week, after the bearing away of victory from the Devil and from world, 1533.

James, son of John, son of Thomas, that is, the great Earl of Desmond, died on the 27 of the month of October, Thursday exactly, and he was buried in Tralee after victory from the Devil and from world, 1558. His son Garret, son of James, son of John, fourteen years his age then.

James of the Assemblies, son of James, son of John, that is, son of the daughter of Mac Carthaigh Mor, namely, Eveleen of the eyes of splendour, that is, a black eye and a grey eye, was put to death in great Cork of Munster at the command of the Earl of Ormond, that is, Thomas son of James, son of Pierce, by foreigners, on the Monday after the festival of St. Michael, A. D. 1580.

John, son of James, son of John, fell by foreigners, that is, by Captain Zouch, in fault of believing of the Pope, the 24th of the month of January, 1582.

James, son of John, son of Garret Og, from Sron Caillighe, was taken together with John, and quarters were made of him in great Cork of Munster; and the sons of this James went on a hosting in the Deisi of Munster after the death of their father; for these were good commanders on sea and on land, and Siol mBriain an Cum-braigh, that is, Donchadh son of Cineidech, and Toirrdelblach son of Donchad, and the sons of Thomas son of Ruaidre, son of Maol Muire Meg Craith, that is, Thomas Og. Eogan Ruadri overtook them at Mam na Caertan-daighe on the east side of Abhann Quilgen. And they are defeated, and a countless people of their people was slain, and the three sons of James were taken there, that is, Thomas Meirgech (Rusty) and John of the Glend, and Geroit: and they were sent to Dungarvan, and a pair of them was hanged by Captain Sir William Morgan, viz. Thomas Meirgech and John of the Glend; and Garret was sent to Port Lairge (Waterford) and was

an 14 do mí Febrá iar mbár an athar .i. Semur, mac Seainn, meic Teroit 'Oicc ó Spoin Caillige, Anno Domini, 1582.

Muirir mac Seainn, meic Tomair, meic Semair, meic Teroit, meic an Iarla, do marbhad la Taid mac Corbmaic, mac Taid Meig Captaig .i. Tigerna Murchaige, mac Diarmata, et la na cloinn .i. Diarmait 7 Corbmac: Et Muirir do marbhad Donchada na baclaie, meic Taid, meic Corbmaic, d' aon-buille ga, et cuid d'a luirig do chur tnen a corp do'n cuinream rin, gu r'bo marb gan anmain, an .iii. mad Iour Augur.

Mac an Muirir ro .i. Tomar do écc Anno, 1567.

Semur a debrathair oile do éitrim in Uatne la clainn Uiliam Dupc, meic Emainn, ó Cairlen Uí Conuill .i. Teroit 7 Rirderd, et iactrom do éitrim larrion, 1579.

Semur, mac Muirir, meic Teroit, ó Mhaig Colpa, do éitrim la Gallaid Eochaille an 6 lá do mí Augur, dia Cedaoim do ronnad, 1580.

dar Seainn brun, meic Uater, meic Seainn, meic Pilip, la Cairtin bouir 7 la a muintir. Ocur ir am-laid capla indrin .i. Iarla Dear-Mhuman, Teroit mac Semair meic Seainn, do beir ag triall ar ammur Coille Etaplaige, 7 Cairtin bouir do dul noime co baile na bruiro, 7 co Glenb Laitrig, 7 an clapla do ammur na rliged rin, 7 an Cairtin con a muintir do eirge do aիր, et gleo gaibtec, grainemair do peréam doib fri apoile, 7 rochaide do mnair 7 do leanbaib do marbad do muintir an Iarla, 7 bream oile do muintir an Cairtin. Et Seainn brún do éitrim, et Mac Murchada, meic Torp-dealraig, meic Domnaill, do marbad ann mar an cedna ónn Iarlac. An 14 do mí Augur indrin, dia Saéuirn rannad 1580.

Semur na tTionol do gabail 7 a muintir do marbad an Darbadoim ria ran ran rin la Corbmac, mac Taid, meic Corbmaic, Tigerna Murchaide, mac Diarmata, an

hanged in the same manner, and they were divided into quarters, the fourteenth of the month of February after the death of their father, that is, James son of John, son of Garrett Og from Sron Cron Caillighe, anno Domini, 1582.

Maurice, son of John, son of Thomas, son of James, son of Garret, son of the Earl, was killed by Tadg mac Corpmaic, son of Tadg mac Carthaigh, that is, Lord of Muscraighe mac Diarmata, and by his sons, namely Diarmait and Corbmac. And Maurice killed Donchadh of the Staff, son of Tadg, son of Corbmac, of one blow of a spear, and he drove a portion of his breastplate through his body with that thrust, so that he was dead without soul, on the seventh of the Ides of August, 1564.

The son of this Maurice, that is, Thomas, died in the year 1567.

James his other brother fell in Uaithne by the sons of William Burc, son of Emann, from Caislen Ui Connuill, namely, Teaboit and Richard, and they fell by him, 1579.

James, son of Maurice, son of Garret, from Magh Colpta, fell by the foreigners of Youghal, the sixth day of the month of August, Wednesday exactly, 1580.

The death of John Browne, son of Walter, son of John, son of Philip, by Captain Bouis and his people. And it is how that happened, that is, the Earl of Desmond Garret, son of James, son of John, was journeying in going to Coill Etharlaighe, and Captain Bouis went before him to Baile na Bruidhni, and to Glend Laitrigh, and the Earl was going that way, and the Captain with his people happened with him there, and a dangerous, fierce fight was given by them to each other, and several of women and of children of the Earl's people were killed, and another party of the Captain's people. And John Brown fell, and the son of Murchadh, son of Tor-dealbach, son of Domhnall, were killed in it likewise. The fourteenth of August was that, Saturday exactly, 1580.

James of the Assemblies and his people were killed, the Thursday before that time, by Corbmac, son of Tadg, son of Cormac, Lord of Musgraidhe Mac Diar-

tan rin, 7 Semur do cōp docum báir an laan ian feil Michil iaptain 1580.

Semur, mac Seaan bhailb, meic Seaan, meic Tomar, meic an Iapla, do marbaid la brian Dub, mac Donchada, meic Maegamna Uí bhríain o Chappaic 'O'cCannell: et la gníoma láime Donchada, meic Domnaill, meic Anbae ó Druim bainne in 22 Febrúar, 1579.

Tomar a dearbhrathair oile do tuitim la Gallanb .i. la Cairptin Malbó i maidim mainiurtech an Aenais, i mír September, 1579.

Aoir Chriur, m.ccc.xvi. Seaan mac Tomar, ced Iapla Cille Dapa, do écc an bliadain-rí an 10 lá do Sep.: et a adnacal i cCill Dapa. Tigerna 'O' bFailge, Eppcop Cille Dapa, 7 bairín Geirille eiríde. Aré an Seaan ro 7 a ben .i. Dam Laintí Roirde, tug Mainiur S. Augurcin amach ar tur do páit an anma.

Tomar, mac Seaan, an dapa hIapla Cille Dapa, do écc an 10. Maí, 7 a adnacal i cCill Dapae, 7 Siuban a bunc, a ben, do adnacal imaille púir. m.ccc.lxxx.

Muir, mac Tomar, an tpeap Iapla Cille Dapa, do écc an 15. do Augur, 7 a adnacal i Tempul Chriur in baile Aea Cliat. m.cccc.xx.vii.

Geralt, mac Muir, 7 Iapla Cille Dapa, do écc an 17. d'October, 7 a adnacal i Mainiur nan uile Naom i mbail Aea Cliat. m.cccc.lxx.

Tomar mac Seaan Iapla Cille Dapa do écc la ceirdele Muir do rannaid 7 a adnacal i mainiur na nuile naom in ath cliath m.ccccc.xiii.

Gerolt, mac Tomar, Iapla Cille Dapa, do écc an 3. do Sept., 7 a adnacal i Tempul Cúir in Ath Cliat. m.cccc.xiii.

Gerold, mac Gerold, meic Tomar, Iapla Cille Dapa, do écc an 2. Sep. i Top London. m.ccccc.xxx.iii.

Tomar mac Gerolt, meic Gerolt, meic Tomar, do marbaid i Saxon lap an oetmad ríge d' a r'bo ann henri, do nemtoil na Comaile Moire: 7 baol an Tomar rin i plaitiur amail gac nIapla co ttopchair amlaio rin. m.ccccc.xxx.vii.

mata that time, and James was put to death the day after the festival of Michael afterwards, 1580.

James, son of John the Dumb, son of John, son of Thomas, son of the Earl, was killed Brian Dubh; son of Donchadh, son of Mathgamhain Ua Bhriain from Carrac O'cCaindell: and by the exploits of hand of Donchadh, son of Domnall, son of Anda from Druim Baine, the 22nd of Feb., 1579.

Thomas, his other brother, fell by foreigners .i. by Captain Malby in the defeat of Mainister an Aenaigh, in the month of September, 1579.

The age of Christ, 1316. John, son of Thomas, first Earl of Kildare, died this year, the tenth day of September, and was buried in Kildare. He was Lord of O'Failghe, Bishop of Kildare, and Baron of Geasehill. It is this John and his wife, namely, Dame Louci Roache, who promulgated the Monastery of St. Augustin first for the grace of their soul.

Thomas, son of John, the second Earl of Kildare, died the 10th May, and was buried in Kildare, and Siubhan a Bure, his wife, was buried with him, 1380.

Maurice, son of Thomas, the third Earl of Kildare, died the 15th of August, and was buried in Christ Church in the town of Ath Cleath, 1427.

Gerald, son of Maurice, and Earl of Kildare, died the 17th of October, and was buried in the Monastery of all Saints in the town of Ath Cliath, 1470.

Thomas, son of John, Earl of Kildare, died the day of the first festival of Mary exactly, and was buried in Monastery of All Saints in Ath-Cliath, 1513.

Garret, son of Thomas, Earl of Kildare, died the 3rd day of September, and was buried in Christ's Church in Ath Cliath, 1413.

Garret, son of Garret, son of Thomas, Earl of Kildare, died the 2nd of September, in the Tower of London, 1534.

Thomas, son of Garret, son of Garret, son of Thomas, was killed in England by the eighth king, whose name was Henry, against the will of the Great Council. And that Thomas was in rule like every Earl, until he fell in that manner, 1537.

Muirir, mac Deraile : ar lair cetur do para an
Oro bratar Predicatorum et Minorum co hErind, 7
ar lair comotact Cairlen Slige, 1257.

Deraile, mac Muirir, Tigerna Ua FFaile, do écc 1
Rat Móir an 20. Iul, et a aónacal 1 cCill Dara, 1256.

GERALTAIS LAIGHEN.

Deroio,
mac Deroic,
meic Deroic,
meic Tomair,
meic Seainn Caímm,
meic Muirir,
meic Tomair,
meic Seainn, lé r'ga-
baó an clapla
Ruad.
meic Tomair pobui 1
Sligeach.
meic Muirir, an
Oirín,
meic Deraile,
meic Muirir,
meic Deraile Móir.

meic Tomair, meic Seainn Chaímm : Oilimpeir mac
Deroic, meic Semair, meic Tomair.

Ar acc an Deroio ro, mac
Tomair, ro batar moir-seirer
mac .i. henri, Tomar bacac,
Semur, Olimpeir, Rirdero, Seainn,
Uater. Ar ag an Deroic ro,
mac Tomair, ro baol deir derb-
patar oile .i. Semur 7 Tomar
'Og. Tomar 'Og mac Tomair,
meic Seainn Caímm—triur mac
lair .i. Muirir, Seainn, Roi-
beard : et ar pliocht an Tomair
ro ara Fear Leacca .i. Muirir
mac Tómar, meic Muirir, meic
Tomair 'Og, meic Tomair, meic
Seainn Chaímm.

Clann Semair, meic Tomair,
meic Seainn Chaímm .i. Uilliam,
Deroio; Uilliam, mac Semair,

baroano.

Muirir, mac Semair .i. per baile Oirbeir, meic
Deraile, meic Seón bartaio, meic Tomair, meic Seoin
Caímm.

Remann 'Og, mac Tómar, meic Rémaiñ, meic Seoin
bartaio.

Tomar, mac Emain buide, meic Rirdero, meic Seoin
bartaio. Fear blach-colleclaonta.

Rirdero, Nioclar et Semur, clann Seon, meic Pa-
traicín, meic Muirir, meic Tómar, meic Muirir, meic
Tomair 'Og. Eudard mac Semair, meic Seoin, meic
meic Patraicín, meic Muirir.

Maurice, son of Gerald,—it is by him was first introduced to Erin the Order of Friars, Preachers, and Minors, and it is by him was built the Castle of Sligo, 1257.

Gerald, son of Maurice, Lord of Ua Failghe, died in Rath Mor, the 20th July, and was buried in Kildare, 1256.

THE GERALDICS OF
LEINSTER.

GARRET,

son of Garret,
son of Thomas,
son of John the Crooked,
son of Thomas,
son of Maurice,
son of Thomas,
son of John, by whom
was taken the Red
Earl,
son of Thomas, who
was in Sligo,
son of Maurice, the
Oisin,
son of Gerald,
son of Maurice,
son of Gerald the Great.

It is this Garret, son of Thomas, who had seven sons, namely, Henry, Thomas the lame, James, Olimper, Richard, John, Walter. It is this Garret, son of Thomas, who had two other brothers, namely, James and Thomas Og. Thomas Og, son of Thomas, son of John the Crooked—three sons had he, namely, Maurice, John, Robert: and of the race of this Thomas is Fear Leacca, that is, Maurice, son of Thomas, son of Maurice, son of Thomas Og, son of Thomas, son of John the Crooked.

The sons of James, son of Thomas son of John the Crooked, are, William, Garret: William, son of James, son of Thomas, son of John the Crooked: Olimper, son of Garret, son of James, son of Thomas.

Bastard.

Maurice, son of James, that is, the Man of Baile Oisberd, son of Gerald, son of John the Bastard, son of Thomas, son of John the Crooked.

Redmond Og, son of Thomas, son of Raymond, son of Sheon the Bastard.

Thomas, son of Edmond the yellow, son of Richard, son of Sheon the Bastard.

The Man of Blathcoll Claonta, Richard, Nicholas, and James, the son of Sheon, son of Patraiccin, son of Maurice, son of Thomas, son of Maurice, son of Thomas Og. Edward, son of James, son of Sheon, son of Patraiccin, son of Maurice.

per belain ann so.

Muirir, mac Piarair, meic Oiliber, meic Uilliam
'Oig, meic Uilliam, meic Tomair, meic Muirir, meic
Tomair, meic Seainn, meic Tomair, meic Muirir, meic
Seunilt.

Seapoiit, mac Tomair, meic Seoin Chaim—*ḡriar*
deirbriatār lair .i. Semur, Tomar 'Og, Seón, .i. mac
barbairb, ó tangatar na plechta ro .i. Fer baile Oir-
berb, mar ata Muirir, mac Semair, meic Seapoiit,
meic Tomair, meic Seoin Chaimm.

Seiralt mac Seon, meic Tomair, meic Seoin Chaimm.

Remann 'Og, mac Tomair, meic Rémuinn, meic Seon,
et Tomar mac Emainn buide, meic Rirbirb, meic
Seon.

Ar as an Tomar ro, mac Muirir, ro batar ceirir
meic .i. Seiralt, ro baor gun cloinn aet aoin-ingén, 7
ro porab í re Semur Finn .i. Iarla UirMhuman; et Seon
Cam et Muirir, ó tainicc phiocht blach-call Claonta .i.
Eduard, mac Semair; et Tomar bacac; ó tainicc
phiocht meḡ Tomair et phiocht Seainn 7 phiocht Uilliam
oicc et phiocht Semuir amlaib .i. Semur, mac Seapoiit,
meic Seainn, meic Uilliam, meic Tomair.

per uuin nábdair.

Semur
mac Seiralt,
meic Seainn,
meic Uilliam 'Oig,
meic Uilliam,
meic Tomair.

Shiocht Semair.

rim, aet nama Mori
Mag Cual, etc.

Aoir Cuir 1548, An tan
terta bain-cele Iarla DeirMhu-
man .i. Semur, mac Seainn,
meic Tomair; et ar í an ban-
ceile .i. Mori, ingen Mael-pua-
nairb, meic Seainn Uí Cephail:
7 ní deachair Mori rian d'écc
ro bað mo do rcel inar an Mori

Muman, no ingen an Deirḡ meic

THE MAN OF BELAN HERE.

Maurice, son of Pierce, son of Oliver, son of William, Og, son William, son of Thomas, son of Maurice, son of Thomas, son of John, son of Thomas, son of Maurice, son of Gerald.

Garret, son of Thomas, son of Seon the Crooked—three brothers he had, namely, James, Thomas Og, Seon, that is, a bastard son, from whom came these races, namely, the Man of Baile Oisberd, as is Maurice, son of James, son of Garret, son of Thomas, son of Seon the Crooked.

Gerald, son of Seon, son of Thomas, son of Seon the Crooked.

Raymond Og, son of Thomas, son of Raymond, son of Seon, and Thomas, son of Edmund the Yellow, son of Richard, son of Seon.

It is this Thomas, son of Maurice, who had four sons, namely, Gerald, who was without children, save one daughter, and she was married to James the Fair, that is, Earl of Ormond; and Seon the Crooked; and Maurice, from whom came the race of Blathcoll Claonta, that is, Edward, son of James; and Thomas the Lane, from whom came the race of Mac Thomas, and the race of John, and the race of William Og, and the race of James thus, that is, James, son of Garret, son of John, son of William, son of Thomas.

THE MAN OF DUN
NABHAIR.

JAMES,
son of Gerald,
son of John,
son of William Og,
son of William,
son of Thomas,
The race of James.

save only Mor Mhuman, or the daughter of the Derg, son of Mag Duail, and so forth.

The age of Christ when died the wife of the Earl of Desmond, that is, James, son of John, son of Thomas: and the wife is Mor, daughter of Maol Ruanaidh, son of John Ua Cerbhaill: and a Mor never went to death that was a greater of story¹ than that Mor,

¹ This is the literal translation, an idiom: but the meaning, "that no lady of the name of *Mor* ever died of whose death

there was more talk," that is, who was more regretted, save *Mor Mhuman*, &c.

Doba dephbriur do Sam Sioban a buirc .i. ingen an Iapla Rúaid, ben Roibeirí Aibhriur, et ar ag Tomar, mac Seacain an dapa hIapla Cille Dapa, 7 Iurcín na hÉirend, 7 Tígerna O pFáilge, no baol Sioban A buirc, ingen an Iapla Rúaid, di a p'bo hainm Rirdeirí : et ar é Deroitt mac Deroirí meic Deroirí an naomái glún ó Rirdeirí a buirc .i. Iapla Ulaí, di a ngairtí an Tíapla Rúaid.

Órian mac Rirdeirí,

meic Émann,
meic Semair,
meic Uilliam,
meic Tomair.

Deirbhairtíre do'n Órian rín Émann mac Rirdeirí, et Nioclair mac Rirdeirí, et Deroitt mac Rirdeirí.

An dapa Ríng henrí, rí Saxan, an .17. do December do gab níge, Anno. Dom. 1154. Robaoi Rirdeirí Uaral hí peimíur an níg rín, di a p'uo coinannm Deralc, mac Roibeirí : ar é ionad i rugad an Deralc rín i Uindrión, conad de rín do goinead Deralbour de Uindrión de. Et dobaol Drionnra dñeatan neamuníal do ríogair Saxan an tan rín, 7 go ríonnad do'n dapa Ríng henrí. Do chuip

re Deralc de Uindrión (Uindrión .i. arth-chatair ríog-acta Ríng Saxan an tan rín) in a Denerail rluarí co rluarí lanmíon imaille pír co dñetnaib, di a ttabairt fo umla 7 fo aittícin dó. 'O do cuaid, immíon Deralc ip in cupur rín tñia forconñra an nígh fair, no buabairí gach cat et gac congail for dñeatanib, con dñenna tñi caorac do dñetain uile pír ríó 7 pír ráime : gu p'toibgeirtair cíor 7 dlígeó níg Saxan oppa di a naimeoin. Et tug mnaol etoppa iap ríen .i. ingen Rirdeirí rouarail .i. Nerda a hainm : et ar í ríopa maíair do Roibeirí mac Sciamna 7 do eppcob S. Dauid, et ruc rí clann do'n Deralc rín .i. Muirí et Uilliam.

Ruccad clann do'n Uilliam rín .i. Remann da la Dñor, et Dñirín, ó'n abar Carrac Mez Dñirín .i. Carrac na Siupe. Iap bñorbad et iap cñiochnugad an gabaltair rín ip in mñeattain, amail adubñamur, no fair

A sister to Dame Siobhan a Burc, that is, daughter of the Red Earl, was the wife of Robert Aibrius: and it is Thomas, son of John, the second Earl of Kildare, who had Siobhan a Burc, daughter of the Red Earl, whose name was Richard: and it is Garret, son of Garret, son of Garret, who was the ninth generation from Richard a Burc, that is, Earl of the Ulaid, who used to be called the Red Earl.

BRIAN, SON OF RICHARD,
son of Edmund,
son of James,
son of William,
son of Thomas.

Brothers to that Brian were Edmund, son of Richard, and Nicholas, son of Richard, and Garret, son of Richard.

The second King Henry, King of the Saxons—the 17th of December he assumed sovereignty, anno Domini, 1154. There was a noble knight, during the course of that king, whose name was Gerald, son of Robert: it is the place in which that Gerald was born—Windsor, so that is from it Geraldus de Wuinsior used to be called

to him. And the Prince of the Britons was disobedient to the King of the Saxons that time, and especially to the second King Henry. He sent Gerald of Wuindsior (Wuindsior .i. chief city of the kingdom of the Saxons that time) as a general of host with a numerous host together with him to the Britons, to bring them under obedience and under fealty to him. After Gerald had gone on that tour through the command of the king on him, he won every battle and every contest over the Britons, until he made a land of sheep of all Britain with peace and quietness: so that he exacted from them the rent and law of the King of the Saxons in spite of them. And he gave a wife between them after that, namely, the daughter of a very noble knight .i. Nesda her name: and it is she who was mother to Robert, son of Stephen, and to the Bishop of St. David's, and she brought forth children to that Gerald, namely, Maurice and William.

Children were born to that William, namely, Raymond de la Gros, and Grifin, from whom is called Carrac Meg Grifin, that is, Carrac na Siure. After the ending and after the finishing of that conquest in Britain, as we

iaiam deabaio 7 impepaim eitip Ependchaib faðeipin .i. eitip Mac Murchada, rið Laigen, di a p'bo comamm Diarmait nan Gall, mac Donnchada, meic Murchada, meic Diarmata, meic Donnchada .i. Maol na mbo, mac Diarmata, meic Donnchada, meic Ceallaið, meic Cionaetha, et O'Ruaric .i. Tigernan, im cenn ingne Murchada, meic Aeda, meic Donnchada, meic Domnaill, meic Ualgaircc. Co etaimcc do'n impepaim pin Mac Murchada do ðul co Saxaib do cuingid rochraide pluaið forpa, 7 no geall airgeða aiðble do maiuib Gall Saxan et do'n pi faðeipin. Oo euatar, immopo, maiðe Saxan in aon comaple dup cið do gentair im on caingen pin Meic Murchada: 7 ar ed adubriactop d'aitepe aoin-pir gu p'bo coip Mac Murchada do cobair, 7 congnam ploig, et rochraide do cor lair do paigib Epenn. Ro hiompraideð að maithib Saxan cia bað coip do cor la mac Murchada, conað fair depið leo podeoið, mac 7 oiðne ðepailt Moir, meic Roibepð .i. Muirir mac ðepailt: oip ni p'bo eualaið ðepailt feipin imlaað apm an tan pin ap a apriðeaçt. Tanic, immopo, Muirir, mac ðepailt, et Roibepð, mac Sciamna, meic a matar, et Remann de la ðnop, mac a deipriatar, et moran oile naç airimter ann po, do denam gabaltair in Epinn ap porailen Rið Saxan. Aæt cæna roba turga Roibepð mac Sciamna 7 Ripdepið lapla Sciangboo co hEpinn, et Diarmait nan Gall, di a p'bo haimm mac Murchada, oldar Muirir mac ðepailt. Ar íac clann an Muirir pin .i. ðepailt, Alurcpian Uilliam: et ní paibè clann að Alurcpian, ina að Uilliam aæt dá mac, ina að ðepailt aæt aen-mac .i. Muirir mac ðepailt. Et ap a phioçt riðe atac ðepaltaig na hEpend coip 7 tiar: et ar é ðepailt mac Muirir, meic ðepailt, puair Mað Nuabad, et an Rat Mor, et Teach Spappain, et Tegh Tuat, et Uib mac Caille, 7 Innpí Uí Cuinn, et Uí ðlairin, 7 Cairppe Connact. Et ar é Seon, mac Ring henpi, tug na fearpoinn pin do ðepailt mac Muirir, meic ðepuilte, amail po batap að a bpatair poime .i. að Alurcpian mac Muirir, meic ðepuilte Moir (o'n abaptar ðepaltaig), meic Roibepð, meic Uilliam, meic Muirir, meic Seon, meic Roibepð Moir ó Uaoindrip. Air an Tigerna an tan tug Seon

have said, there grew up then contention and dispute between Irishmen themselves, that is, between Mac Murchadh, King of the Laigne, whose cognomen was Diarmat nan Gall, son of Donnchadh, son of Murchadh, son of Diarmait, son of Donnchadh, that is, Maol nam Bo, son of Diarmait, son of Donnchadh, son of Ceallach, son of Cinaeth, and O'Ruairc, that is, Tighernan, about the love of the daughter of Munchadh, son of Aedh, son of Donchadh, son of Domhnall, son of Ualgairce. So that it came from that dispute that Mac Murchadh went to the Saxons to ask a force of host from them, and he promised vast gifts to the chiefs of the Gall-Saxons and to the king himself. Now the chiefs of the Saxons went into one Council to ascertain what they should do about that question of Mac Murchadh: and it is what they said as one man's announcement, that it was right to help Mac Murchadh, and to send an assistance of host and of force with him to go to Erin. It was deliberated with the chiefs of the Saxons, whom it was right to send with Mac Murchadh, so that it is on him it rests by them at last—on the son and heir of Gerald the Great, son of Robert, that is, Maurice, son of Gerald: for Gerald himself was not capable of wielding arms that time on account of his ancientness (old age). Accordingly Maurice, son of Gerald, and Robert, son of Stephen, son of his mother, and Raymond de la Gros, son of his brother, and many others who are not enumerated here, came for the making of conquest in Erin at the command of the King of the Saxons. But, however, Robert, son of Stephen, and Richard Earl Strongbow were sooner to Erin, and Diarmait nan Gall, whose name was Mac Murchadh, than Maurice son of Gerald. They are the children of that Maurice, namely, Gerald, Alexander, William: and Alexander had no children, nor William but two sons, nor Gerald but one son, namely, Maurice son of Gerald. And it is of his race are the Geraldics of Erin, east and west: and it is Gerald, son of Maurice son of Gerald, who got Magh Nuadat, and the Rath Mor, and Tech Sraffain, and Tech Tuath, and Ui Mac Caille, and Innis Ui Cuinn, and Ui Glaisin, and Cairpre Chonnacht. And it is John, son of King Henry, who gave

mac Ríng Henrí na peirínn ro do Deralc mac Muirí,
meic Deralc—m.c.xc.ix. et an x. ix. do October, et
Dia Dardaoim do ronnad arioi laite peictíame ĵc.

alaóul for ĵeimealaig ĵarla cille dára.

Deroib an taonmad ĵarla déc: Elizabeth Draor,
ingen do Marcur Dorricur, a machair.

Mac Deroib an deicmad ĵarla, ĵ lurtir na hEíenn:
Allrun, ingen meic Sír Ebuaird lurbair, a machair.

Mac Deroib an naomad ĵarla, ĵ lurbair na hEíenn:
ingen ĵarla Dér-Mhumán a machair .i. Siobán Cam, ingen
Semair.

Mac Tomair an toictmad ĵarla.

Mac Seoin Chaim an peictmad ĵarla: ingen Lorb
durbaoir a machair.

Mac Muirí an peiríed ĵarla, d'a r'bo mac Deroib
ĵarla: .i. an cuicced ĵarla.

Mac Tomair an cetnamad ĵarla.

Mac Muirí an tpeir ĵarla.

Mac Tomair an dapa ĵarla ĵ lurtir na hEíenn: et
Tigerna ó p'ailge; et Dám blonrí Roirde a machair,
et Dám Siobán a dunc a ben, ingen an ĵarla Ruad .i.
Ríoberd.

Mac Seain ced ĵarla Cille Dapa, mac Tomair,
meic Muirí, meic Deralc Tigerna Oppailge, meic
Muirí .i. lurtir na hEíenn p'ri pe da bliadain coecat,
meic Deralc moir, o'n abairthar Deralcaig, meic
Muirí, meic Seon, meic Roibeir, meic Uilliam, meic
Roibeir Moir ó Uoinoirí.

these territories to Gerald son of Maurice, son of Gerald, as they were with his brother before him, that is, with Alexander son of Maurice, son of Gerald the Great (from whom are named the Geraldics), son of Robert, son of William, son of Maurice, son of John, son of Robert the Great from Windsor. The age of the Lord, the time John, son of King Henry, gave these territories to Gerald son of Maurice, son of Gerald — 1199: and the 19th of October, and Thursday exactly in respect of the day of the week, and so forth.

ANOTHER ROUND ON THE GENEALOGY OF THE EARL OF KILDARE.

Garret was the eleventh Earl: Elizabeth Grace, daughter of the Marquis of Dorsetshire (or Dorchester) was his mother.

The son of Garret was the tenth Earl, and Justice of Erin: the daughter of the son of Sir Edward Eustace? was his mother.

The son of Garret was the ninth Earl, and Justice of Erin: the daughter of the Earl of Desmond was his mother, namely, Siobhan the Crooked, daughter of James.

The son of Thomas was the eighth Earl.

The son of John the Crooked was the seventh Earl the daughter of Lord Burbaes was his mother.

The son of Maurice was the sixth Earl, whose son was Garret the Earl, that is, the fifth Earl.

The son of Thomas was the fourth Earl.

The son of Maurice was the third Earl.

The son of Thomas was the second Earl, and Justice of Erin, and Lord of O'Failghe: and Dame Siobhan a Burc was his wife, daughter of the Red Earl, that is, Richard.

The son of John was the first Earl of Kildare, son of Thomas, son of Maurice, son of Gerald, Lord of O'Failghe, son of Maurice—that is, Justice of Erin for the space of fifty-two years, son of Gerald the Great, from whom the Geraldics are named, son of Maurice, son of John, son of Robert, son of William, son of Robert the Great, from Windsor.

Acc po clann machaí Muirí meic Deraile .i. Roibeí mac Sciamna et Muirí mac Deraile fein, et Uilliam mac Deraile, et henricur mac henri, et Milir .i. Eppcop S. Dauit im breacnaib. Nerda ingen Reipier Moirí Pnionnra breacan, machaí an coigirín. Clann Muirí, meic Deraile .i. Uilliam, Deraile, Alaxandraí. Clann Roibeí meic Sciamna—Ruf ocu Meneduc. Clann henricur maic henricí .i. Mailir 7 Roibeí. Clann Uilliam meic Deraile .i. Reman de la Dhor (.i. reman) et Drippín: clann deirb-reacáir meic Deraile .i. Roibeí do banna 7 Uictor, 7 Maigirí Deraile.

Muirí mac Deraile Móir—ar eppide cettina piact Eirinn do Deraileachaib ar tur. It iad anman na ndaí-daoinne tanic co hEirinn imaoen re Diarmaid na nGall .i. Seon mac rií Saxan, et Roibeí mac Sciamna, deirb-reacáir rií Saxan, et mac maíar do Muirí, amail adubhammar, 7 Muirí mac Deraile, et Remann de la Dhor, et Iarla Scrang-boo, et Uilliam de la Mui, et Gillebeí Caoil Urqui, et Riocarb, mac Sí Ríbeí acháir Siuptain Moirí na Gaillme, a quo Clann tSiuptain. Mac Oiribeí 7 Mupchaí ar plioct Uilliam de la Mui. bairun Nogla 7 Oiolmainech Macáire Cuipene, et mac Dairbelbaí ar plioct Gillebeí Caoil Urqui. An Driarach 7 mac Muirí Ciannairge ar plioct Remann de la Dhor. Roibeí mac Sciamna, ar uada acat Clann tSleimne in gac ionad attact.

Reman de la Dhor et Drippín da mac Uilliam.	Uilliam mac Deraile.	Deraile Moirí.
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Triar mac la Muirí mac Deraile Moirí .i. Uilliam, Deraile, Alaxan- duir.	Muirí ¹ mac Deraile.
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¹ Da bliadaín coecat in a turas uar Eirinn do'n Muirí ro, mac Deraile.

These are the children of the mother of Maurice son of Gerald, namely, Robert son of Stephen, and Maurice son of Gerald himself, and William son of Gerald, and Henricus son of Henry, and Myles, that is, Bishop of St. David's in Britain. Nesda, daughter of Resires the Great, Prince of the Britons, was the mother of these five. The children of Maurice son of Gerald are—William, Gerald, Alexander. The children of Robert, son of Stephen—Ruf and Mereduc. The children of Henry, are—Mailir and Robert. The children of William, son of Gerald, are—Raymond de la Gros (that is, Fat) and Griffin: the children of the sister of the son of Gerald, are—Robert do Barra, and Victor, and Master Garret.

Maurice, son of Gerald the Great—it is he who first reached Erin of the Geraldics at the beginning. They are the names of the good persons who came to Erin together with Diarmait nan Gall, that is, John son of the King of the Saxons, and Robert son of Stephen, brother of the King of the Saxons, and a mother's son to Maurice, as we have said, and Maurice, son of Gerald, and Raymond de la Gros, and Earl Strongbow, and William de la Mur, and Gilbert of Caol Uisci, and Rickard, son of Sir Richard, father of Siurtan the Great, of Galway, *a quo* Clann Siurtain. Mac Oiribert and Murchadh are of the race of William de la Mur. Baron Nogla and Diolmainech of Machaire Cuirene, and Mac Goisdelbaigh are of the race of Gillebert of Caol Uisci. The Gracie and Mac Maurice of Kerry are of the race of Raymond de la Gros. Robert, son of Stephen—it is from him are Clann tSeimne in every place they are.

Raymond de la Gros
and Grifnid, the two
sons of William.

William
son of Gerald.

Gerald
the Great.

Maurice, son of Gerald the Great,
had three sons, namely, William,
Gerald, Alexander.

Maurice¹
son of Gerald.

¹ Fifty-two years as Justice over Erin for this Maurice, son of Gerald.

Do bí an Muirir ro in a lurtir in
Eirinn, et an tan fa haormar, do
chuaid ip na bhratirib, 7 adepar gur
naomað e fa deoid.

Robaol an Seann ro in a lurtir uar
Eirinn, 7 ar í noba ben do .i. Gamb
Lonir de Roirde, et rug mac dó .i.
Tomar mac Seain.

Tomar mac Seain an dapa hlapla
Siuban a bunc a ben .i. ingen lapla
Ulad. Rug ri diar mac do, Rirder-
det Muirir, et iar nécc Tomair 7 a
mná ro hadnaicir ied i Mainirir
Cille Dapo, anno, 1328.

Tomar mac Muirir.

Uilliam mac Tomair, meic Mui-
rir—ip ar a rliocht atat Mez Tomair
uile.

mac Muirir.
Gerald¹
Muirir
mac Gerald.

Tomar²
mac Muirir.

Seann
mac Tomair ced
lapla Cille Da-
pa.

Tomar³
mac Seann.

Muirir⁴
mac Tomair.
Gerald
mac Muirir.

Tomar
mac Muirir.

¹ Don mac La Gerald, mac Muirir .i. Muirir, et do di an
Gerald ro in a lurtir ór Eirinn, 7 do hanaiceð iar na écc i
Mainirir Sligü hé.

² Tomar mac Muirir, bairín Gáille. Robui an Tomar ro
ocht mbliadna in a lurtir in Eirinn.

³ Rirderro mac Tomair.

⁴ As an Muirir ro mac Tomair connecaic rliocht na
hiarladta, et rliocht Mez Tomair rri aroile. Triar mac as
Muirir .i. Tomar, Gerald, Seon Cam. Ní baol do clann as
Tomar déc den-mac bairdarro .i. Uilliam, et ar ó'n Uilliam
rin ro rliat rliocht Mez Tomair, den ingen lar ann Gerald
ro .i. Eribeil, et ar í ba ben do'n lononar cetur, 7 baol in a
oiaid as Semur finn buiclep, 7 ni rug clann o'don oioð.

This Maurice was a Justice in Erin, and when he was aged he went with the Friars, and it is said that he was sanctified at last.

This John was Justice over Erin, and it is she who was wife to him—Dame Lousi de Roisde, and she brought forth a son to him, namely, Thomas son of John.

Thomas, son of John, the second Earl: Siobhan a Burc was his wife, that is, the daughter of the Earl of the Ulaid. She brought forth two sons to him, Richard and Maurice, and after the death of Thomas and of his wife they were buried in the Monastery of Kildare, anno 1328.

William son of Thomas, son of Maurice—it is of his race are all the Meg Thomases.

Gerald²
son of Maurice.

Maurice
son of Gerald.

Thomas³
son of Maurice.

John
son of Thomas
first Earl of Kildare.

Thomas,⁴
son of John.

Maurice⁵
son of Thomas.
Gerald
son of Maurice.

Thomas
son of Maurice,

² Gerald, son of Maurice, had one son, namely, Maurice, and this Gerald was as Justice over Erin, and he was buried after his death in the Monastery of Sligo.

³ Thomas, son of Maurice, Baron of Geasehill. This Thomas was eight years as a Justice in Erin.

⁴ Richard, son of Thomas.

⁵ At this Maurice, son of Thomas, the race of the Earlship and the race of Meg Thomas meet with each. Maurice had three sons, namely, Thomas, Gerald, John the Crooked. Thomas had not of children but one bastard son, namely, William, and it is from this William has descended the race of Meg Thomas. This Gerald had one daughter, namely, Isabella, and it is she who was wife to Londres first, and James the Fair Butler had her after him, and she brought not forth children to one of them.

Ƨepoit mac Tomair—baoi ríde tpiocha bliadna in a lurtir in Eriind, et ar lair tuccad Cat Cnuic Tuag. Mac Tomair .i. mac ingine an buirdeparig do dibread in a noidin le Semur Fínd, Iapla Ur-Mhuman, 7 do pór re Sioban Camm le Ippit Coirmaighe, mac Seoin Chamm, do bí neoid meic Tomair. Ar aige do bí an cetrar mac .i. Ƨepoid do bí in a Iapla, 7 fúair bár gan oídre, aet aoin ingen nama. Do porad le Semur Fínd, Iapla Ur-Muman í, 7 ar tpid rin do fuib re i Muig Nuadat, et in Iaplaet Cille Dapa uile; et Seon Camm an Dapa mac; et Muirir an tper mac, ar a bfuile pliocht blaetcoll cClaonta; et Tomar 'Og, mac baroaird, ar plioet a bfuilid Meig Tomair .i. Seaan, Semur, Uilliam.

Seaan, mac Tomair, cet Iapla Cille Dapa, ar é do marb Catuinnide an lurtir in Ƨrainrig Fuinnrepd .i. xii. et do chuip a ccinn do cum an lurtir co Cill Dapa .i. Lord Ruipel; et Tomar, athair Seaan, ar é ba dapiun 'O ffaile, et ar lair do ponad Cairlen Ƨeipille, et do fagaib Iaplaet Cille Dapa ag a bprathair buid ro anar .i. Muirir, mac Tomair, 7c.

Ar é an Seaan ro, mac Tomair .i. ceid Iapla Cille Dapo, et Ƨigerna na 'O ffaile, 7 a bean porua Ƨam bloinri Roirde tug Mainirir .S. Augurcin amac in Aet Dapa ar tur do Dia 7 d' Oid .S. Augurcin ar an anamm fein, ir in nomad bliadain do righe Eouaird, meic Eouaird, ar Saxaib. Anno, 1316. Ir in dapa bliadain iar neobairt na mainirirrech rin terta Seaan 7 a mac .i. Tomar mac Seaan, et a verbrathair .i. Rirderd, mac Tomair, et Muirir Rirderd, meic Tomair, et Ƨepoid, mac Muirir, meic Rirderd, meic Tomair.

Cior Iapla Cille Dapa hi Contae Luimnig let amuig darranet ar a chuid fein .i. x. marc fichet 7 oet rgillinge. U. acra .x. ir tpi .xx. 7 tpi ced, cuib Iapla Cille Dapa i Contae Luimnig; et da rgilling dorranet ar gac accra dib rin: et a oipet rin oile ag Iapla Der-Muman. Re linn an dapa hEouaird do beir i rioget Saxan pocompoblad an cior ro eitir Iapla Cille Dapa 7 Iapla Der-Muman, Anno, 1327.

Garret, son of Thomas—he was thirty years as Justice in Erin, and it is by him was fought the battle of Cnoc Tuagh. The son of Thomas, that is, the son of the daughter of the Butcher, was expelled when an infant by James the Fair, Earl of Ormond, and he married Siobhan the Crooked with Geoffrey of Cosmaigh, son of John the Crooked, who was . . . of the son of Thomas. It is he who had the four sons, namely, Garret, who was an Earl, and he died without an heir, save one daughter only. She was married with James the Fair, Earl of Ormond, and it is through that he sat in Mag Nuadat, and in the whole Earldom of Kildare: and John the Crooked the second son: and Maurice the third son, from whom are the race of Blathcoll Claonta, and Thomas Og, a bastard son, of whose race is the Meg Thomas, that is, Seaan, James, William.

John, son of Thomas, first Earl of Kildare—it is he who killed the soldiers of the Justice in Grainseeh Fuinnserd, that is, twelve, and he sent their heads to the Justice in Kildare, that is, Lord Russel: and Thomas, the father of John—it is he who was Baron of O'Failghe, and it is by him was made the Castle of Geasehill, and he left the Earldom of Cell Dara with his brother, who was younger than he was, that is, Maurice, son of Thomas, and so forth.

It is this John, son of Thomas, that is, first Earl of Kildare, and Lord of the O'Failghe, and his married wife, Dame Bloinsi Roisde, who promulgated at first the Monastery of St. Augustin in Ath Dara (Adare) for their own soul, in the ninth year of the reign of Edward, son of Edward, over the Saxons: anno, 1316. In the second year after the presenting of that Monastery, died John and his son, that is, Thomas son of John, and his brother, that is, Richard son of Thomas, and Maurice son of Richard son of Thomas.

The rent of the Earl of Kildare in the County of Limerick, exclusive of what he paid for his own portion, was—thirty marks and eight shillings. Five acres, ten and sixty, and three hundred was the portion of the Earl of Kildare in the County Limerick; and two shillings he gave out of every acre of these: and the Earl of Des-

mond had the amount of that all. At the time that the second Edward was in the sovereignty of the Saxon this rent was co-divided between the Earl of Kildare and the Earl of Desmond, anno 1327.

GENELAC IARLA DES-
MUMAN.

Ƨepoit :

Mop, ingen Maol-nuanaig,
meic Seacain Uí Cebhaill, a
Machaip.

Mac Semaip :

Mop, ingen Donchada, meic
Branduib Uí Briain, a ma-
chaip.

Mac Seacain :

Elip, ingen an bhappaig
Moip, a maçaip ;
meic Tomaip,
meic Semaip.

Meic Ƨepoit :

Máire burc, ingen meic
Uilliam, a maçaip.

Meic Muipip,

.i. an cet iarla : ingen
bhappaig Moip a maçaip.

meic Tomaip,

meic Muipip,

meic Seacain,

meic Tomaip,

meic Muipip,

meic Ƨepaitc,

meic Muipip,

meic Ƨepaitc Mhóip,

ó'n' gmetop Ƨepaitc.

meic Roibept,

meic Uilliam,

meic Muipip,

meic Seoin,

GENEALOGY OF THE EARL
OF DESMOND.

Garret :

son of Mor, daughter of Maol
Ruanaigh, son of John Ua
Cerbhaill, his mother.

Son of James :

Mor, daughter of Donchadh,
son of Brandubh, Ua Briain,
his mother.

Son of John :

Elis, daughter of the Bar-
rach Mor, his mother ;

Son of Thomas,
son of James.

Son of Garret :

Mary Burc, daughter of
Mac William, his mother.

Son of Maurice,
that is, the first Earl ; the
daughter of Barrach Mor,
his mother :

son of Thomas,

son of Maurice,

son of John,

son of Thomas,

son of Maurice,

son of Gerald,

son of Maurice,

son of Gerald the Great,

from whom the Geraldines
are descended.

son of Robert,

son of William,

son of Maurice,

son of John,

meic Roibeirt,
meic Uilliam,
meic Roibeirt Moir o
Uomriop.

Semur,
mac Muirir,
meic Tomair,
meic Semair,
meic Seoir,
meic Muirir .i. an ced
Iapla.

Remann,
mac Seairt,
meic Remann oicc,

meic Remann,
meic Muirir,
meic Tomair Iapla.

Seairt,
mac Seoir,
meic Semair,
meic Seairt,
meic Seoir,
meic Semair Iapla.

meic Seoir,
meic Muirir Mhóir .i.
an ced Iapla,
meic Tomair,
meic Muirir,
meic Seann.

Slíocht Seann Moir na
Suppaine.

Clon mac la Seann Moir
na Suppaine,

.i. Seairt.

Curgen mac la Seairt,
.i. Teoir, henri, Seann,
David, Muirir.

Clann Teoir, meic Se-

son of Robert,
son of William,
son of Robert the Great
from Windsor.

James,
son of Maurice,
son of Thomas,
son of James,
son of Garret,
son of Morris, the first
Earl.

Raymond,
son of Gerald,
son of Raymond, the
younger,

son of Raymond,
son of Maurice,
son of Earl Thomas.

Gerald,
son of Garret,
son of James,
son of Gerald,
son of Garret,
son of James the Earl,
son of Garret,
son of Maurice the
Great, that is, the first Earl,
son of Thomas,
son of Maurice,
son of John.

The race of Great John of
the Girdle.

Great John of the Girdle
had one son,

.i. Gerald.

Gerald had five sons, .i.
Teaboit, Henry, John, Da-
vid, Maurice.

The sons of Teaboit, son

naile .i. Seaan, Tomar,
Uilliam, Teboite 'Occ.

Clann henri, meic Ġe-
naile .i. Uilliam, Philip,
Ġepaile an Clampair, Se-
mur 7 Edmunn.

Clann Muirir, meic Ġe-
naile .i. Tomar, Seaan,
Oauit.

Tigerna na Claon-Ġlaip.

Tomar Cam,
mac Seaan,
meic Emainb,
meic Tomar,
meic Muirir,
meic Tomar,
meic Muirir,
meic Ġepaile,
meic Seaan Mhóp na
Supramne.

Clann Emainb, meic To-
mar, meic Muirir, meic
Tomar—Seaan, Semur,
Ġepaile.

Seaan na Claon-Ġlaire,
Semur, Tomar, Daoile,
Ġepaile.

Slíocht Racha na Saor
indro:

Philip, mac Enri an Poppo,
meic Semar, meic Enri,
meic Ġepaile, meic Seaan
Mhóp.

An Ridipe Fínb,
mac Emainn,

of Gerald—John, Thomas
Oge, William, Teaboit Og.

The sons of Henry son of
Gerald—William, Philip,
Gerald of the Contention,
James, and Edmund.

The sons of Maurice, son
of Gerald—Thomas, John,
David.

The Lord of Clann Glaisi.

Thomas the Crooked,
son of John,
son of Edmund,
son of Thomas,
son of Maurice,
son of Thomas,
son of Maurice,
son of Gerald.
son of Great John of
the Girdle.

The sons of Edmund, son
of Thomas, son of Mau-
rice, son of Thomas—John,
James, Gerald.

John of Claon Glais,
James, Thomas, Daoile,
Gerald.

The race of Rath na Saor
here.

Philip, son of Henry of
the Purse, son of James, son
of Henry, son of Gerald,
son of John the Great.

The White Knight,
son of Edmund,

meic Seaain,
 meic Seaain,
 meic Muirir,
 meic Dauid,
 meic Sir Muirir,
 meic Giobun,
 meic Muirir,
 meic Giobun, ó atar
 Clann Giobun.

son of John,
 son of John,
 son of Maurice,
 son of David,
 son of Sir Maurice,
 son of Giobun,
 son of Maurice,
 son of Giobun, from
 whom are the Clann Gio-
 buin,

meic Seaain,
 meic Tomair,
 meic Muirir,
 meic Geraile,
 meic Muirir,
 meic Geraile Mhoir,
 meic Roibeir,
 meic Uilliam,
 meic Muirir,
 meic Seon,
 meic Roibeir,
 meic Uilliam,
 meic Roibeir Mór ó
 Uimceirap.

son of John,
 son of Thomas,
 son of Maurice,
 son of Gerald,
 son of Maurice,
 son of Gerald the Great,
 son of Robert,
 son of William,
 son of Maurice,
 son of John,
 son of Robert,
 son of William,
 son of Robert the Great
 from Winchester.

Sciouapó Tapla Dap-Mhu-
 man.

The Steward of the Earl of
 Desmond.

Seaain 7 Sémur clann
 Geraid, meic Seaain, meic
 Philip, meic Seaain, meic
 hEnri, ó'n abairtar clann
 Meg henri, meic Dauid
 an compair, do phict an
 Róipe Fínd.

John and James, the sons
 of Garret, son of John, son
 of Philip, son of John, son
 of Henry, from whom is
 named Clann Meg Henry,
 son of David of the Con-
 test, of the race of the White
 Knight.

Giobún Ruad, mac Rir-
 dind, meic Geraile, meic
 Tomair, meic Emainn, meic
 Seaain, meic Dauid, meic
 Muirir.

Giobun the Red, son of
 Richard, son of Gerald, son
 of Thomas, son of Edmund,
 son of John, son of David,
 son of Maurice.

Leict an bpoğa.

Piappur 'Og, mac Piappur, meic Uilliam, meic Seain, meic Piappur, meic Seain, meic Muir, meic Oileuer, meic Nioclair, meic Muir, meic Seain, meic Muir, meic Eba, meic Seain, meic Semar.

Lecht an Brogha.

Pierce the Young, son of Pierce, son of William, son of John, son of Pierce, son of John, son of Maurice, son of Oliver, son of Nicholas, son of Maurice, son of John, son of Maurice, son of Hugo? son of John, son of James.

Muinten an Acha Lecarğ.

Seain, mac Dauid, meic Seain, meic Dauid, meic Seain, meic Rirdeir, meic Oileuer, meic Piappur.

The People of Stoneyford.

John, son of David, son of John, son of David, son of John, son of Richard, son of Oliver, son of Pierce.

Leict bhaile an Ghapda.

Seain, mac Seain, meic Roibeir, meic Seain, meic Semar, meic Roibeir, meic Muir, meic Tomar.

Lecht Baile an Ghardha.

John, son of John, son of Robert, son of John, son of James, son of Robert, son of Maurice, son of Thomas.

Do na Nuinnennacairb
ann so.

Of the Nuinnsenachs
here.

Criortoir: ingen Iarla
Chille Dara a ben.

Christopher: the daughter of the Earl of Kildare, his wife.

Mac Rirdeir: Irbel
Pirritun a ben.

The son of Richard: Isabella Preston, his wife.

Meic Criortora: Marion,
ingen Nioclair, a ben.

The son of Christopher: Marion, daughter of Nicholas, his wife.

Meic Rirdeir: Irbel,
ingen Gerret, meic Tomar
Iarla, a ben.

The son of Richard: Isabella, daughter of Garret, son of Thomas the Earl, his wife.

Meic Criortora: Anna
Pirritun, ingen Roibeir,
a ben.

The son of Christopher: Anna Preston, daughter of Robert, his wife.

Meic Semaip: ingen Antala bapdaig, a ben. Et ar í tucc le Cairlenn na Cuncha in Ath Cliath, 7 Cill Mugor, et Scillin Glas, 7 an baile Nua, 7 Stacahall Clochran Ruapdaip, et Copp-baile Dum Dabad et Samun et Rata Muirir Cellaig, et an Cuirpeic, et Rath Ele, et Olabard, 7 baile hAgard, 7 baile ballroic, et na Cerna 7 na buailte, 7 Olabard Ratha, et bothar Cualann, et Gniomat Tamlachta, et cuid do Copp-baile bheimne hEttair, et Meidairde a lip bicc.

Meic Rirdeip: ingen Andregach Moir a ben, 7 ar í tucc le baile Andregach, 7 ar í rug Edward 7 Seon 7 Emann.

Meic Uilliam: Cathleen Fitz-Seon a ben.

Meic Nioclair: Siobhan in Chuirin a ben.

Meic Tomair: meic Gillibert, .i. bapard.

Meic Sir Gillibert Nuinnrentt. Do ben an dachard do'n bapun Uaine canic le Sir hugo de Lacy in Eirinn, et mac Deirprea do é; 7 ar e an Sir

The son of James: the daughter of Antala Bardagh, his wife. And it is she who brought with her the Castle of the Cuncha in Ath Cliath, and Cell Mugor, and Scillin Glas, and the New Town, and Stacahall Clochran Ruardais, and the Carr-Bhaile of Dun Dabad, and Samun, and Ratha Muiris Cellaigh, and the Currech, and Rath Ele, and Olabhard, and Baile hAgaird, and Baile Ballroic, and the Cerna, and the Buailte, and Olabhard Ratha, and Bothar Cualann, and Gniomat Tamlachta, and a portion of the Carr-bhaile of Beind Ettair, and Meidairdhe from Les Becc.

Son of Richard: the daughter of Andreguch the Great his wife, and it is she who brought with her Baile Andregaigh, and it is she who brought forth Edward and John and Edmund.

Son of William: Cathleen Fitz-John, his wife.

Son of Nicholas: Siobhan Ui Chuirin, his wife.

Son of Thomas, son of Gillibert, that is, a Bastard.

Son of Sir Gillibert Nuinsentt. He took his inheritance from the green baron who came with Sir Hugh de Lacy to Erin, and a sister's son to him was he:

hugo rin do bi ré mðliabna
do deoin an riu in Erin, 7
a pecc oile d'a amdeoin.

and it is that Sir Hugo who
was six years in Erin of
the king's will, and seven
others against his will.

Τιγερνα baile Uí Cephallain.

The Lord of Baile Uí Cherbhallain.

Tomar mac Rirdeph,
meic Cphioctopa, meic Se-
mar, meic Rirdeph, meic
Uilliam Nuinnseinn.

Thomas, son of Richard,
son of Christopher, son of
James, son of Richard, son
of William Nuinnseinn.

Eduard,
mac Rirdeph, .i. an barun,
meic Uilliam,
meic Nioclair.

Edward,
son of Richard the Baron,
son of William,
son of Nicholas.

Τιγερνα Maighe an
Ratha.

The Lord of Magh an
Ratha.

Tomar: Maire ingen an
barun, a ben.

Thomas: Mary, daughter
of the Baron, his wife.

Meic Uatep: Irbel Le-
gír, a ben.

Son of Walter: Isabella
Legis, his wife.

Meic Tomar: inghen
plongcedaig an Chillin a
ben, mathair Uatep an
oibre 7 Cphioctopa: inghen
an Talbotig mathair na
coba oile d'a cloinn.

Son of Thomas: the
daughter of the Plunketic of
the Cillin, his wife, mother
of Walter the heir and of
Christopher: the daughter
of the Talbotic was the mo-
ther of the other portion of
his children.

(To be continued.)

*With comp^{ts} and Kind regards y
 Rev. B. W. Adams, D.D.*

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

At a GENERAL MEETING, held in the Royal Institution,
 Cork, on Saturday, April 9, 1881 :

O'DONOVAN, of Lissard, in the Chair ;

The Auditors submitted the Treasurer's Accounts for
 the year 1880, as follows :

CHARGE.

1880.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To balance in Treasurer's hands,	250	0	6
Dec. 31.	„ Annual subscriptions,	327	7	0
	„ Entrance fee of Fellow,	2	2	0
	„ Cash by sale of "Journal" and "Annual Volume,"	44	11	9
	„ One year's rent of garden at Jerpoint Abbey,	1	0	0
	„ Cash by Advertisements	15	0	
	„ Dividends on New 3 per cent. Government Stock (£380 1s. 5d.),	11	2	10
		<hr/>		
		£636	19	1

DISCHARGE.

1880.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By postages of correspondence and book parcels	12	0	9
	„ Postages of “Journal,”	17	19	9
	„ Printing, &c., of “Journal,” for April, July, and October, 1879, and January, 1880,	91	14	7
	„ Printing, &c., of “Annual Volume,” Part VII., “Christian Inscriptions,”	60	13	3
	„ Illustrations and Engravings for “Journal,”	75	10	7
	„ General printing and stationery,	17	12	7
	„ Sundry expenses,	29	4	6
	„ Back numbers of “Journal,” and Books, } purchased, }	9	8	6
	„ Rent and Insurance of Museum,	20	9	0
	„ Rent of Jerpoint Abbey	1	0	0
	„ Caretaker, Jerpoint Abbey,	1	0	0
	„ Collecting subscriptions,	23	4	7
	„ Transcribing original documents.	5	0	0
	„ Editing “Journal,”	25	0	0
	„ Balance in Treasurer’s hands,	247	1	0
		<hr/> £636 19 1		

We have audited the Accounts, and found them correct. Balance in Treasurer’s hands, Two Hundred and Forty-seven Pounds One Shilling.

J. BLAIR BROWNE, } *Auditors.*
J. G. ROBERTSON, }

The following Fellow was elected :—

The Right Hon. Earl Cowper, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Mr. W. J. Gillespie presented Borlace’s “Reduction of Ireland,” and twenty Irish Tradesman Tokens of the 17th century.

The Rev. Canon Hayman presented a printed list of certain periodicals published in Ireland, which had sprung into existence from time to time, and afterwards became very scarce.

Colonel Abbott exhibited two celts lately found at Lough Gur.

O'Donovan, of Lissard, exhibited the dadagh, or Irish skean, with which his ancestor slew Clancarty, in the vicinity of Blarney Castle, about 1559. A contention having arisen, after the plunder of many flocks and herds, between Clancarty, MacCarty Reagh, and O'Donovan, as to the division of the spoil, Clancarty wishing to drive the entire into the bawn at Blarney, O'Donovan opposed the project, whereupon a struggle ensued between them. Clancarty attacked O'Donovan, who threw him to the ground, wrenched the dadagh from his hand, and slew him with his own weapon.



The Dadagh.

The dadagh was $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. in length; handle, without guard, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in.; sheath $11\frac{1}{4}$ in.; breadth at hilt $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. There was also exhibited the shield of the last chieftain of the O'Donovan family. This shield, which was circular, consisted of a timber frame covered with the skin of a deer; there were six compartments of double rows of brass nails, 30 nails in each compartment, and 60 round the circumference of the shield, making an entire of 240 nails in the shield. In the centre was an *umbo*, or boss of bronze, which projected about an inch from the surface. It was $19\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, and 5ft.

2 in. in circumference. It was fastened on the shoulder by a strap. Between the frame and outer covering was an intermediate thin layer of wood, with a slight rise towards the centre. Spenser described the Irish as often using "round leather targets coloured after the Spanish fashion." It was not improbable that this shield, which now adorned the hall at Lissard, accompanied O'Donovan when he slew the Lord Clancarty at his own castle gate. O'Donovan also exhibited a silver flagon of a large size, with the O'Donovan arms; it bore a plate mark, "two



O'Donovan's Shield.

towers," with the letters "R. G." The tankard will be found engraved at p. 453, *infra*.

Mr. J. J. Smyth, of Rathcoursey, Middleton, exhibited an ancient copy of the grant of arms and crest to his ancestors, the Smyth family of Leicestershire, in the year 1494, illuminated on fine vellum, and emblazoned in red and gold.

The Rev. P. Hurly, St. Mary's Cathedral, Cork, exhibited a beautiful and massive Monstrance, the property of

the Dominican Friars of that city ; it had a hexagonal base, on which were various engravings. One of particular interest, here engraved, represented a bishop habited and mitred, holding his pastoral staff, with the name beneath, "S. Barrey"; also a representation of the ancient Cathedral of Cork, and the Round Tower, which was standing about the beginning of the last century, but of which there is now no trace.



Engraving on Monstrance belonging to the Dominican Friary, Cork.

This, the only representation of the ancient Round Tower of Cork in existence, shows it to have been of great height, with seven storeys above the doorway. Round the monstrance was this inscription: "Pater, frater Richardus Kent Ordinis Predicatorum me fieri fecit pro conventu Corcagiensi, anno Domini 1669." The Dominican Friary was situated on an island just beneath the shadow of the Cathedral of Cork, and was

called "the Abbey of St. Mary of the Island." It was said to have been founded in 1229 by Philip de Barry, who was a great benefactor to the Dominicans, and whose statue in brass was in the church. At the dissolution, the site of the abbey fell into lay hands, and a petition was presented to the Crown, praying that its desecration might be stayed, as it contained the tombs of some of the greatest men in Munster. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, who died 26th December, 1388, was interred here. There was no mention of Father Kent in the *Hibernia Dominicana*.

Mr. M. W. Lalor submitted the following description of a recent discovery of kists containing human remains on a farm at Luggacurren, Queen's county, received by him from Mr. David Collins, Master of the National School, Luggacurren:—

"On yesterday I went to see the discovery of human remains on Mr. Kilbride's land at Luggacurren. There are evidently the skeletons of three persons. Two of the repositories, or graves, are double the size of the third. They are all quadrangular and rectangular, one being 3 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 7 in. in width, and 1 ft. 7 in. deep, from the upper surface of the lateral stones, which are level with each other as well as with the end stones. The other large repository is 3 ft. 2 in. in length, by 22 in. in width; the third, or small repository, is only 21 in. in length, and the same width as the last mentioned. They are all of a uniform depth of about 21 inches, the small one being a continuation of that one described, and divided from it by a stone laid on the end.

"All the three are placed with their length east and west, and, of course, parallel to each other; the first or largest grave being three yards distance from the two others, and to the south of them.

"The covering flag was about 7 inches below the surface of the field, having being discovered by Thomas Kelly, one of Mr. Kilbride's ploughmen, by the ploughshare grating against it. There is no tumulus in the spot, as is customary over such deposits; but if there has originally been a tumulus or tumuli, they may possibly have been levelled away by former operations of cultivation. The lid-stone of the two adjacent kists is a green clay-slate from the mountain flag-quarry of Coolrusk, a sub-denomination of Luggacurren, about two English miles distant; and the lid-stone of the detached one is a rough limestone, evidently from the surface of the limestone rocks of either the dún of Luggacurren or that of Clopook, either being about an English mile distant. The stones which compose the quadrangles of the depositories are quite unhewn, and show no trace of any operation whatsoever, but are naturally rounded on all the sides and edges, evincing their having been found lying on the surface, or nearly so.

"The place chosen for the interment was a dry field, and the remains were resting on a bed of beautiful sand, free from the intermixture of

any earthy particles, and consequently quite porous, and pervious to the percolation of water. The double repository was covered for its entire length with a heavy clay-slate flag, susceptible of being divided into many thin leaves, over which was a layer of 6 inches of mould, and over this was another flag, much thinner, for the entire length and breadth. By this covering every drop of rain must have fallen outside the graves, and, as it must necessarily descend to the sand, rendered the whole quite safe from any accession of moisture. It appeared to me that the remains were, after their discovery, subjected to rough, and I should say *indecent*, treatment, as several of the bones exhibited traces of recent fracturing. As far as I could see, there were none of the three skulls entire; the thigh bones and those of the legs are the most perfect. I could find no trace of the vertebral column. I saw two of the lower jaws, in one of which there was a beautiful set of teeth. In two of the quadrangles were found two vases, or urns, beautifully shaped; the larger measures at top 9 in. in diameter; middle $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.; and at the base 5 in. The smaller measures in circumference, at top 17 in.; middle 21 in.; and at bottom 9 in.; height 5 in. These are ornamented in a uniform manner, with simple short straight lines slanted from right at top to left at bottom, at about an angle of sixty degrees. These urns had been found in the south-east corner of each of the large quadrangles, each containing some little dust, or perhaps ashes. In the urns were found what appear two little links of beads, of some mineral substance of a bluish colour, and highly polished and finished. There were also two rings of bronze, first thought to be gold, but they did not stand the test of nitric acid, which Dr. James Kilbride applied in my presence. These were not perfect rings closed all round, but lapped each end across the other, the lap measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the rings, or bangles, which I am informed is the proper appellation, being 3 inches in diameter. One of the bones, found in contact with the rings, is green through its entire substance, another proof of the coppery nature of their substance, as producing verdigris. One extraordinary circumstance in one of the lid-stones (the limestone) is the presence of a conical depression near one of its angles. This depression has a perfect circle for its base, if I may so call the upper surface, 9 in. in diameter, and 8 in. deep. How it was done, or what was its use, could not be easily solved, nor even conjectured. It does not penetrate the stone through its entire thickness. This was on the under surface. The vases, or urns, are of the same shape as the one found in the Phoenix Park in 1838, as seen in the *Illustrated History of Ireland*, facing page 117.

"It is possible, and even probable, that there are some more of the repositories in the immediate vicinity of those remains.

"For the measurements of the urns, and for the other information requisite for this imperfect description, I am indebted to Denis Kilbride, Esq., and to Dr. James Kilbride, who assisted me in every possible way for that purpose."

Mr. James M'Cormack, C. E., sent the following account of the discovery of graves containing human skeletons, near Dundalk:—

The first discovery of these was made on the occasion of sinking a trial-pit in a field purchased by the Great Northern Railway Company (Ireland), at Dundalk, upon which it was their intention to build their workshops, &c. This field lies on the south-west side of Dundalk railway station, at a distance of about 350 yards from the main line to Dublin. Before being purchased by the Company, it was being used by the late occupier for grazing purposes.

In this field there is a slight eminence, rising above the mean level about 12 feet, and it was on top of this the trial-pit was being sunk, for the purpose of observing the nature and quality of the ground. This was in September, 1879.

In the excavation of the pit (about 6 feet sq., and carried down to a depth of about 7 feet), and about 2 feet below surface of ground the labourers cut through the first grave. The trial-pit was sunk through the surface clays, and then through sand and clay, finally even to water and quicksand, at about 6 feet deep. The bottom of the grave was 2 feet 6 inches from the surface. What this grave contained, I learn, was in excellent preservation, but I did not see it in that state, as at the time it was not thought much of, and it had become knocked about when I visited it.

In about six or seven months after the pit had been sunk, it was determined to "level" this rising ground, and it was then the real discovery of the graves occurred, say in April, 1880. Between fifty and sixty were found, all containing skeletons, some in almost perfect preservation, others just commencing to show decomposition, and others again partially decayed.

The graves all lay in the same direction, namely, N. W. and S. E., and were at an average depth below the surface of field, of, say, 18 inches. They were built in the regular shape of coffins—narrow at the head, broad at the shoulders, and gradually tapering to the feet; which would lead one to suppose the remains were laid in something of the shape of a coffin, the stonework of the graves on the inside presenting an even and regular surface, as though the stones had been built against a shape. That such was the case, however, is not necessary, as the evenness could be obtained by careful placing of the stones; and everything in connexion with the graves denoted great care having been taken with everything concerning them. There was no appearance of mortar having been used in their construction. The bottom of the graves in general consisted of what would be called crushed stone—in fact I best describe it by saying it closely resembles that fine broken stone from a stone-crusher, and used extensively for footpaths, only of course much finer, and perhaps of a slatier quality.

Several of the graves were opened in my presence. One grave, from inside of head-stone to inside of foot-stone (which in all cases consisted of a flat stone which nearly closed up top and bottom of grave), measured 7 feet. The small bones of the toes and the skull were respectively about 1 inch from the stones, leaving the remains to measure 6 feet 10 inches. This skeleton was in excellent preservation, and, as well as I remember, showed signs of decomposition (which was of a white powdery kind) only at the neck (by which the skull became detached), and some of the upper ribs. All other portions of the skeleton were intact. The bones of course were very light, and when discovered

were all lying in their true position, even the knee-caps were on the joints of the knees, and they themselves were slightly elevated. The hands and arms lay at the sides, and the skull had fallen to the left side a couple of inches, owing to the decay of the neck. The skull was very perfect, not even a tooth being out of it, and they were all good. According to medical opinion, it was a male skeleton of very large proportions.

Out of the fifty or sixty graves, it was remarked two or three were of very small size, as though of children. There was not a mark, date, or inscription on any of the graves. I had the stones of a great many of them examined, and personally examined the stones of some *in situ*, with a view of discovering some *data*, but without success. With one solitary exception, nothing was found in any of the graves, and in this one case it was what I believe to have been a horse's tooth. No sign of clothing, ornaments, &c. Each of the graves was covered by slabs of stone, about 1½ inches thick, of various lengths and breadths, according as they fitted on the graves.

About the middle of May, 1880, I wrote to the Very Rev. Dr. Reeves, Dean of Armagh, informing him of the discovery, and offering him every facility for examining the graves and their contents, should he deem it worth while visiting Dundalk. In the letter I received in answer thereto, he said there was a monastery mentioned in the "Four Masters," the site of which had not yet been discovered, but which, in his mind, existed about Dundalk. I answered the queries in this letter, but the matter then dropped.

I have only to add, that though continuing to clear away the mound, nothing further has as yet come to light.

March 20th, 1881.

Mr. G. H. Kinahan, M.R.I.A., F.G.S.I., sent the following observations on a Paper read by Mr. Robert Young at the July meeting, 1880, relative to worked timber found in boulder clay, on the site of what is now Dover-street, Belfast:—

"From the description of the site of these beams of timber, I would suggest that they had originally been part of a wooden structure erected against, or at the base of, a cliff of boulder clay in years long past; and that the weathering of the cliff into a slope covered up the beams. I have called attention to facts more or less similar elsewhere. On the south coast of Wexford an ancient limekiln has been thus smothered up. In Errisbeg, south-west Galway, cut sticks and other traces of human occupation have been found under boulder clay; also in the county Mayo, &c. These places I have personally inspected, and in each case it was found that the boulder clay covering was due to cliffs weathering into slopes.

"As to Mr. Young's suggestions in reference to the implements supposed

to indicate the development of human intellect, I strongly suspect that the classification is made on insufficient data. Wood and iron rot and wither away; therefore even if they had been in use by the earliest inhabitants of the globe, there would now be scarcely any reliable traces of them left. I experienced this when exploring crannogs in the County Galway, as in them I found traces of what appeared to be wooden vessels and iron implements; yet I could not positively assert that my surmises were correct."

Mr. Worthington G. Smith forwarded the following note on the same subject:—

"If I had been present at the meeting of July 7th last year, I should have strongly protested against the assumption that the piles described by Mr. Robert Young could with reason be referred to the 'inter-glacial epoch,' or even to the Palæolithic Age.

"To my mind, they belong to a late period in the Neolithic Age, and may quite possibly belong to the Bronze, or even Iron Age. The evidence is altogether insufficient to show that the boulder clay had not been disturbed; to me the deposit appears to be the simple result of *rain-wash*; such instances of the effect of rain-wash on sloping banks are common, and I have known Neolithic implements to be found under ten feet of (what would appear to some persons as) undisturbed, stratified clay and silt.

"The last sentence of Mr. Young's communication is probably misprinted; at any rate it contains serious errors. What is meant by 'implements found in the earlier deposits compared with those from the gravel'? There are no known earlier implementiferous deposits than those of the gravel. Again, the 'high type of crania of the cave-dwellers found associated with the oldest implements'? Is the Neanderthal skull of high type? It was found in a cave, and belongs to the lowest type; and so far from cave implements being the 'oldest,' they are generally regarded by archaeologists as belonging to the *most recent* period of the Palæolithic Age."

The following notice of "The Ogham Inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhil in the British Islands" was read:—

"This posthumous work of our late Fellow, Richard Rolt Brash, supplies a want much felt by the learned world, and all students of Ogham literature. In it we find a detailed account of all the hitherto found inscriptions, and a vindication of the claim put forth for learning in Ireland at a remote period. Our Members are already well acquainted with the labours of Mr. Brash; and we are pleased to see the fruit of his work gathered together in such a goodly volume, which reflects the loving solicitude of his widow, as it is expressed in the dedication, 'That no part of his labour should perish because of his death.'

"After establishing the claim of Ireland to a literature previous to the assumed time of St. Patrick, Mr. Brash analyses the evidence, le-

gendary and manuscriptic, connected with the Ogham character, and the places and positions where the monuments are found, which have a collateral bearing on the question, and is one proof of its antiquity. Naturally (being a native of that county), he begins with a description of the Ogam finds in the county of Cork, laboriously working each inscription out, by frequent reference to the old indices for the identification of the names found engraven thereon. He visited and verified a large number, and gives his authorities for the rest. This process is continued throughout with the monuments found in the counties of Kerry, Waterford, and Kilkenny; also to the miscellaneous monuments found in different parts of Ireland, passing on to those found in England and Wales, in Scotland, and the adjacent islands; interweaving with his descriptions much curious and interesting historical and legendary knowledge—information largely drawn from the ancient annals, the martyrologies, and extensive stores of rich materials contained in the manuscripts preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. All traditions connect the Gaedhil with the East, and therefore to the East he looked to solve the vexed question of the original home of the Ogham character, and its cognate branches—supporting his arguments by the similarity of the stem-system as illustrated in plates 38 and 46 of the *Treatise on Ancient Alphabets* collected by Ibn. Washih, translated by Mr. Joseph Hammer. This line of research, which has lately received and deserves much further attention and working out, will most likely, in the hands of some able philologist, ultimately solve the problem of the age and origin of this mysterious system.

“Mr. Brash concludes, from the evidence he collected, that the Ogham character was introduced into Ireland at a remote age; that the colony who brought it landed on the south-west coast of Ireland, and, gradually progressing inland, carried with their conquests this method of recording the names of their illustrious dead over their sepulchres; that it crossed with them to Wales, and by the time this tribe got to North Wales it (the character) was superseded by the Roman. The proportionately large number of stones found in South Wales, with the same name inscribed in Ogham and Roman characters, corroborate and support the idea. The battle as to the age in which Ogham monuments were erected is not yet finished. The weapons, from age, imperfection, and our ignorance of the grammatical forms of the language in which the inscriptions are written, must deter many from entering the lists. The *data* are not sufficient.

“The stones found in Scotland and neighbouring islands show a strange mixture of pagan and Christian ideas. Mr. Brash always repudiated for the Ogham a Christian origin, notwithstanding the large number found in Christian sites; he clearly points out how many of the monuments have been converted to Christian ideas, whereas all monuments found in localities outside this influence, as the Raths, &c., show no sign or symbol, nor in the inscriptions has any yet recognised Christian formula been discovered even where we find sculptured (as on the Bressay monument) an elaborate Christian cross. The inscription records the daughter of a Druid. The Filfot or Swastika inscribed on other stones appears to confirm him in this belief; still he evidently supposes the Ogham character got into use by the early Christians in the north of Scotland. But the stones found in the Islands, Shetland, Orkney, &c.,

present many peculiarities; and the language recorded in the bound Ogham characters on the Lunnasting monument is not stated. The editor has put in a very condensed form what was absolutely necessary to complete the lists of monuments, and reduce the work into form. The index is a most valuable addition, and saves, in a book of reference like this, much time and trouble in enabling one instantly to find the required monument. This work will serve as a foundation for others to build upon, and in the printing, &c., reflects great credit on all concerned in its production."

Alderman Day read the following communication:—

"I exhibit on behalf of the Rev. W. Hanlon, Rector of Inishannon, diocese of Cork, a silver Chalice, with an open-work or pierced oak-leaf stem, terminating in a plain circular cup, with the following inscription engraved in flowing Italic characters:—

‘The legacy of Thomas Adderley, Esq.,
To the parish Enishanon, 1692.’

Beneath the lip are four marks, viz., *RG*, a castle, a ship in full sail, a castle; and again, underneath the base, are three marks, the castle twice repeated and *RG*. This *RG* was Robert Goble, who was Warden of the Company of Goldsmiths in Cork, anno 1694-5.

"I also show, from my own collection, a silver Paten, uninscribed, but with the same town-marks, viz., *WB*, ship, castle, *WB*. This also is a piece of Cork-made seventeenth century plate; and through the kindness of Dr. Caulfield, I am enabled to identify *WB* as Walter Burnett, who was one of the Wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1694, and again in 1700. This Paten came into my collection some two years ago. The hall-marks upon it were quite new to me, as they are neither given in Chaffer's list of hall- and town-marks, or by Cripps, in his more recent work on silver plate. But knowing that the Paten came from the county Cork, and remembering that in the seventeenth century the sending plate from Cork to Dublin to be assayed would not be worth the risk, and that for practical purposes Cork was farther away from Dublin by time, and difficulty and danger of access, than New York now is, I felt certain that, although only one ship and one castle were on the Paten, that those would prove to be the town-marks of Cork, and that the Paten was made in our city.

"The identification of *WB* as Walter Burnett was another link in the chain of evidence, which was completed when seeing the Inishannon Chalice and the O'Donovan Tankard. The character of the silver plate produced in Cork workshops during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was of a very high character.

"The older Cork town-marks appear to have been dropped after 1720, when the simple word 'sterling,' stamped in an oblong cartouche, and the maker's initials in another bracket, were substituted; and the plate-chests of our county families still attest the artistic beauty and merit of our old home workshops. I have seen pierced sugar-bowls, baskets, and salts, richly-chased tea and coffee services, and other pieces of plate, beautiful in outline and perfect in every detail of workmanship, stamped with the 'sterling' mark and the maker's initials. But we need no

better evidence of the proficiency of our silversmiths than the silver mace of Cork, *circa* 1710, which may be seen in the South Kensington Museum, upon which are the arms of all the trades guilds that then flourished in the city. This mace was bought by the Rev. Dr. Neligan from Mr. Mayne for £5. It was sold at his sale at Sotheby's to Mr. Wareham, for £30 and re-sold to South Kensington for £70. Although



Tankard in the possession of O'Donovan, Lissard.

I have never ceased regretting that this unique object was sold away from Cork, yet it is a matter of thankfulness that it is preserved in such a resting-place as the Museum of South Kensington.

"The opportunity so kindly afforded to the Fellows and Members of seeing O'Donovan's tankard has enabled me to identify and purchase another, which very closely resembles that preserved in his family, but differs from it in some minor particulars. The weights of both are almost the same, his being 34 oz. 10 dwt., and mine 32 oz. 15 dwt. The bell-shaped

top of that which I have got represents a rose fully blown, and the lower part of the handle wants the acanthus leaf which is found upon his. But the most important difference is in the town-marks. The Lissard tankard has but three, viz., a castle twice repeated, and the initials R G, while upon mine are the *four* complete stamps, showing the arms of Cork, a ship between two castles, and the same maker's initials, R G, for Robert Goble, who manufactured silver plate at Cork, which will bear favourable comparison with that of any city in the kingdom. I trust that the notice of these pieces of silver plate in our Journal may be still further the cause of bringing others to our notice; and if the owners of such will communicate with me, and give me the hall- or other town-marks that may be upon them, they will do much towards completing the list of Irish hall- and town-marks which are now sadly incomplete, and in some cases incorrect."

The following Papers were contributed:—

IRISH CHURCH BELLS.

BY RICHARD LANGRISHE, V. P.

Not taking account of the early Irish ecclesiastical bells, which were almost all composed of iron plates, riveted together, and rendered sonorous by being covered with a coating of molten bronze, there are but few church bells remaining in Ireland of an earlier date than the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The art of casting bells, or bell-founding, at and after this period, was but little cultivated. The smallness of the windows of the bell stage of most of the mediæval church towers remaining shows that the bells could not have been of a large size. Perhaps, owing to the frequent plunderings which the churches suffered, it was not considered advisable to have much valuable property in them, which could not be carried away at short notice. The Parliamentary forces appear to have generally destroyed the bells of those churches which fell into their hands, so that there must have been a great scarcity of bell material in Ireland at the time of the Restoration. The introduction of whole wheels, which made it possible to ring bells mouth upwards, and the consequent possibility of the art of change-ringing being practised, gave a great impulse at a later period to the manufacture of church bells, which naturally extended to Ireland, though the love of that art, which is a purely English one, does not appear to have followed it. To this cause may in a great measure be attributed the destruction of these seventeenth century bells, which were most probably destroyed by the system of "clappering," that is, pulling the clapper against the side of the bell, a practice which almost invariably results in the destruction of it, through the vibration being checked. One man could, by adopting this most unscientific and lazy method, produce in feeble tones changes or tunes on the bells, whereas the grand full tone can only be produced by the clapper striking the bell while it is in motion. The researches carried out by Sir Edmund Beckett into the art of bell-founding and the best shape for bells, proved that the rules followed by the English

pass through the street, and that the towns-people cast gold and silver, in coins and trinkets, into the melting. There is also a tradition that the bell originally belonged to Clonmacnois. This tradition derives much probability from the fact that the cathedral was plundered by the English garrison of Athlone in the reign of Edward VI., as recorded in the "Annals of the Four Masters":—

'A. D. 1552.—Clonmacnois was plundered and devastated by the Galls of Athlone, and the large bells were taken from the "cloichtheach." There was not left, moreover, a bell, small or large, . . . which was not carried off.'—pp. 34, 98.

"Clonmacnois being, like Athlone, on the banks of the Shannon, and distant from it only eight or nine



Bell cast by Tobias Covey, Athlone.

miles, the bell which the cathedral was sure to possess, and which the plunderers were unlikely to leave behind, could easily have been removed to Athlone by water. During the siege of Athlone by William's army, under General Ginckell, this bell was rung on the 30th June, 1691, at six o'clock, p.m., as the signal for the storming party to cross the river for the assault on the castle (see Macaulay's 'History of England,' vol. vi., p. 89, edition, 1860)."

The bell was slightly cracked in the lip in the year 1869. The cracked part has been cut out. The tone is injured, but it is sufficiently good to admit of the bell being rung for Divine Service." The diameter of this bell

across the mouth is 2 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the thickness of the sound-bow, $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches; the height to the shoulder about 1 foot 11 inches; round the shoulder between bands is the legend—‘THIS FOR ST. MARY’S CHURCH IN ATHLONE, 1682. T. C.’ It is cast without canons, and has a flat crown of about 12 inches diameter, and raised about 1 inch above the shoulder, and is hung by bolts passing through the crown. The fracture, which runs up to the middle of the sound-bow, shows the metal to be compact and good there, though the waist of the bell is somewhat honeycombed, owing probably to a deficiency of spare metal when casting it. It is well moulded, except the lip, which is contracted, so as to be of somewhat less diameter than the sound-bow, and is also too thin, consequently it has been much chipped round the edge, showing that it has been often laid on its mouth and carelessly handled. It will be seen by the copies of the legends that the ornaments of fleurs-de-llys and bells used to fill up the spaces between the legends and founder’s initials, and also the latter, are identical. T. C. was a modest man, but fortunately his name has not been lost, as the following extract from the Acts of the Dean and Chapter of Christ’s Church Cathedral, Dublin, kindly furnished by the Rev. Edward Seymour, M.A., Precentor, will show:—“*Extracts from Chapter Acts.*—Tuesday, 4th June, 1686—Ordered, that the great bell of this church be new cast; and thereupon on reading of Covey’s letter to the Registrar agreed that Mr. Covey be sent for, and that the Dean and Chapter will contribute to his charge in running up, &c. Tuesday, 7th June, 1687—Agreed between the Dean and Chapter and Tobias Covey that he, the said Covey, shall take down the great tenor bell of Xt. Church and cast it new, he finding all materials for the said work, which done, to bring it back, to raise it into the steeple, to tune and hang it up againe, and all this to be done at his owne pay, cost, and charges, mettall onely excepted, which Dean and Chapter are to provide. In consideration whereof the said Dean and Chapter are to pay unto the said Covey forty-five pounds sterg., and to allow six pounds for weight of mettall with every hundred pounds

in weight that the new bell shall weigh. And in case the said bell doe miscarry in lifting, the said Covey is to cast it again at his owne cost and charges, the weight of mettall excepted, and to be at the charge of the said Dean and Chapter." This bell, if it was cast according to agreement, is not now in existence.

The name of 'Tobias Covey' appears in full on the third bell, and his initials on the second bell, of the ring of six, in St. Nicholas Church, Galway, in exactly similar characters, and with the same ornaments, with the date 1726, and his marks on the first and sixth bells of 1684, of which fuller particulars will be given in a future number. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Tobias Covey was the founder of the two bells for the Duke of Ormonde, and the bell for St. Mary's Church, Athlone. Very probably he was one of the "socii" of William Covey and Roger Purdue, who cast the bells for St. Canice's Cathedral, for Bishop Benjamin Parry, in 1674—5, as a reference to the recorded inscriptions will show; for the names of Gulielmus Covey and Rogerus Purdue appear "cum sociis," so that there must have been others in the back ground. We know that there was a William Purdue, for his tombstone existed at Limerick Cathedral; so there may also have been a Tobias Covey, who appears as an expert seven years afterwards. The Purdues were established at Salisbury, and cast many bells in the south and west of England, of which some remain—notably at Exeter Cathedral.

THE CELTIC RACES OF GREAT AND LESSER BRITAIN, OR
ARMORICA, DEDUCED FROM THE ANCIENT GAEL OF
IRELAND. ILLUSTRATED BY PEDIGREES AND GENE-
ALOGIES.

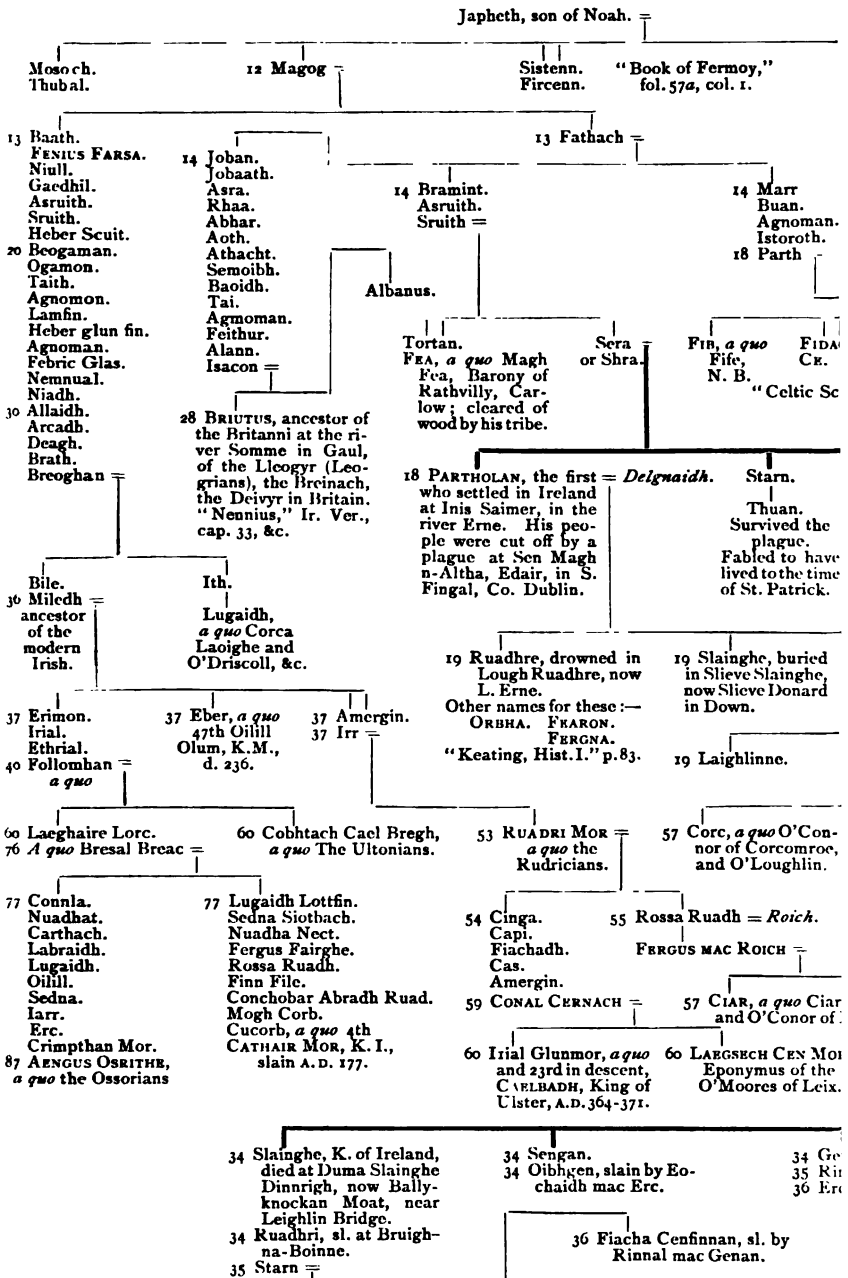
BY THE REV. JOHN FRANCIS SHEARMAN.

THE genealogy of the early Celtic populations of Great Britain and Ireland, which this chapter is designed to illustrate, reaching far away, as it does, into the heroic and semi-mythical period of ancient history, is to be regarded, to some extent, as a fulcrum or starting-point. Genealogies of a more advanced though early period, to be included in this series, have in this first table their common source or origin. It is needless to observe that all history, even that of the most refined and cultured nations, starts from a somewhat similar beginning, viz., the mythic period—the very childhood of history, of which in its more developed state the salient facts are alone remembered. The mighty river that rolls down its floods to the sea, having its origin in far distant and unknown lands, amid unseen mountains and gloomy morasses, may be compared to these prolonged generations reaching into the remote and all but unknown past. It may be possible to trace the streams to their primary sources, impressed as they are on the almost-unchanging page of nature; not always so, however, with this kind of records, which, passing through successive generations, are subject to their ever-recurring vicissitudes and changes. Thus it happens that, in the primary ethnologic history of Europe, we find that the Celts or Gael preceded the Teuton, who, in their turn, drove the earlier population westwards to the ocean, whence they recoiled, and Imperial Rome and the sacred shrines of Delphi felt their power, which was expended in forming for themselves a new home in Galatia, not far removed from their Aryan cradle-land.¹

¹ The Celts appear to have been the first of the Aryan people who came to Europe, following, probably, the course

of the great rivers which offered an easy way to travel westwards. They imprinted Celtic names, still unchanged, on these

No. I.—THE PARTHALONIANS, THE 1



The Sarmatian or Slavonic populations followed the Teutons: pressing forward with a lesser energy, they expended their progressive power before they reached mid-Europe. Of these early races we have historic details more or less full, which enable the ethnologist to trace their settlements in modern Europe. Preceding them was a still earlier people, whose origin is lost in the chaos of history—the Iberians, Basques, and Pelasgi. Their representatives still exist on the south-western seaboard of France and Portugal—the Pelasgi being represented by the Albanian and kindred races. The Lapponic peoples of the extreme north of Europe, the Finlanders, and perhaps the Esquimaux, if not of cognate descent, may represent a still more remote swarm from the cradle of the human race in Asia.

Of the primary inhabitants of these islands we know but little. The scanty remains of their civilization found in ancient caves, water-drifts, and burial mounds, tell their own tale, and have enabled ethnologists and scientists to speak of the time in which they lived as the Stone, Brass and Iron periods, and to speculate on their civilization from these imperfect data, leaving the question of language, descent, and religion still involved in mystery. The bardic accounts of the early populations of these islands, crude and chaotic as they are, take the place of more reliable history, and clothe undoubted ethnologic facts and events with a kind of legendary interest, supplementing in some degree our inability to search with more certainty into their now but little-known history.

The earliest records of the ancient Irish and British populations are little more than a long extended list of their

ancient water-ways, on mountains, and on other remarkable natural objects. Their language was once spoken in the Alpine valleys of Helvetia; it could be traced in Umbrian and Oscan language of Mid-Italy, whence it passed into Hiberia and Gaul; whence, according to one old tradition, the Celts came to Britain, at least to the southern shore. The language of the Celt still lives in Ireland and in the Western Isles of Scotland, and in the

Isle of Man. Its cognate language, the Cymraic or Welsh, still flourishes in Wales. The Gaulish names of kings, rivers, and mountains, &c., mentioned by Julius Cæsar in his History of the Gallic War, can be easily interpreted by modern Gaelic scholars. The modern science of Comparative Philology gives a promise of stabilizing the Celto-Hibernian traditions regarding the migrations of the primary inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland.

kings, with legendary or bardic details connected with some of them, resting on a substratum of genuine history. The same may be said of the list of Irish kings, the antiquity of which Mr. Pinkerton, by no means an unsceptical writer, admits, though he will not allow to the Irish the knowledge of letters before the introduction of Christianity. He thus writes: "Foreigners may imagine that it is granting too much to the Irish to allow them a list of kings more ancient than those of any other country in modern Europe; but the singularly compact and remote situation of that island, and its freedom from Roman conquest, and from the concussion of the fall of the Roman Empire, may infer this allowance not too much. But all contended for is the list of kings, so easily preserved by the repetition of bards at high solemnities, and some grand events of history; for to expect a certain detail and regular order in the pagan history of Ireland were extravagant" ("Inquiry into the History of Scotland"). Mr. Skene is more reserved in his estimate of early Irish history. Its chronology, he considers, begins after the period of the battle of Ocha, A. D. 482; "and that the previous annals are artificially-constructed history, in which some fragments of genuine annals and some historic tales founded on fact are embedded in a mass of tradition, legend, and fable" ("Celtic Scotland" I., p. 25, c. 180, nn.). Though we have no means of determining at what period annalistic history was compiled with regard to authentic chronology, such as that was before the Christian era, we may safely infer, from the remarks of the annalist Tighernach, who died in 1088, that the historical documents existing in his time were all regarded by him as uncertain before the period of Cimbaeth, who began to reign about 305 years before the Christian era. His words are very significant: "*Omnia monumenta Scotorum usque Cimbeath incerta erant.*" These words, as the learned Dr. O'Donovan remarks, must inspire a feeling of confidence in this compiler, which commands respect for those facts he has transmitted to us, even when they relate to the period antecedent to the Christian era:—

The belief that these ancient immigrants had some

knowledge of letters is alluded to by Dr. Geoffrey Keating, where, in speaking of the schools stated to have been instituted by Fenius Farsadh, grandson of Magog, "Fenius sets up schools to teach the several languages on the plain of Seanar, in the city which the Cin droma Sneachta calls Eothonia." He then gives an account of the doing of Fenius in cap. ii. part ii. of his history (O'Mahony's ed.), p. 153 c. In the "Books of Ballymote" and "Lecan" there are references to these schools and their professors: "Fenius Farrsaigh (*i. e.* the antiquary), son of Eoghan; and Iar the son of Nema; and Gael the son of Ethiur—the three Saidh or professors it was that invented these dialects, et apud Eoterean civitatem they invented them" ("Bk. of Lecan," fol. 152a, quoted in O'Curry's "Lectures," p. 501, vol. 1). The knowledge of letters is involved to a great degree with the genuineness and accuracy of our ancient annals. Dr. O'Donovan conjectures that the Irish had the use of letters about the period of Cormac Mac Art, king of Ireland, A. D. 253–277. Mr. John O'Mahony, the learned translator of Dr. Keating's "History of Ireland," thinks that Dr. O'Donovan has yielded too much to modern scepticism, and to that criticism that will allow no civilization to Western Europe but what came from Greece or Rome, when he admits the possibility of the pagan priesthood of Ireland having only received the use of letters in the days of Cormac Mac Art. He then asks, "Were the silent letters all pronounced in the days of that king?" Unless they were, he does not know how, except by divine and special inspiration, the Irish system of orthography could have been arranged since then, without the aid of the comparative etymologist. In truth, modern science is vain over its acquisitions. It is scarcely credible that the priesthood of any Caucasian nation that left the East after they had been first made known could ever have entirely *lost* the use of letters. The Irish-written tongue shows by internal evidence that the men who had the guardianship of its traditions never did lose that science. The masses might have been, and were no doubt, ignorant and savage enough, but the priests or bards could scarcely have

been so Modern men of science, and Englishmen more especially, are most anxious to make out their progenitors to have been naked savages. The Barbari could not, however, have been savages. No savages could meet the disciplined legions of Rome" (Dr. Keating's preface, p. lxx., note). Notwithstanding this retrogression on the part of some scientists, the more humane and intelligent of their modern representatives, English, Irish and Scotch, will agree with that writer, and stand together to repel these baseless calumnies reflecting on our common though very remote ancestors.

Though these remarks are chiefly referred to old Irish history, they are, for the same or stronger reasons, applicable to that of ancient Britain, which has its origin in these or kindred ancient sources. It was, doubtless, cherished with the same care by the British Druids and historians as their Hibernian congeners bestowed on their own native historic records.

The early civilization and literature of the Chinese and Japanese, existing before their contact with Western nations, has never been called into question. The nations of the West of Europe may justly claim the same forbearance from writers and critics who can see no civilization or culture unless it comes through a classical channel. Had these western races been allowed to develop their national tendencies and idiosyncrasies uninfluenced by Latin or Grecian interference or conquest, they would probably have presented nearly the same features as those of the Eastern nations. It is evident that there was, amid the historic races of Europe, a culture existing even before Etruscan or Pelasgian civilization moulded ancient manners or ideas. All this was overspread and concealed under the influences of the ever-advancing conquests of the Roman empire.

The most decided evidence that the Irish had the use of letters before the diffusion of Christianity through the ministrations of St. Patrick is derived from the account of Cœlestius, an Irishman who was educated in Britain at a monastic school in S. Wales, Caerworgorn, where a college is said to have been founded before A. D. 376 by the Roman Governor of Britain, Theo-

dosius, father of the emperor of that name. Cœlestius, Morgan or Pelagius, Magonius and Palladius were students in this college, which was plundered and destroyed *circa* A. D. 394 in one of the frequent raids of the insular Irish, under Niall of the Nine Hostages, king of Ireland, A. D. 379–405. Magonius, then a youth, was taken into slavery in Ireland; the others escaped this fate, and got beyond the sea, and finally to Rome, where Pelagius gave his name to a heresy originated by Rufinus, a Syrian monk; and Palladius, keeping in the course of orthodoxy, became, it is said, a deacon of the Roman church, a bishop in Britain, and, finally, the first apostle and bishop of the Scots who believed in Christ in Ireland. While Cœlestius was in Rome, or in the East, he excited the ire of St. Jerome by his adverse criticisms on his commentaries on St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. In his proemium to the third Book of Jeremiah he speaks more fully of his adversary Cœlestius and his abettor Alpinus, both described as Scots. It appears from Gennadius, who flourished A. D. 495, that Cœlestius was a lettered youth before he left his native country. Gennadius states (*de Scrip. Ecclesiasticis*), that he wrote to his parents in Ireland from his British monastery three epistles, which contained the necessary instructions for all who were desirous of serving God. His words are: "Cœlestius antequam Pelagianum dogma incurreret imo adhuc adolescens scripsit ad parentes de monasterio epistolas in modum libellorum tres, omnibus Deum desiderantibus necessarias; moralis siquidem in eis dictis nil vitii postmodum proditi sed totum ad virtutis incitamentum tenuit."

This passage evidently proves that the Scotica gens, as his race is so called by St. Jerome, had the use of letters towards the close of the 4th century, and that there were a number of persons then in Ireland capable of appreciating the literary productions of Cœlestius.

To return from this digression to the early colonization of the British isles, as portrayed in this chart of primary genealogies, we have only to follow the lights held out by the ancient bards while groping through this obscure and mythic period. They make

the Biblical genealogy the terminus or starting-point, which it must be allowed gives an air of suspicion and extravagance to their claims for credibility. This must be attributed to Christian influences, which very naturally found in the Bible a term wherewith to begin, engrafting a series of names to fill up the chasm between the dispersion of the human race and the dawn of the historic period.

The ethnologic legends of the Celts are chiefly preserved in the "Leabhar Gabhala or Book of Conquests," compiled in the 17th century from earlier authorities by Michael O'Clery, one of the Four Masters who compiled the "Annals of the Four Masters." These ancient manuscripts are described by the late Mr. O'Curry, "Lectures on the MS. Material of Irish History," vol. i. p. 13. After naming some of the lost or now-unknown manuscripts, from extracts still extant and ancient descriptions of them, he speaks of a book which appears to have been the special historical repertory of the earliest immigrants to Erin. This was the "Cin Droma Snechta," *i. e.* the vellum book of Drum Snechta, now Drumsnat, in the Co. Monaghan. The "Book of Downpatrick" or Dun-da-Leathglas, of "Flann Mainestrech," *i. e.* of Monaster Boice, and others, are spoken of as being also the repertories of these very early legends.

I.—THE ABORIGINES OR FOMORIANS.

Our bards were not content to begin their histories of the various emigrants to Ireland with Partholon after the Noachian deluge. They bring hither three of the daughters of Cain. A second legend, and one much more likely, if referred to some period after the deluge, says that Ireland was discovered by fishermen who were blown out to sea, and landed on the shores of Erin, a very natural and not unlikely way of discovering new countries. A third legend brings a woman called Cesair, daughter of Bith, son of Noah, with her company, among whom was Fintann, who is fabled to have outlived the deluge, surviving to the time of St. Patrick, to whom he recounted his experiences. The occurrence of absurd

legends, such as these and some others of a like nature, should not lead to the conclusion that all ancient Celtic traditions are fabulous as to the chief and primary facts; for amid such a mass of rubbish and spoil there may lurk even a germ of fact, though misapplied and unchronologically placed.

The arrival of Partholon and his colony was called the *first* immigration, though, as we shall see, it cannot be the first, for we find an account of a still earlier people who opposed the new comers. These aborigines were doubtless some of the very archaic races dwelling in Western Europe long before the dawn of history. They are said to have lived by "fishing and fowling two hundred years before the advent of Partholon." The only remains of this race are perhaps the flints, arrow-heads, fishing-hooks, and stone implements of a very remote period, with some engraved bones, and other materials, which tell the history of a very primitive people. These or their descendants were called Foimoraigh, robbers or pirates, a name acquired when they grew strong enough to oppress the Partholonians.

II.—THE PARTHOLONIANS.

The arrival of Partholon took place, according to the chronology of the Four Masters, A.M. 2242, about 300 years after the deluge. The synchronism of Flann of Monasterboice places this event about 1000 years after the deluge. However this may be, the legend brings Partholan from "Greig Medhonagh," supposed to be Mygdonia, in the north-east of Asia Minor. They trace his course through the Muir Torrean or Mediterranean Sea, through the Pillars of Hercules to Inbhir Scene, or Kenmaire river, in Kerry. The Welsh Bruts have a curious though unchronological story of his wanderings at sea. Gurgant Varvdrwch ap Beli ap Dunwul Moelmut, king of Britain, went on a military expedition to Norway and Denmark, and, on his return, passing through the Isles of Orc, he came up with thirty ships, which were full of men and women, and finding them there, he seized their chief, whose name was Partholym.

Hereupon this chief prayed his protection, telling him they were called Barclenses, had been driven from Spain, and were roving on the seas to find a place of settlement; he therefore entreated Gurgant to grant them permission to abide in some part of the island, as they had been at sea for a year and a-half. Gurgant, having thus learned whence they were and what was their purpose, directed them, with his good will, to go to Ireland, which at the time lay waste and uninhabited. Thither, therefore, they went, and there they settled, and peopled the country, and their descendants are to this day in Ireland.

The Irish legend does not bring Partholon so far northward as the Orkney islands, nor does it give the number of his ships or other details, though we are told that he had in his ship his four sons and a thousand warriors. However, the two versions of the legend are quite reconcilable; and it is curious to find, according to the generation numbers in the accompanying genealogical chart, that Partholon's number is 18, and Gurgant ap Beli is 26, a discrepancy not very great for so early a period.

The place where Partholon settled was near the estuary of the River Erne, at Inis Saimer. On his arrival the Fomorians gave him battle on the plain of Magh Itha, on the River Finn in Donegal. Their leader was Cical Gregencosach, the "short-legged," son of Golb, son of Garb; he fell in this engagement, with many of his followers, and the new comers increased and multiplied in their new homes. Some localities are named after the sons and descendants of Partholan: Magh Fea, a plain in the barony of Ravilly, Co. Carlow, was disforested by his cousin Feadha, son of Tortan, son of Shru. Fea was buried in a cairn on one of the surrounding mountains called Dolrai Maighe Feadha.

In course of time the Partholonians were cut off by a plague; 9000 were stricken, and died on Shen Magh n-ealtha Edair—the old plain of the flocks of Edair—a historic personage who lived many centuries later at Ben Edair or Howth. The hill of Tallaght, on the southern boundary of the plain, was called "Taim-

leath Muintire Partholoin," i. e. the burial of the plague-stricken descendants or people of Partholon ("Ogygia," iii. cap. v.), a name verified by ancient funeral remains found there, and the very frequent occurrence of cistvaens and undoubted pagan interments discovered at Tallaght Hill when the virgin soil is brought under cultivation. These widely remote places mentioned in these legends prove that the Partholonians lived a long time in the country, and spread themselves along the seaboard. There appears to be some confusion as to the names of the sons of Partholon, Er Orbha, Ferann, and Fergna; their *aliases* were Ruadhri, Slainge, and Laighlinne, which were also the names of Fírbolg and Milesian chieftains. They are probably allegorical, referring to arts and institutions effected in Ireland during the sway of these various immigrants (see O'Mahony's "Keating," p. 119, note 35).

III.—THE NEMIDHIANS.

The next colony was led by Nemidh, a chief of the same race as Partholon. He is said to have come hither from Scythia by the Euxine, the Riphathian mountains, the Northern Sea or Baltic, to the Cimbric Chersonesus or Jutland, and thence across the German Ocean to Britain. Passing through Strathclyde, Nemidh, or a later descendant, Nemidh son of Badrai, gave his name to Ailclyde, or the rock of Dumbarton, Nemthor, or Tornemidh (Nemidhs tor or rock), the Nemeton or Nemanturon of the geographer of Ravenna. Nemidh landed in the North of Ireland, probably at Rinn Semni or Island-Magee, where he erected, by the enforced aid of the four sons of Madan Muinreamhor, chief of the Fomorians, whom he found in these places, Rath Kimbaeth in Sevní, and Rathcinnech in Tir Eoghain, Tyrone. Nemidh defeated the Fomorians in three battles, at Slieve Bladma or Slievebloom, in the north of Ossory, at Rosfreachan in Murrisk, Co. Mayo, where Gan and Genann were slain; at Murbolg in Dal Riada, where Starn, son of Nemidh, fell by the hand of Conaing mac Faebar. The Fomorians were also defeated in Leinster

at Cnamh Ross (Camross Carlow (?)) by Arthur, son of Nemidh, and his nephew Ibcán, son of Starn. Nemidh appears to have finally settled in the Great Island in Cork haven called Ard Nemidh, where he died by a plague which cut off two thousand of his people.

The race of Nemidh being decimated, the Fomorians attacked the survivors, aided by Morc, son of Deiloidh, and Conaing son of Fæbhar, whose stronghold was Tor Conaing, on Tory island or Toirinis. The defeated Nemidhians were so cruelly oppressed that they were driven to a stern resistance; they attacked the tower of Conaing, and destroyed it, defeating Conaing himself and Morc, who again came across the seas to his assistance in the battle on the sea-shore of the island. The strife was fatal to both parties; the returning tide drowned most of those who escaped the sword. Morc succeeded in getting, however, possession of the country, and the defeated Nemidhians resolved to abandon their adopted land. Simeon Breac, son of Starn, who had fallen by the sword of Conaing mac Faebhar at Moybolg, in Dalradia, led his followers to the north-eastern countries called "the dreary rugged Greig," where his kinsmen were settled, pursuing their migration westward. Jobath and his followers took the same route. Britan Moel, *i. e.* the bald, stayed midway in his course, and settled in the Lowlands of Mid-Britain, in Strathclyde, then called Dobhar and Iar Dobhar, the narrow land between the eastern and western waters, the Friths of Forth and Clyde.

Britan Moel, son or descendant of Nemidh, called Prydan by the Welsh and Old British, in accord with the Irish tradition, is regarded as the eponymus or patriarch of the Britons of Strathclyde, being, according to the Albanic Duan, the Patriarch of the second race which settled in Alban ("Four Ancient Books of Wales," vol. i. p. 80):—

"Britan Mael, the son of Princes,
Noble the trunk from whence he spread,
The son of the red-sided chief from Leg-Magh,
From whom all the Breathnaigh are sprung."

O'Mahony's *Keating*, p. 128.

Another account of this migration in the "Book of Ballymote," fol. 15, states that Britan Mael, with his father Fergus Leithderg, or the "half red," and his followers went for refuge to Moen Conaing, another of the strongholds of Conaing mac Faebar, in the Island of Anglesey, then known as Moen Conaing, so called from a cyclopean fortress the remains of which still exist on the west side of the Menai Straits or Sruith Moenai, the river or stream of Moen, whence the name Mona applied to Anglesey, "from whence their race filled the great island of Britain, which they inhabited until the coming of the Saxons, who drove the descendants of Brutus to one border of the country, and the descendants of Britan Mael back to Moen Chonaing (Mona or Anglesey), on the other border." The returning of the race of Britan Moel to this island refers to the migration of the Strathclyde and Cambrian populations to Wales, in the beginning of the 5th century, under Cunedda and his sons, on account of the Saxon and Pictish inroads on their country between the Roman walls. Hence it may be inferred that Mona was populated from Ireland, and that some portion of the race of Britan Moel, soon after their arrival there, went northwards, and occupied Strathclyde. These Nemidians were a Druidical people, and Anglesey thus became the chief seat of the British Druids, and the centre of that national spirit among the ancient Britons which engaged the attention of the Roman generals, and induced Suetonius Paulinus to invade its sacred precincts in the year 61. Seventeen years later, Agricola led the Roman legions again into the island, massacred the Druids, and demolished their sacred groves and temples (*vide* O'Curry's "Lectures," vol. II., p. 186).

In this Prydan Moel commences the line of the ancient British kings. From his son or descendant Dunwarth Hen descends in about forty-four generations Don or Danedd, ancestor of Gwyddion ap Don, chief of Mona and Arvon, in North Wales, who lived at the end of the 3rd century. Gwyddion was one of the Welsh reguli who allowed the Gwyddel or Irish to settle on the western coast of Wales. His son Goronwy Bevr, king

of Penllyn in Merioneth, was slain by Llew Llawgyffes, "of the steady hand," one of the three "Rhuddvaawg" or blood-stained warriors of Britain. The grave of Goronwy was at Llech Goronwy in Ardudwy, Carnarvon. He is connected with the remains of ancient buildings near Bala in Penllyn, called Castell Goronwy Bevr o Penllyn. His son Alvrydd, a chieftain of Gwaradawg on the Menai Straits, was father of Mawon Maenwyn, latinized in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick Magonius, but more usually Mevannus elsewhere. He was born near Lloughor in Gower, South Wales, A. D. 372, and was the disciple of St. German of Auxerre, by whom his uncouth British name Mawan was changed to Magonius, to which St. Celestine added the official title Patricius, when he sent him in 432 to take the place of Palladius, sent as the first bishop of the Scots who believed in Christ, in Ireland.

Tracing the descendants of Dunwarth Hen through Elydyr war (32), in fifteen generations from him, occurs Bleidydd ap Meirion, king of Britain. He had, according to these ancient authorities, two sons. Caffo, ancestor of Beli Mawr, and Llyr (48) ap Bleidydd, the very remote ancestor of the Armorican Britains, through Conan Meriadawg, a descendant of Bran, called "ap Llyr," his remote ancestor, twenty-six generations intervening between them. There were others who bore that name, one, Llyr Leiadiath, *i. e.* of the half or barbarous speech; who, according to the British legend, was father of Manawdyn ap Llyr. This identifies him with Mananan mac Lir of the Irish legends, and shows that Llyr of the mixed speech or bilingual tongue was a different person from Llyr ap Bleidydd.

The same confusion surrounds Mananan son of Lir. There were four persons of that name. Mananan mac Alloit, a Druid of the Tuath de Danaan; his proper name was Oirbsenn; he fell defending the sovereignty of Connaught at Moy Cullen, by Uilleann, grandson of Nuadhat of the silver hand. From him Lough Corrib has its name, *i. e.* Loch Orbsenn or Corbsenn. Mananan mac Cirp, king of Manann; he lived in the time of Conaire Mor, K. I. Mananan Mac Lir, or son of the

sea, a famous merchant between Erin Alban and the Isle of Man, and Manandan Mac Atgnai, who appears to have been a petty king in Alban, with whom the children of Usnech were fostered ("Yellow Book of Lecan," T. C. D., H. 216, quoted in "Four Books of Wales," vol. i., p. 79); he dwelt at Arran island, or Eaman Abhlach, in the estuary of the Clyde.

From Dunwarth Hen, in about thirty-six generations descends Beli Mawr, the common, though very remote ancestor of the races tabulated in the Genealogical Series, Nos. 3, 4 and 5, viz., "The Early kings of Britain and Wales;" "The Men of the North;" "The Kings of Cumbria and Strathclyde," and "The Race of Cunedda Gulotic."

From another son or descendant of Britan, called Farinne, in seventeen generations, is derived Calphurn of Ailclyde, father of Succath, or the Third St. Patrick; born A. D. 410 in or near that city, at a place which he calls Bonaven, *i. e.* the river mouth or estuary of the Levin and Clyde, at the Rock of Dumbarton. St. Patrick mac Calphurn, in the "Confessio," a work written by him towards the close of his life before 493, gives only the names of his father, grandfather, and great-grandsire. A pedigree containing only thirteen names, found in the Saint Genealogy in the "Leabhar Breac," has been added: it has been taken from some ancient source, deducing his descent from Britan Moel, a very remote progenitor. When compared with the pedigree of St. Patrick Magonius, it shows that about forty generations are lost or omitted, which usually occurs in ancient genealogies. In this catalogue of the ancestors of Calphurnius, Celtic forms of Roman names, such as Leo, Mercurius, Horatius, Liberius, Maximus, &c., disclose a very long extended Latin influence in that very remote outpost of Roman power in Britain.

A brother of Britan Moel, Laigh Laidir or "the strong," went also from Ireland. He settled on the western coast of North Britain, and is esteemed the eponymus or ancestor of the clan Mac Leod and their correlatives ("Celtic Scotland," iii., p. 105). A son of

Britun, Briutus, was ancestor of the Campbells¹ of Scotland, clan Duibhne, so styled from an intermediate ancestor, Duibhne, who is to be distinguished from Duibhne grandfather of Diarmid Ua Duibhne, contemporary of Fion Mac Cumhal (Macpherson's "Fingal".) In this pedigree two names occur which are identified with some historic events in early Irish history. One of these, Angcell Caoic, or squint-eyed, son of the king of Britain and his wife Bera, daughter of Ocha, king of Manaan, N. B., as is recorded in the "Brughean Da dergha,"² a tale relating the death, &c., of Conaire Mor, king of Ireland about the Christian era. Angcell was banished from his country, and took to piracy on the Irish Sea, in which he was joined by some Irish malcontents. They landed near Dublin, at Dalkey or Bray, and attacked the monarch Conaire Mor while he was at the Brughean or hostelry of Daderga, in the Dublin mountains, now called Bohernabreena, *i. e.* the road of the Brughean or Inn, which they burned, after slaying the king, who had taken refuge there. This tale, one of the most ancient and archaic in style and language, is an independent testimony as to the general veracity of these old pedigrees. In this same pedigree occurs another personage named Beinne, who is also mentioned in one of these ancient historic tales. Art, king of Ireland, son of Con-cet-Cathach, K. I., was slain, A. D. 195, in the battle of Maghmícrumhe or Moymucrive, *i. e.* the plain of the counting of the hogs, near Athenry, Galway, by Mac Con, a Munster chief banished from Erin by Oilill Olum, king of Munster, who died A. D. 236. Mac Con took refuge in North Britain: after some years he returned, accompanied by a large force, commanded by Beinne Brit, son of the king of Britain. Disembarking at Galway, they commenced to ravage

¹ Geoffrey Keating's "History of Ireland," p. 378, states that Fothad Canon, son of Lugaidh mac Con, K. I. 196-226, was ancestor of the Campbells of North Britain. This is quite contrary to the North British tradition.

² This tract, which is the most inte-

resting and ancient of Celtic stories, is being edited by Mr. William Maunsell Hennessy, M. R. I. A., whose well-earned reputation as one of the most erudite Celticists qualifies him to publish it in a scholarly style.

the country, and Mac Con and his auxiliaries, with Beinne Brit, were attacked by Art Einar, king of Ireland, and the sons of Oilill Olum, half-brothers of Mac Con; they and the monarch Art were slain in this engagement; and Beinne Brit fell there also by the hand of Lugaidh Laga, brother of Oilill Olum, who thus avenged the slaughter of his nephews.

IV.—THE FIRBOLGS.

The next colonists who came to Erin after the Nemidhians were a branch of that same race; they were named Firbolgs, descendants of Simeon Brecc, son of Starn son of Nemidh. There is a legendary origin given for the name Firbolg, *i. e.* the men with leather bags, in which they carried clay to cultivate the rugged rocks in Greig Medhonagh. They were also called Fir-domnan, *i. e.* the pitmen or miners, the product of their digging being carried in hide boats and leather sacks to the merchants of Masillia and Carthage who visited the coasts of Cornwall and Devon (*vide* "Celtic Scotland," vol. I, p. 173. Ptolemy locates the Domnonii or Damnii in Devon, in Cornwall, so called from this people, and in the lowlands of North Britain. They came to Ireland under the leadership of the five sons of Deala, son of Loich, a descendant of Simeon Breac. They divided the country into five parts, called "Coigi" or fifths, which continued through successive conquests as a permanent arrangement, so that "Coigi" became synonymous with province.

Slainghe possessed Leinster from the estuary of the Boyne to Comor na dtri uisce, the meeting of the three rivers Suire, Barrow and Nore, at Lough da Caoic or Waterford Haven. From this to Belach Conglais, near Cork, called in after times the province of Eochaidh Abraruadh, fell to the share of Gann. Sengann ruled the province of Curoi mac Daire, which extended from Belach Conglais to Rhos da saillech, on the Shannon, where the City of Limerick now stands. From this to the river Drobhais Bundrowes in Leitrim was under the sway of Genann. Ruadhri ruled Ulster, from Bun-

drowes to Invercolp, at Drogheda ("Ogygia" iii., cap. viii.) These boundaries are all undefined in the inland regions, which shows that at this early period the centre of Ireland was unexplored, and perhaps uninhabited.

Slainghe, ancestor of the Old Leinstermen, called Fir Gaeilleon,¹ from the *Gaei* or short javelin which they used, landed at Inbhir Slainghe, now Wexford Haven, and gave his name to the River Slaney. Gann and Sengann disembarked at Inbhir Domnann, the estuary of Malahide, where a dangerous sandbank called Mol-downey bank, perpetuates their name, *i. e.* Mael Domhann, the whirlpool of the Domnann. Genan and Ruadhri, ancestors of the Fir Domnann, came to Tragh Ruadhri, in Ulster. Slainghe was the first king of Erin; his residence was at Duma Slainge, *i. e.* the mound of Slainge, now the moat of Ballyknockan, on the River Barrow, near Leighlin Bridge; he died there, after reigning only one year. Ruadhri reigned after him two years, and was slain at Bruigh on the Boyne, near Stackallen Bridge. Gann and Genann were slain at Frewin, in Meath. Fiachadh Cenfinnan, son of Starn, son of Ruadhri succeeded, and was slain. Rinnal, son of Genan mac Dela, next succeeded, and fell by Foibhgenn, son of Sengann, who in turn was slain by Eochaid mac Erc, son of Rinnal.

During the reign of Eochaid, the Tuatha de Danaan invaded Erin. They fought against the Firbolgs at Moytura,² in the now Co. Sligo. Eochaidh was defeated,

¹ Kings of the Firbolg race ruled till the middle of the 2nd century of the Christian Era. Eochaidh, son of Eochaid Domlenn, was set up as King of Leinster by Tuathal Tectmar, K. I. A. D. 130-160. Eochaid married the daughters of Tuathal, and his cruel treatment of them led to the imposition of the Boromha, or Cow Tribute to be paid by the men of Leinster. About this time the monarch Cathaoir Mor became King of Leinster (slain A. D. 177 by Concedcethach, K. I. 177-212). His sons became the founders of families which gave kings to Leinster to the 13th century of the Milesian or Scottic race: of these descend the O'Tooles, O'Byrnes, Cavanaghs, and O'Connors of O'Faly.

² A second battle of Moytura is often noticed. It is probable that there was only one battle of that name, which was fought in the vicinity of Sligo, where megalithic remains, spread over a large area—little inferior to the monuments at Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain—attest the truth of the ancient legend. A southern Moytura near Cong, at Lough Corrib, is sometimes spoken of. There are no remains there like those at Sligo; and the accounts of that battle mention the same heroes who are recorded as fighting in the northern battle-field. This, with other circumstances, make the fact of the Battle of Southern Moytura very questionable.

and ten thousand of his people were slain between Moytura and the sea shore. Kesair Luain and Luachta, the sons of Nemidh, son of Badrai of the De Danaan, slew Eochaidh at Traigh Eothali, near Ballysodare. The cairn on his grave, one of the wonders of Ireland, remained there till lately; it was taken away to build a fishing pier! The remnant of the Firbolg who escaped this slaughter fled to Aran, Isla, Reachra or Rathlenn, and the Hebrides, which they inhabited until they were driven away by the Picts. Homeless and wandering about, they applied to Cairbre Niafer, son of Rossaroadh, king of Leinster in the 1st century; he gave them Rath Cealtchair, Rath Conrach, and Rath Comar, in Meath, for which they were to pay tribute. After some time, unable to pay these exorbitant exactions, they migrated to Connaught, leaving some of their countrymen in Leinster; the Galleons in Hy Kinselagh and the Hy Tarsaigh in Ofaley, Oillil Mor, brother of Cairpre Niafer and husband of Meave, queen of Connaught, daughter of Eochaid Feidloch, K. I., gave them lands there free of tribute. This removal is called the migration of the sons of Uathmoir, one of the remote ancestors of the western Firbolgs. Their settlements were chiefly in Clare, the sea coast of Galway, and Iorrus Domnann in Mayo, whence were the Gabranraige or Garamandii and the Clanna Morna. Conchurn and Aengus settled on Arran; he gave his name to that most wonderful fort, Dun Angus on that island, though it is probable it was erected long before his time. The Firbolgs gave provincial kings to Connaught and Leinster, until they were overpowered and absorbed into the Milesian or Scotie race in the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Christian era (*vide* O'Haverty's "History of Ireland," cap. iv., p. 1).

V.—THE TUATHA DE DANAAN.

The descendants of Ibaath, son of Beothach, son of Jarbonel the prophet, son of Nemidh, next came to Ireland. After the defeat of the Nemidhians at Tor Conaing, Ibaath went with his followers to the north-

east of Europe to a country called Beotia, supposed to have been Bothnia or Finland, in the region of the Cimbric Chersonesus (the proper form of the name was perhaps lost through the blunders of the ancient scribes). It may be that the traditions of two nations are confounded in the obscure history of the Tuatha de Danaan. We have already seen that the Nemidhians took refuge in Britain and Lochlinn from the oppression of the Fomorians. It is not improbable, that in their wanderings in the north-east, they fell in with a Danaan or Greco-Pelasgian tribe, with whom they coalesced, and then retraced their course to the land whence they fled. Our ancient traditions refer the early colonist to a Grecian or Pelasgic origin. It seems very probable that these Danaans were Danai or Greeks, or old Greco-Pelasgians, who are known to have migrated to the south-west of Europe, and may, in a secondary and smaller swarm, have gone northwards also. This would account for the confusion made by our Celtic bards in approximating Beotia and Bothnia (*vide* O'Mahony's "Keating," chap. x.) Our museums and private collections of antiquities afford sufficient evidence of Greek art in the ancient bronze swords, spears, javelins, and other antiquities of this kind, usually referred to the Tuatha de Danaan. The stone circles, megalithic temples, and the pyramids or mounds at Dowth, New Grange, Drogheda, and others in the same locality, and at Knockany and Knockgrany, in Limerick, and the structures on the Pap Mountains in Kerry, must have been built and planned by craftsmen who originally learned their arts at the plain of the Troaid, or on the banks of the Nile. Our megalithic and structural remains are indeed much ruder, more time-worn and uncouth, but probably more ancient, than what may be now seen in the East. We must remember that the pyramids and other monuments in these Eastern countries are the perfect specimens of an improved art, practised here only in its infancy.

The Tuatha de Danaan dwelt in four cities in the land of Lochlinn, in the north-east of Europe, called Falias, Goreas, Finneas, and Murias. Migrating from

these cities, they carried away with them four articles held in the highest esteem; from Falias, the Lia Fail or stone of destiny; from Goreas, the sword of Lugaidh Lamfadh, his spear from Finias, and the cauldron of the Daghdha Eochaidh Ollathar from Murias. Tabairn, immediate ancestor of the Tuatha de Danaan, was the leader of this migration. He settled on the plain of the Clyde amid the descendants of Prydan Moel; the locality was called from this ancient hero Magh Tabairn, i. e. the plain of Tabairn ("Ogygia" III., c. xiii., p. 178). It is mentioned by St. Patrick Mac Calphurn as Campus Taburni or Tabernia ("Confes." cap. i.).

The time spent in Britain is stated to have been seven years, which must, in this instance, represent a much longer period, as five generations intervened between Tabairn and Nuadhat of the silver hand, the leader of the second migration of the Tuatha de Danaan to Ireland. Sailing from the estuary of the Clyde, they landed perhaps at the River Erne, in the Bay of Donegal; and under the cover of fogs and mists, after burning their ships on the sea shore, they penetrated into the country as far as Sliabh an Erinn, a mountain, near Lough Allen, in Leitrim. They then sent to Eochaid Mac Ere, king of the Firbolgs of Connaught, to deliver the regal power to them or to accept the challenge of battle. The latter alternative was accepted, and both nations met at Moytura, between Lough Allen and Lough Gill; the Firbolgs were defeated, and Eochaid fell by the sons of Nemidh, son of Badrai. In this battle Nuadh lost his hand. Being on this account incapacitated to reign, Breas, son of Elathan, his kinsman, succeeded in his place. Nuadh, after some years, recovered from his wounds, through the skill of Diancect the physician, who was fabled to have supplied a silver hand. He was thence called Argetlamh, or silver-handed, but more likely so from his generous disposition in bestowing gifts and presents. On his recovery he asserted his right to reign, whereupon a great battle ensued on the same battle-field, Moytura. The discontented Fomorians joined Breas, and Balor Beimnech "of the mighty blows." Breas and Balor fell

at Moytura, and Nuadh also, by the hand of Elathan, son of Dealbath. Lugadh Lamfoda, or long hand, son of Cian, son of Esarbreac, son of Niadh, succeeded as king of Erin. He instituted the great fair of Tailtin, in honour of his fosterer Tailti, daughter of Maghmor, king of Spain, first the wife of Eochaidh mac Erc, and, secondly, of Eochaid Garb, of the Danaans. Lugaidh was slain at Caendrum or Usney hill by Ethor or Mac Coill, son or grandson of the Daghdha mor.

Eochaid Ollathar, called the Daghdha mor, became king of Ireland; he died from the effect of a wound received from Ceithlenn, the wife of Balor Beimnech, and grandmother of Lugaidh Lamfadh. She lived on an island in Lough Erne, Inis Ceithlenn, where the town of Enniskillen now stands and perpetuates her name. Eochaid Ollathar the Daghdha was buried with his sons, Aengus Aedh and Cermad-milbeol, in the tumulus at New Grange, which is even to the present time one of the most remarkable ancient monuments in Western Europe. These ancient tumuli were opened by the Danes for the first time in A. D. 852, and plundered, as is recorded in the "Annals of Ulster" (*vide* Dr. Petrie's "Round Towers," p. 100, n.).

One of the chiefs of the Tuatha de Danaan was Ogma, father of Dealboth, successor of the Daghdha, Oghma Grian Eiges, i. e. the sage of the sun. This name is mythological; it perhaps corresponds with Ogmios, the god of eloquence among the Gauls. To him is attributed the invention of a kind of mystic alphabet, the Ogham writing or letters, so called after their supposed inventor. Whether this style of writing was identical with that which is now called Ogham, and found on ancient monuments in Britain and Ireland, is still undecided.

The rule of the Tuatha de Danaan terminated while the three sons of Cermad Milbeol held the sovereignty of Erin. A new race, the Miletian,¹ appeared on the

¹ St. Patrick, in his "Confessio," speaks of the Scoti as the dominant race in Ireland in his time—a pre-eminence

held by them till the Norman invasion in the 12th century. From the earliest period the Ard Righs, or head kings of Ire-

stage, and took possession of the island at least one thousand years before the Christian era. They effected a permanent settlement in the country, superseding all the former races, which in course of time were absorbed into the new population, the Milesian or Gaelic peoples, the progenitors of the great bulk of the Irish race of the present day, and of the Gael of North Britain, now represented by most of the Highland clans of Scotland, whither Cairpre Riadha son of Conaire is said to have migrated in the 2nd century. A permanent settlement was made, however, A. D. 503, when Fergus mor Mac Erc and his brothers of the race of Cairpre son of Conaire II., K. I. A. D. 158-166, passed over from Dal Riadha in Antrim, and gave a new name and line of kings to the Scottish nation in North Britain.

and were nearly always of the Milesian stock. Provincial kings and petty reguli are often found of the earlier races, especially in Connaught. There are no pedigrees preserved of these older races, nor were they ever written, as it was prohibited to record them. This explains the mythical and unsatisfactory accounts

we have of the earlier races who lived in Ireland before the Scoti or Milesians. Their history, both public and tribal, was rigidly suppressed to dispirit and inure them to slavery, and make them forget their former freedom and independence.

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES, ETC., OF THE PARISHES OF SANTRY
AND CLOGHRAN, COUNTY DUBLIN.

BY BENJAMIN W. ADAMS, D.D., M.R.I.A., ETC., RECTOR OF SANTRY.

THE pretty village of Santry, erected in the Swiss style by the late Lady Domvile, in 1840, lies four miles north of Dublin, and derives its name Santry (*i. e.* old tribe) from an ecclesiastical establishment founded here in the 6th century, by St. Papan (to whom the present church is dedicated), son, or, more probably, grandson of Aenghus MacNadfrech, King of Munster, slain in 489, at the battle of Cell Osnadha (*An. iv.*)

The village here was ancient, being mentioned in a Chancery Roll dated 1379, and formerly gave name to the entire barony, since changed to Coolock.

This neighbourhood was included in the grant of the kingdom of Meath, by Henry II., to Hugh De Lacy, who regranted the manors of Skryne and Santry to Adam de Feipo or Phepoe, in whose family it continued until about 1375, when Johanna, daughter and heiress of Francis de Feipo or Phepoe,¹ married Thomas Mareward, afterwards created Baron of Skryne. In the latter part of the 16th century it passed to the Nugent family, by the marriage of William Nugent of Ross Castle, county Meath, second son of Richard, eighth Baron of Delvin, with Janet, daughter and heiress of Walter Mareward, Baron of Skryne. This William Nugent was attainted in 1581, and his estates forfeited to the Crown; but in 1608 they were restored by James I., and appear soon after to have been sold to Alderman Richard Barry, of Dublin, whose eldest son James became Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and was raised to the peerage in 1661, as Baron Barry of Santry. The fourth Baron, Henry, convicted in 1739 of the murder of Laughlin Murphy, was attainted, but, though afterwards pardoned

¹ The Editors of the new edition of Archdall's *Monasticon*, vol. i., p. 305, note, mention that the late Mr. James Phepoe, of Taghadoe, near Maynooth, was re-

puted to be the lineal descendant of this family, and that he possessed a quantity of ancient documents and muniments dating back to a very early period.

and his estates restored, his title was forfeited. For a true and faithful account of this trial, see Gilbert's *History of Dublin*, vol. iii., p. 89. This nobleman, in early life, formed the subject of a characteristic correspondence between his mother, Lady Santry and Dean Swift [see Scott's *Life of Swift*]. He married twice, but left no family, and dying, March 18, 1751, in Nottingham, was buried in St. Nicholas's Church there, as appears from the parish register:—

"1751. The Hon^{ble}. Henry Barry, Esq., formerly Lord Santry, of the Kingdom of Ireland, buried 22 March."

He demised his estates to his uncle, Sir Compton Domville, Bart., of Templeogue, county Dublin, from whom they have descended to the present owner, Sir Charles C. W. Domville, Bart., of Santry Court.

In 1641, the village, consisting "of a small slated house and six thatched cabbins" [Civil Survey], was visited by a body of soldiers, sent, it is supposed, by Sir Charles Coote, Governor of Dublin, "to quell some ravergers" here, who "killed some of the inhabitants without distinction of the innocent and the criminal." [Leland's *History of Ireland*.]

In 1756, the present parish Schoolhouse was erected. A stone over the entrance bears the following inscription:—

This School House was Built in pursuance
of the Will of the Rev^d. DANIEL JACKSON of
Clanshagh, formerly VICAR of SANTRY, who left
a considerable part of a moderate Fortune
for the support thereof.

This Building was begun & finish'd, by the
Rev^d. JOHN JACKSON of CLONSHAGH, GRANDSON
to the said Testator, A. D. 1756.

The Grateful Parishioners have caus'd this
Stone to be fix'd here in remembrance of
their Charitable & worthy Benefactor.

On the evening of May 23rd, 1798, the insurgents stopped the Northern Mail in the village, about the end of Schoolhouse-lane, burned the coach and most of the

mail bags, without injuring the driver, guard, or passengers.

The present Rectory, erected in 1829, occupies a site about thirty yards west of its predecessor, built in the early part of the 16th century.

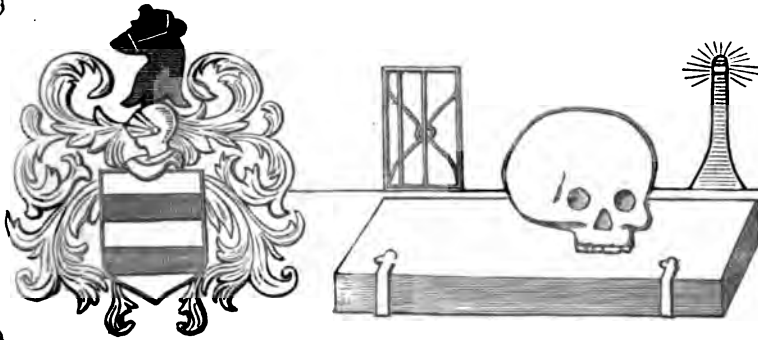
On the site of St. Papan's Church, already mentioned, Adam de Fiepo or Phepoe, in the latter part of the 12th century, erected a church, consisting of chancel and nave, separated by a Choir arch, and granted the same to the Abbey of St. Mary, Dublin [Arch. *Mon. Hib.*]. The Regal visitation of 1615 mentions that this church was in ruins. In 1539, William Landey, last Abbot of St. Mary's, Dublin, surrendered to Henry VIII. all the estates of the Abbey, including this parish, then containing a manse and glebe, of the annual value of £14 12s. [Inquis. in Chief Remb. Office, Dublin]. From this date the Crown retained the patronage of this living.

The present edifice, erected in 1709, on the site of the former, under the auspices and principally at the expense of the Right Hon. Henry Barry, third Baron Barry of Santry, is a rectangle, measuring 60 + 24 feet, with two narrow eastern windows, on either side of the handsome carved reredos, coeval with the church, consisting of three compartments, divided by Corinthian pillars, while above is a Sun in splendour, with Jehovah, in Hebrew characters, across his disk, representing "The Almighty dwelling aloft in glory."

In the chancel, which is paved with encaustic tiles, stands a hexagonal font, of Yorkshire stone, on its original octagon plinth, 2 feet 3 inches in diameter, and 3 feet 8 inches high, assigned by the author of the *Handbook of Irish Antiquities*, William F. Wakeman, to the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century. This font, one of the oldest in use in this diocese, was rescued from the ignominious use of holding water under a pump, and restored in 1877, by the present Rector, to its ancient position, from whence it had been removed in 1833; it bears the marks of having been used as a sharpening stone during its exile.

The pulpit, with its canopy, on the north side of the chancel, and the Santry-court pew opposite, are coeval

with and similar in style to the reredos ; all these were



INFRÀ SEPULTUS IACET
VENERABILIS VIR HENRICUS BRERETON
QUEM VITÆ INTEGRITAS ET INNOCENTIA
MORUM SUAVITAS ET CANDOR
TEMPERANTIA ET GRAVITAS VERE SACERDOTALIS
CHARITAS ERGA PAUPERES EXIMIA
IN REGEM FIDELITAS VEL IN ADVERSIS CONSPICUA
MODESTIA DENIQUE ET LENITAS ERGA OMNES
IN HAC VITA ILLUSTRREM REDDIDERUNT
VNDE ILLI IN CÆLUM
POSTQUAM PER XXXIII ANNOS IN HAC PAROCHIA
FÆLICITER ET VIXIT ET DOCVIT
INTRQITUM BENIGNE CONCISSIT DEVS
XXI. MAJ. A^o Dⁱ 1680
ANNO ÆTATIS 73.

Brass of Henry Brereton, Santry Church.

carefully preserved, when the church was re-pewed in 1877.

A monumental brass, now, alas! so rare in our churches, to the memory of Rev. Henry Brereton, A.M., Vicar of this parish, is on the north wall of the chancel. The upper part contains his family arms, "ar. two bars sa." surmounted by an Esquire's helmet and crest, "a Bear's Head, erased, sa: muzzled ar." To the right is engraved a skull, on a book, clasped; to the back, an hour-glass, and a light-house on a rock, representing "deceased man having finished his portion of time, looks forward to Faith, founded on a Rock." Beneath is the inscription [see Plate]. This brass owes its preservation to its having been inserted in a panel of a mural monument erected to the memory of his son-in-law and his family; and which bears the following inscription:—

MAY 1ST A.D., 1767.

HERE, ALSO LIETH THE BODY OF THE REV^d. DAN^l. JACKSON A FAITHFUL PASTOR: WHO SUCCEEDED THE ABOVE NAMED HENRY IN THIS PARISH, HAVING MARRIED HIS DAUGHTER JANE. HE DIED MARCH 1706, LEAVING ISSUE, JOHN & DANIEL: JOHN AT HIS FATHER'S DEATH OBTAINED THIS LIVING & DIED JUNE 1751, HIS ISSUE NOW ALIVE, ARE JANE, JOHN, & FRANCES, BY A DAUGHTER OF ALDERMAN CASTLETON'S OF FINGLASS, THE REV^d. DAN^l. JACKSON, SON TO THE APORES^d. DAN^l. HAS ERECTED THIS MARBLE TO THE MEMORY OF THOSE HIS ANCESTORS BURIED IN THE UNDERNEATH VAULT, WITH WHOM [WHEN IT SHALL PLEASE GOD TO TAKE HIM HENCE] HE DESIRES TO BE DEPOSITED, HE MARRIED CATHERINE DAUGHTER TO CHARLES DERING, AUDITOR GENERAL BY LADY BLAINNEY, SISTER TO LORD TULLAMORE.

DUM LOQUIMUR FUGIT HORA!

The first mentioned Rev. Daniel Jackson bequeathed lands, called "Golden's Freehold," which he held on lease for 999 years from Lord Barry, to trustees for the benefit of this parish, the profit rents of which form its present endowment.

Opposite, on the south wall, is a mural monument to the memory of Rev. John Bowden, D.D., Rector of Santry, who died January 24, 1776. He was also chaplain to the first Baron Lifford, Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

In the aisle of the chancel, a flag-stone bears the following inscription :—

Here lyeth the body of
Collonell Peeter Winn who
departed this life the 6th of
December 1697.
This stone was laid here by
his Wife Mrs. Mary Winn Eldest
daughter to Mr. Edward Barry
of Toberboney.

Colonel Winn, or Wynn, in his will, preserved in the Public Record Office, is described as "Peter Wynn, of the City of Dublin, Brewer." Miss Barry was his second wife, whom he married, 8 August, 1695; by his first marriage, he had a daughter, Mary, who married John Johnson; and to her son, Wynn Johnson, he bequeathed his estates, in case he had no issue by his second marriage. Mrs. Wynn died in 1731; her father, Mr. Edward Barry, was brother to the first Lord Barry. Toberboney [now Tubberbunny] House, where he resided, near Cloghran, was last occupied by Mr. William Sneyd, murdered at the Fair of Kilsalaghan, May 17, 1798; after his death it became a ruin, and its remains were removed in 1829.

The present Sir Charles C. W. Domville, Bart., has inserted, in front of the gallery, two marble panels; the southern thus inscribed :—

IN MEMORY OF
RICHARD 2ND LORD SANTRY
WHO DIED IN 1694
AND OF HIS WIFE
WHO DIED IN 1682
BOTH ARE BURIED AT SANTRY
LORD SANTRY WAS ATTAINTED
BY JAMES THE 2ND, AND LIVED
IN ENGLAND UNTIL THE REVOLUTION.
MANY MEMBERS OF THE BARRY FAMILY
LORDS BARRYMORE AND SANTRY,
ARE BURIED IN THE CHAPEL OF ST. MARY,
IN CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN,
WHICH CHAPEL HAS BEEN FOR YEARS
USED AS A SCHOOL ROOM.



Monument of Richard second Lord Barry, and his wife, Elizabeth.

Lady Barry's maiden name was Elizabeth Jenery; she died February 6, 1682. [Funeral entry, Ulster Office.] Her fourth son Henry, who succeeded to the title, was born in 1680.

The northern panel bears the following inscription:—

IN MEMORY OF
HENRY 3RD LORD SANTRY,
SON OF RICHARD 2ND LORD,
GOVERNOR OF DERRY AND OF CULMORE FORT,
PRIVY COUNCELLOR IN THE REIGNS OF
GEORGE 1ST AND 2ND
WHO DIED 27TH JANUARY 1734 AND IS BURIED AT SANTRY,
AND, ALSO OF HIS WIFE
BRIDGET
DAUGHTER OF SIR THOMAS DOMVILLE, OF TEMPLEOGUE, BART.
BY HIS 1ST WIFE, DAUGHTER OF SIR THOMAS LAKE
OF CANNONS, MIDDLESEX, BART.
LADY SANTRY DIED IN 1750, AND IS BURIED AT SANTRY.
LADY SANTRY WAS SISTER TO M^{RS}. POCKLINGTON, AND TO
SIR COMPTON DOMVILLE, OF TEMPLEOGUE, BART.
AND AUNT TO CHARLES POCKLINGTON DOMVILLE, OF SANTRY, ESQ^R.
WHO INHERITED THE SANTRY AND DOMVILLE ESTATES, IN 1768.

Lady Barry, of Santry, was buried at Santry, 8th September, 1750 [Parochial return]. To the back of the Santry-court pew is a large white marble monument, to several members of the Domville family, besides a monument on the south side of the nave in memory of Compton Charles Domville, who died March 19, 1852, aged 40. He was elder half-brother to the present Baronet. Opposite, on the north wall of the nave, is an artistic brass, erected by Sir Charles C. W. Domville, Bart., in memory of his sister, Emily Frances Domville, who died 1865, and was interred in Kensal Green, near London.

A stained glass window, in the south side of the nave, was erected by Anna Helena, Lady Winnington and

Louisa, Madam Torben De Bille, in memory of their mother, who is buried at Heywood, Queen's County; it bears the following inscription:—

*In memory of Sarah Helena Bombile; relict of
Sir Compton Bombile, Bart. Obitt Feby. 10th, 1859.*

Over the entrance door of the church is a stone, bearing this inscription:—

THIS CHURCH WAS REBUILT UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE
RIG^t. HONOURABLE HENRY L^d. BARON BARRY, OF SANTRY.
THE REV^d. JOHN JACKSON, VICAR OF SANTRY. JOHN WATSON
AND ROBERT RIBTON, CHURCH WARDENS. JOHN SCOT AND
ISAAC HUMPHREYS, OVERSEERS. THOMAS PITT AND JAMES
SHELTON, UNDERTAKERS. IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1709.

Near the entrance gate is the handsome monument [see Plate] of Richard Barry, second Lord Barry, who died October 1694, and of his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Jenery, Esq., of the Court of King's Bench, England, who died February 6, 1682. The arms over his head are those of the Barry family, while the Jenery arms are over her head. The perpendicular and horizontal hour-glasses show that this monument was erected during Lord Barry's life, and after his wife had died. It is of basalt, and as perfect as when first carved, except that the present inscription was substituted for the original one, when the late Sir Compton Domville, Bart., had it placed, for preservation, on its present supports.

The mortuary urn, erected, on the south side of the church, by the present Baronet, to the memory of his father, Sir Compton Domville, Bart., who died February 23, 1857, is justly admired for its chaste and classical form.

In 1836, while digging a deep grave in this churchyard, more than 100 silver pennies, probably of the Edwards, were discovered, but were all lost or distributed without being identified.

Besides those mentioned, the following have been interred here:—

1707. Interred, privately by night, by his own direction, Rev^d. Patrick Grattan, D.D., ex F.T.C.D., Rector of Raheny] 1680–1703], of Belcamp Park, in this parish. [Will in Public Record Office.]
1762. Interd the corps of St. George Ribton, in the church, March the 11th. [Parish Register.] He was Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1749; created a Baronet 12 April, 1759, and was ancestor of the present Sir John Ribton, Bart. His wife was interred here, 6 August, 1750. [Parish Register.]
1766. Interd the corps of James Gratton, Esq., in the vault, June y^e 14th. [Parish Register.] He resided at Belcamp Park, in this parish; was Recorder of and M.P. for the City of Dublin. Grandson of the afore mentioned Rev^d. Patrick Grattan, D.D., and Father of the celebrated orator and patriot the Right Hon^{ble}. Henry Grattan, M.P., of Tinnehinch, County Wicklow, of whom it has justly been written, by Mrs. John Power, in her Prologue to the Kilkenny Private Theatricals, 1818 :—

“Boast we not Grattan’s high, unsullied name—
Our truest patriot in the list of fame :
Who, scorning party, praise and blame, withstood—
One glorious object his—his country’s good.”

Santry Court, the residence of Sir C. W. Domville, Bart., adjoining the village, was erected in 1702, by Henry, third Lord Barry; it is a large brick mansion, comprising a centre and two wings, the latter thrown forward and connected with the main body by covered passages. The rooms are lofty and spacious. The ceilings either richly gilt, ornamented with armorial bearings, or rare engravings; while many of the windows exhibit stained glass remarkable either as a work of art or for its antiquity. The pleasure-grounds are well laid out, and the demesne extensive and prettily diversified with wood and water.

At Kiarncross, now Furry or Furzy Park, near this, resided for some years John Egan, M. P., Chairman of Kilmainham, remarkable for his strenuous and continued opposition to the Union.

On the townland of Balcurreis, about a mile west of the village, St. Folloman, brother to St. Papan, in the end of the 6th century erected a church, and dedicated it to St. MacTail, of Kilcullen, who died June 11, 548. In 1167, Gilbert de Nugent bestowed this church of Desertale and four carrucates of land, adjoining, on the Abbey of the Virgin Mary, Dublin. [*Mon. Hib.*] Its ruins have disappeared, and even its site is forgotten. Local tradition points out this townland as the site of an encampment of James II., previous to the battle of the Boyne. Coins of that period, and bones of oxen and sheep, are frequently dug up.

The townland of Poppintree or Papan's Tree derives its name from an ancient tree around which, until about fifty years ago, the Patron of St. Papan used to be held, on July 31st. It formed anciently part of the townland of Meekstown, on which stood an extensive brick mansion [*Civil Survey*], called Meekstown Castle, erected in the latter part of the 16th century, and inhabited in 1641 by Sir John Stephens, Knt. [*Hearth Roll*], Governor or Constable of Dublin Castle, and Collector of Waterford [*Lib. Mun.*] Its site is now occupied by the farmyard and offices of Meekstown House.

Near this, on the townland of the same name, stood "Dubber Castle," erected between 1582 and 1611, by Sir Christopher Plunkett, of Dunsoghly Castle, and inhabited in 1664 by Sir Daniel Bellingham, Bart. [*Hearth Roll*], first Lord Mayor of Dublin, in 1665. He died 1672, and was succeeded in his title and estates by his only son, Sir Richard Bellingham, Bart., who dying unmarried, June 1699, the title became extinct. [*Will in Public Record Office.*] Some statues formerly here are now in the Salmon Bank Preserves, at Castle Bellingham, County Louth. [*Burke's Vis. of Seats.*] Only the door-sill of the castle now remains, to the north-west of the present house, erected out of the ruins of the castle, which, though comparatively small [*Civil Survey*], existed nearly perfect to the end of last century.

To the south of the avenue of Belcamp Park, a green mound is traditionally pointed out as the grave of a

general of the army of William III., who died of his wounds received in the battle of the Boyne.

CLOGHRAN [*i. e.* STONE OF SONG], SWORDS CHURCH,

About two and-a-half miles north of Santry, and now forming part of the union, was re-erected in 1712, on the site of a church containing chancel and nave, erected in the 12th century, by Ryryd, son of Owen Gwyneth, Prince of North Wales, who in right of his wife was Lord of Clochran.

In shape it is rectangular, like Santry, only smaller. It contains two modern monuments, one to the memory of Sir Henry Wilkinson, Knt., Recorder of Kilkenny, who died in 1831, aged 79; the other to that of Mrs. Mary Dogherty, who died in 1789. In 1532, Archbishop Allen mentions that this parish was in the patronage of the Barnwell and Nugent families, as heirs of the Hollywood family. [*Rep. Viride.*] On the attainder of these families, the Crown retained the patronage. To the west of the church, close to the Forest road, was an ancient rath, 150 feet in diameter; the eastern rampart was levelled "in 1822, and some ancient silver and copper coins, pikes, pipes, and musket bullets were found." [*Lewis's Top. Dict.*] In 1873, the remainder of it was levelled, when four slap-shillings, an Irish half-penny of William and Mary, and a defaced 17th century token were found, along with a curious paved narrow road leading to a few paved steps in the side of the embankment. Tradition says an old castle stood near this rath, which was destroyed by its Irish garrison, to prevent its being occupied by the English. From this castle and rath it is said the present house and adjoining land derive their name of "Castlemoate."

The Rectory, now passed into lay hands, is situated near the church, and was erected in 1811.

On the townland of Middleton formerly stood the old church of "Glynshagh," confirmed by Pope Clement III., in 1189, to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, from which circumstance it was known in the neighbourhood as "St. Mary's Church." All traces of its ruins had disappeared,

when, about sixty years ago, the proprietor ploughed up the adjoining cemetery, using the tombstones to cover drains, &c.

The adjoining townland of Springhill or Rickenhed is the property of the Green-coat Hospital, Cork, since 1737.

ECCLESIASTICS OF SANTRY.

6th century. St. Papan, founder and Patron Saint of Santry, was grandson of Aenghus MacNadfraech, King of Munster.

827. Died, Cormac, son of Muirgheas, Abbot of Seantrabh or Santry. [An. iv.]

1038. Died, St. Pappan; he had been born at Santry, had travelled into France, where he erected many monasteries, and prepared men to govern them; he became Abbot of Stabuletum, in France, where he died, and was interred. [*Hanmer's Chronicles.*]

1591. William Savage, *alias* Savadge, is described in the Visitation Book of this year as "antiquus minister residens." [MS. E. 3, 14, Lib. T.C.D.]. In 1610 he also held Dromcornath [Drumcondra], and Clontarf. [Visitation Book.] He died in 1617.

1617. September 23rd, Richard Wiborow, *alias* Wyborowe, Curate of Kilmactalway, was appointed by James I. to the Vicarage of Saintre, or Sauntre, then "vacant and in the King's gift of full right." [*Pat. Rot.*]

1634. Henry Brereton, A. M., appointed by the Crown; in addition he held the Rectories of Clontarf and Baheny; the Vicarage of Kilsallaghan, in the diocese of Dublin; the united Rectories of Borris and Kilcolmanbane [Maryborough], diocese of Leighlin. [*Lib. Mun.*] He resigned Santry in 1678, in favour of his son-in-law, and dying, 21 May, 1680, was interred at Santry.

1678. November 11th, Daniel Jackson, A. M., Minor Canon of St. Patrick's Cathedral, who had married, April 1668, Jane, daughter of the former Rector, was appointed by the Crown. [*Lib. Mun.*] 27 June, 1689, he was collated to the Prebend of Stagonil, *alias* Temple Beacan. [Cotton's *Fasti.*] 20 September, 1703, the Chapter of St. Patrick's elected him their Proctor to attend the convocation. [Cotton's *Fasti.*] He died, March 1706, and was buried at Santry. For his bequest to this parish, see before.

1706. June 16th, John Jackson, A.M. [son of the last Rector], succeeded. He also held the Vicarage of Coolock and Prebend of Howth; he was an intimate friend of Dean Swift, who bequeathed him "all his horses, his horse furniture, and his third-best beaver hat." [Mason's *Hist. of St. Patrick.*] 7 July, 1750, he resigned Santry on his appointment to the Prebend and Vicarage of Wicklow, and dying, June 1751, was interred at Santry.
1750. July 12th, Middleton Cornyn-Middleton, LL.D., Curate of St. Nicholas Within, Dublin, succeeded, and died 1774.
1774. November 17th, John Bowden, D.D., Chancellor of Lismore, and Private Chaplain to the first Viscount Lifford, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, succeeded. He died, 24 January, 1776, aged 44, and was buried beneath a flat tombstone to the east of the Church.
1776. January 27th, Hon^{ble}. James Hewitt, A.M., eldest son of Viscount Lifford, was appointed by the Crown; same year he was collated to the Chancellorship of Lismore. [Cotton's *Fasti.*] In 1777 he resigned Santry and successively became second Viscount Lifford and Dean of Armagh; he died 15 April, 1830, aged 80, in Coventry, England, where he was interred.
1777. September 12th, Thomas Hastings, LL.D., succeeded. In 1781 he resigned Santry, on his appointment to the Precentorship of St. Patrick's Cathedral, which he exchanged for the Archdeaconry, and dying, 1794, was buried in St. Peter's, Dublin; where is a monument to his memory; for the inscription see Cotton's *Fasti*.
- Hon^{ble}. John Hewitt, A.M., fourth son of the First Viscount Lifford, was Curate from 4 June, 1778 to 1779, when he was promoted to the Deanery of Cloyne; he died 1804. Christopher Butson, D.D., ex F., New Col. Oxford, was Curate here from 4 June 1779 to April 1784, when he became Dean of Waterford; subsequently he was consecrated Bishop of Clonfert. He died 1836, at Bath, and was interred in the Abbey Church there, where is a monument to his memory, with an inscription given in "Cotton's *Fasti*;" he was grandfather to the present Dean of Kilmaedduagh.
1781. May 30th, Thomas Smyth, LL.D. [son of George Smyth, Baron of the Exchequer, and grandson of the Right Rev^d. Thomas Smyth, D.D., Bishop of Limerick], Precentor of Clogher and Rector of Enniskillen, was appointed by the Crown; he died in 1821.
1821. May 23rd, Denis Browne, A.M., grandson of the second Earl of Sligo, succeeded; 28 January, 1844; he resigned Santry on his ap-

pointment to the Rectory of Enniscorthy. In 1852 he became Dean of Emly, and died in 1864.

1843. February 11th, Henry Lefroy, A. M., brother of Chief Justice Lefroy, succeeded, and dying, 29 January, 1876, was buried at Santry.
1876. March 17th, Benjamin William Adams, D. D., Rector of Cloghran, succeeded.

ECCLESIASTICS OF CLOGHRAN, SWORDS.

1190. Walter Comyn was appointed to the Prebend of Swords and its dependent Chapels, among which was enumerated "Caplain de Cloghere." [*Allen's Reg.*]
1473. and 1479, Thomas Mayow was Rector of Cloghran. [*Ir. Ezech. Rot. Lib. T. C. D.*]
1525. Thomas Geralde, Rector, received license from Henry VIII. to be absent from Ireland for seven years. [*Ir. Ezech. Rot.*]
1591. James Kegan was Rector. [MS. E. 3, 14, Lib. T. C. D.]. Probably he died in 1597.
1597. James Keysan, *alias* Kyan or Keane, was appointed Rector; 3 August, 1603, he received a dispensation to hold this Rectory with that of Rathangan, along with the Vicarage of Dunboyne. [*Reg. Visitation*, 1615.] In 1617 he resigned Cloghran, retaining his other Livings until his death, December, 1642, when he was buried, December 16th, in St. Michan's, Dublin. [*Par. Reg.*]
1617. August 5th, Nicholas Meiler or Meyler, A. M., succeeded; the parish being now "vacant, and in the King's gift of full right." [*Pat. Rot.*] Most probably he resigned Cloghran in 1621, on his promotion to the Chancellorship of Ossory; he died 1665.
1630. June 1, Nicholas Culme, who had been Curate of Ballyboghil. [*Reg. Vis.* 1615], Minor Canon of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, was Rector. [*Vis. Book*, MS. F. 3, 17, Lib. T.C.D.] Probably he succeeded Meiler. He died 28 February, 1640, and directed his body to be buried in the chancel of Cloghran Church. [*Will in Pub. Record Office.*] He resided in Tubberbunny House.
1640. April 8th, Alexander Hatfield, A. M., ex F.T.C.D., succeeded; he died probably in 1674.

1674. July 4th, Michael Hewetson, A. M., son of the Rev^d. William Hewetson, of Dublin, succeeded to the Parishes of Swords and Cloghran, which were held conjointly until 1703 ; in consequence of the latter church being in ruins ; he resigned, 1680, on being appointed Archdeacon of Armagh ; during life he was the intimate and valued friend of the Right Rev^d. Thomas Wilson, D.D., Bishop of Sodor and Man, and, dying 1709, aged 66, was interred beside the old Church of Mylerstown, Co. Kildare, where in 1861 the inscription on his tombstone was so defaced that only the following could with difficulty be deciphered : " Here lies the body of the learned and pious divine, M l He o . . , aged 66." [Keble's *Life of Bishop Wilson*.]
1681. February 21st, Garrett Barry, Rector of Kilsaran, diocese of Armagh, was appointed by the Crown to Swords and Cloghran. [*Lib. Mun.*] 1 June, same year, he resigned, and was appointed Chancellor of Armagh and Rector of Kilmore ; he died in 1865. [Cotton's *Fasti*.]
1681. June 30th, Henry Scardevile, D.D., Chaplain to Duke Schomberg, succeeded to these Parishes. [*Lib. Mun.*] 4 September, 1691, he became Dean of Cloyne, and dying, 3 February, 1703, was buried in the Chancel of Swords Church, where his tombstone and mural monument remain ; the inscriptions are given in *Brady's Records*, vol. ii., p. 200.
1705. December 24th, Gilbert Deane was appointed Rector of Cloghran, by the Crown ; he died in 1711.
1711. October 16th, Richard Bambrick, *alias* Bambrigge, A. M., succeeded ; he re-roofed and restored the Parish Church in 1712, and resigned in 1723.
- George Marlay, D. D., an Englishman, was Curate from 1718 to 1720, when he was collated to the Prebend of Inver, diocese of Raphoe ; in 1745 he became Bishop of Dromore, and died in 1763. [Cotton's *Fasti*.]
1723. January 23rd, John Wynne, D. D., Prebendary of Swords, succeeded ; in 1730 he became Presentor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, and dying in 1762, was buried at Donnybrook.
- John Jackson, A. M., was Curate from 1742 to 1750 ; in 1783 he became Archdeacon of Clogher, and dying 21 October, 1787, was buried at Santry.
1762. April 8th, Joseph Davis, A. B., Curate of Santry, succeeded, and died in 1780.

1780. April 6th, Mark Wainwright, A. B., Curate of Tallagh, succeeded, and resigned in 1782.
1782. Edward Synge, A. M., eldest son of Ven. Edward Synge, D. D., Archdeacon of Killaloe, succeeded, but resigned 9 August, same year, on his appointment to the Rectory and Vicarage of Litter and Marahalstown, dio. of Cloyne. He died unmarried, 1818.
1782. September 7th, John Baird succeeded, and died in 1804.
1804. June 30th, William Lyster, A. B., Curate of Clonpriest, diocese of Cloyne, succeeded; he resigned in 1831, and dying in 1833, was buried in the south side of the nave of Cloghran Church.
1831. July 16th, Edmond Jones Lewis, A. M., Curate of Cloghran, succeeded; he resigned in 1854, on his appointment to the Rectory of Knockmark, diocese of Meath, where he died, and was buried in 1877.
1854. February 18th, Benjamin William Adams, D. D. [youngest son of the Very Rev^d Samuel Adams, A. M., Dean of Cashel], Curate of St. Mary Shandon, Cork, succeeded. In 1872 this Parish was united to Santry, and 17 March, 1876, Dr. Adams succeeded to the Union of Santry, on the death of the Rev^d H. Lefroy, A. M.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT THE QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held at the Town Hall, Enniskillen, on Tuesday, July 5, 1881 ;

RICHARD LANGRISHE, V. P., in the Chair :

The following Fellow was admitted :—

Robert Cochrane, C.E.

The following Members were elected :—

The Rev. Robert J. Gabbett, Kilkee, Co. Clare.

P. J. Lynch, 11, Hartstong-street, Limerick.

Adam J. M'Elwaine, Westport, Co. Mayo.

Samuel Wilson, The Woodlands, Athlone.

Edward Glover, C.E., Castlebar.

J. C. M'Causland, Glenar House, Pettigo.

The Earl of Enniskillen presented three stone celts, and a very fine flint arrow-head, all found in Fermanagh. One of the stone celts was found in a Crannog.

Mr. Robert J. Knowles exhibited a large collection of beads, whorls, and amulets, found in Ireland.

Mr. George J. Hewson exhibited photographs of a processional cross of the fifteenth century, found in the county Kerry.

Mr. Edward Atthill, J.P., Ardvarney, Kesh, exhibited specimens of ancient pottery, found by himself in Indian mounds in Canada, on the shore of Sturgeon Lake. The remarkable feature of this pottery was the close resemblance to the crannoge pottery found in Ireland, and in the neighbourhood of Enniskillen. There were also pipes found in those mounds by Mr. Atthill. These were considered very ancient by the native Indians, and must have been used at a time long anterior to the use of tobacco in smoking. Mr. Atthill also produced a small bronze strainer, of Roman design, similar to specimens found with Roman antiquities in England and Scotland. The only difference between this and other objects of the same class found in various parts of the British Isles is, that a number of the holes at the bottom formed a perfect Greek cross.

Mr. Wakeman remarked, about this cross, that it was probably of Roman design, and said it was a well-known fact that, at the time of the decadence of Roman power in Britain, bronze was still used in the manufacture of culinary articles, and that some form of Christianity prevailed; and the cross at the bottom of the vessel might be intended to import some sort of good fortune.

Mr. Atthill also exhibited a tradesman's token of the seventeenth century, bearing on the obverse, "John Rynd Marchant"; on the reverse, "of Inniskillen."

Dr. Mahood exhibited a quern, which he had seen in full working order in China. It was quite in principle the same as our own quern stones used at the present time.

Mr. Bernard Bannon, of Cavancarragh, exhibited a stake found at a depth of twenty-five feet beneath the surface of a bog at the base of Toppid mountain. Similar stakes, he said, are found frequently beneath bogs in this part of Fermanagh, and there is a general idea among the peasantry that they were used some way in the capture of deer. The end of the stake,

which was of birch, was sharply pointed, and had apparently been cut by a small metallic instrument—most probably, from the shape of the cuts, by a paal-stave of bronze.

The town mace of Enniskillen, a magnificent specimen of Irish silver plate, was exhibited by the Town Commissioners. It was three feet high, and bore the initials of Queen Anne, "A. R.," at either side of the arms of England on a shield of six quarters—1st and 5th, England; 2nd, Scotland; 3rd, France; 4th, Ireland; 6th, Nassau. The arms of Enniskillen were on the knob at the base—a castle—evidently a portraiture of the original castle of Enniskillen. The plate marks proved the mace to be of Irish manufacture, being the maker's initials *H. S.*, the year letter *S*, and a harp crowned. The year letter, a black letter *S* on a shield fixed the date of the mace to be 1710–11. There was also exhibited the seal of Enniskillen, of silver; it bore the castle of Enniskillen on the field, with the legend "Iniskillen Corporation, 1612."

Mr. John Browne, Drapersfield, sent the following note:—

"When in Cookstown on Saturday evening last, the 11th inst., I called at the police station, to have a look at a wooden plate and spoon which had lately been found beside a human skeleton in Dunmore bog. The constable who showed me the plate and spoon mentioned that the skeleton was discovered, about the depth of three spits of turf or so from the surface, in this mountain bog; it was in a space of about three feet in length, and apparently drawn up, or contracted as with cold, and partly wrapped up in blankets; and that there had evidently been two blankets—one coarse and strong, the other finer, and that the plate seemed to have been over the face. Both plate and spoon are very coarsely made, having no trace of either ornament or carving of any description, except an attempt at a W on the handle of the spoon where it joins the bowl.

"I should mention that our place here at Drapersfield is situated about three miles from Cookstown, on the Ballinderry river; which stream divides the counties of Tyrone and Derry for some distance; and about a mile and a half down the river from us, on the Derry side, is a small plantation of oak, called the 'oak wood.' On a small open space in this wood is the figure of a large man, as if lying on his back, with his arms extended. The local tradition is, that a giant named Burns, who flourished in this neighbourhood about a couple of generations ago, while on his way from Moneymore to Cookstown was induced to lie down on his back upon the sward, and extend his arms crosswise. A

friend of his who was present at the time, with a spade, cut out in the sod the outline of his figure. The outline of Burns is cleaned out regularly by a farmer who lives close by. The length, from the crown of the head to the heel, is 14 feet 1 inch, and from the tip of the fingers on one hand to that on the other is 11 feet 9 inches.

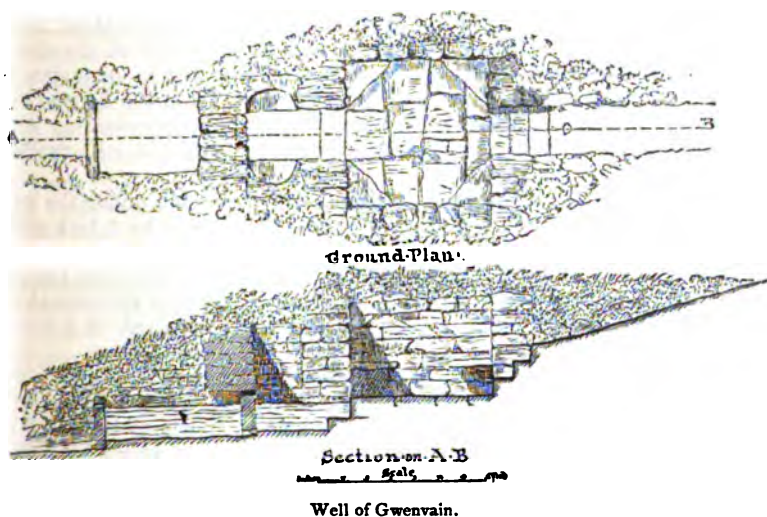
Mr. Robert Young, Belfast, sent the following notice of a holy well at Rhoscolyn, in the island of Holyhead, Anglesea, North Wales:—

"In September last year I paid a visit to some relatives who were spending that month at a rather remote little watering place at the north-west of Anglesea, known as Rhoscolyn. To reach it you must first get to Holyhead, which I did about twelve o'clock at night, by one of the fine steamers from the North Wall, and slept at the comfortable new railway hotel that night. Next morning I drove five miles to the southern end of the little island of Holyhead, and found that Rhoscolyn formed its lofty southern end, just as Holyhead mountain was its northern. The middle portion is for the most part low, the soil sandy, and the scenery would be uninteresting were it not for the huge masses of grey rocks which rise abruptly at many points, and afford a suitable surface soil for lichens of various tints, and having a great growth of heather and gorse at top which so embellish it that there is no part of the little island wanting in the picturesque. But at the south it rises into a plateau of about 500 feet over sea level; and the coast being fringed for some miles with splendid cliffs, from 50 to 200 feet high, of which several rise from deep water, there are abundant materials for the artist who seeks for his subject among the wilder aspects of nature.

"It was whilst wandering round these cliff heads that I happened to stumble on the curious structure which forms the subject of this communication. Following the coast line, I had reached a point where a tiny streamlet, coming down from the rough moorland which lies at the back of the cliffs, fell over the edge of the precipice into a small creek: a lofty wall of slaty rock rose sheer at the opposite side, and was crowned by a huge stone sheep-fence, so that I was obliged to turn up the little hollow down which the water came. After a few steps upwards I was struck with the singular appearance of the channel in which the water ran—not a mere track in the moory soil, but seemingly cut some feet deep through the soil, and two feet or so below that into the solid rock. Wondering what this could have been done for, as it seemed quite absurd to make a drainage outlet in such a locality, I followed on, and found the explanation in the structure in which the stream had its source, and which lay as if embedded in the heather beneath my feet. At first I thought it was some old system of water supply for the farm, or possibly an old sheep-washing place. I say *old* emphatically, as the stones were covered with the white and grey lichens which betoken the extremest age. I soon saw, on examination, that the details of it were not consistent with either of these theories, and the idea began to dawn slowly upon me that here might be a veritable relic of early Celtic Christianity in the form of a *Baptistery*. I felt a good deal exercised about the matter when, on making inquiry that evening, I found the place was known by the Welsh name—Ffynnawn Gwenvain—the well of Gwenvain. And,

from a parish statistical survey, which was hunted up by my friends, I further found this Gwenvain was the daughter of Pawl Hen, of Manaw, and sister of Penlan who, about 630, A.D., was the head of a small sisterhood at Rhoscolyn, of which the cloister garden still remains—a solitary but interesting relic. On inquiring if there was any tradition as to this well, or if visits were made to it on a particular day, I was told that the entire parish was Protestant, and no consideration of any kind was given to it, and the notion of anyone taking an interest in it, specially a stranger from Ireland, was the occasion of a good deal of merriment.

“The only ray of light thrown on the subject came from the tenant, a man upwards of eighty years of age, and who spoke no English. He had lived at Rhoscolyn all his life, and he said he remembered in his young days, when there was a christening in the parish church, it was usual



to bring the water for that ceremony from Ffynnawn Gwenvain. The distance between the two places is, I should think, almost half a mile, and the track rough and difficult.

“Next day I went to the place and made careful measurements, from which the ground plan and longitudinal section now before you have been prepared. I think these are so explicit that I shall only add a very few words of explanation.

“It will be seen by the section that the entire work has been, in the first instance, excavated to the depth of about 5 feet through the clay and rock below the natural surface of the hill-side. The excavation continues about 20 feet below the point A, in the form of a narrow channel, partly in the rock and partly in the clay, evidently intended for allowing the entire reservoirs or basins above being drained off entirely when required. The upper square chamber, which is 6 feet 1 inch on each of its sides, and 4 feet 6 inches deep, is lined with well-built walls of the local slate, without mortar.

"There are door-ways formed in the two opposite ends of this chamber, each 2 feet wide, where the walls are built 2 feet thick.

"Descending into this chamber from the upper level, by a narrow path with a fall of 1 in 5, three steps of 8 inches each, bring one to the floor, which is neatly paved with large slabs of stone, laid in the way shown on the ground plan.

"At each corner of the chamber a large flat slab, about 3 inches thick, is built into the walls in such a manner as to form what has all the appearance of an angle seat—the height from the paving is 1 foot 6 inches.

"From this chamber, the floor of which is dry, there is a descent of two steps into a basin 4 feet long by 2 feet wide, and enclosed by similar walls to those of the square chamber, except that at the furthest end there are two curious niche-like recesses constructed in the side walls. These begin at 1 foot 8 inches from the bottom of basin, and are 2 feet wide and 1 foot deep.

"The water is penned up by a large slab of stone 6 inches thick, fixed under the *inner* side of the wall, which forms the enclosure of the chamber at the lower end. There are two holes, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, in this slab; one at the top, corresponding with the level of the floor of the square outer chamber, and the other at the bottom, communicating with the cistern, bath, or whatever it may be called, situated still further down stream.

"This measures, at the water surface, from upper slab under the wall to the lower slab or solid penstock, 5 feet 9 inches long, by 3 feet wide, the water standing 1 foot 4 inches deep, and overflowing through a 2-inch hole cut for that purpose. The sides of this chamber are cut out of the rock for 1 foot 6 inches high, and the clay over this sloped off so that there was no stone walling, as elsewhere, required as a lining or support.

"It only remains for me to give what grounds I have for forming the opinion of this being a Baptistery of the Primitive Welsh Church. In the first place I may state that I can find no reference to it in any of the numerous works I have consulted, nor can I find anywhere a description or illustration of an exactly similar structure.

"There are many holy wells in Scotland and England retaining the names of the saints associated with them from the earliest times, and some are enclosed in beautiful little gothic buildings, of which St. Margaret's well, on Arthur's seat at Edinburgh, and St. Winifred's at Holywell, North Wales, are well-known examples. In Ireland, however, they are much more numerous, and the word Tobar is the prefix to more than one hundred and thirty townland names, many connected with the memory of patron saints.

"In Dr. Joyce's admirable work on *Irish Place-Names*, I find at page 435 the following reference to the way in which this connexion came about. After mentioning the way in which wells had been venerated in pagan times, he proceeds:—'After the general spread of the Faith, the people's affection for wells was not only retained, but intensified; for most of the early preachers of the Gospel established their humble foundations—many of them destined to grow, in after years, into great religious and educational institutions—beside those fountains, whose waters at the same time supplied the daily wants of the little communities, and served for the baptism of converts. In this manner most

of our early saints became associated with wells, hundreds of which still retain the names of those holy men who converted and baptized the pagan multitudes on their margins.'

"At the exceedingly old and curious—indeed I believe unique—building known as St. Dolough's Church, about five miles north from Dublin, there is a holy well dedicated also to this saint.

"Mr. Wakeman, in his *Handbook of Irish Antiquities* (1848), gives a description of the remains at this place, and an excellent woodcut of the small octagonal structure which covers the well, and which he thinks was probably used as a Baptistry, and he says that—'adjoining is a most curious *subterraneous bath* supplied by the well, and even yet the water rises to a considerable height within it.' According to D'Alton the bath was called St. Catherine's pond.

"The analogy between the combination of baptistry and bath at this place and what I have described at Rhoserlyn is certainly somewhat striking, and, as Dr. Reeves has fixed the date of St. Dolough's at *circa* 600, it corresponds very closely with the date assigned to the remains at Rhoscolyn.

"It has occurred to me that perhaps the square chamber and water tank to which it leads may have been covered over with a stone roof of a bee-hive form, in the way that was practised in the earliest ecclesiastical buildings still remaining on the west coast of Ireland. There are, however, no flags lying about to indicate this, and the walls are of the same height all round, just reaching the surface of the turfy soil. May it not have been an *open-air Baptistry*, the pagan catechumens waiting seated in the ante-chamber, the ceremony being performed in the recess, the minister standing on the steps, and the candidates taken into the water one after the other? I can offer no explanation of the niches.

"I think it very probable that the bath, or lower pool, was an accretion of a later date, when popular faith ascribed miraculous virtues to the water, just as the wells at Struel, near Downpatrick, and which were at one time so famed for curing diseases, had their origin in the well where St. Patrick first began his labours, and doubtless practised the initiatory rite on his first converts."

Mr. Marcus Ward exhibited a full-sized drawing of a band of ornament from the architrave of the doorway of the ancient church at Maghera, Co. Derry. This fine doorway is square-headed, with inclined jambs, and is enclosed within a broad architrave of the same form, which is richly sculptured. At the head of the doorway, and beneath the architrave, is carved a representation of the Crucifixion. The figure of Our Saviour is draped, the feet are separate, and at the sides there are two figures, one holding a spear, about to pierce his side; the other what appears to be the reed with the sponge. There are, besides, six figures to the left of the cross, and four to the right.

The accompanying illustration is a reduction in facsimile, from a rubbing, taken with wax, of part of the outer architrave of the door-way on the right hand. The upper part, which is greatly weathered, bears a carving of what some consider the figure of a mitred ecclesiastic bearing a crosier, the end of which pierces a serpent. The pattern stands in relief, and is in parts pretty perfect, but the upper portion is somewhat weather-worn. It may be noted that the carving is not mechanically symmetrical, but done in free-hand manner, the central stem and some of the volutes being irregular. It will be seen that this differs much from the representation given in *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. i., p. 117, probably from the fact of the latter illustration being based upon a photograph taken under difficulty. The author mentions a striking resemblance between this ornament and the border running up one side of the satchel of the shrine of St. Moedoc, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, but this is not apparent. The pattern on the corresponding part of the left side of the door is of a sinuous, running kind, with alternate sprays somewhat resembling the Greek honey-suckle.

St. Luraich was the founder of the church at Maghera, formerly called Machaire-Ratha-Luraich. The exact date at which he flourished is not recorded, but it may reasonably be assigned to about A. D. 511. The date of the door-way may be some centuries later.



Ornamentation from Maghera church door-way.
Size, 6 inches by 36 inches.

Mr. Wakeman, Hon. Local Secretary for the Enniskillen district, made the following remarks upon several objects of timber recently discovered in the North of Ireland.

It was not until a comparatively recent period that the attention of antiquaries was called to this peculiar class of remains formed of wood, and usually found at a considerable depth in bog—so-called “yokes,” the general appearance of which may be gathered upon reference to the accompanying illustrations.

As far as I know, the first example ever noticed was described and illustrated by the late Sir William Wilde in his Catalogue of Antiquities, preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, p. 243. It is of fir timber, and was found in a bog near Castle Leslie,



Fig. 1.

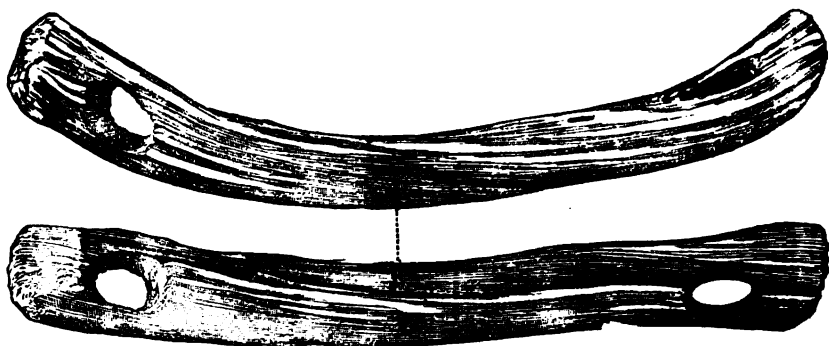


Fig. 2.

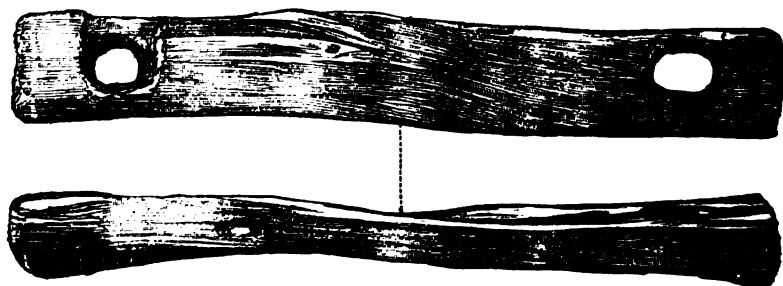
Yokes of timber found in Co. Monaghan.

Co. Monaghan, and is identical in plan and construction with the “yoke” figured on this page, although not so well finished. Subsequently two more specimens were brought to light: one in 1867, 18 feet deep, from Donagh peat bog in Monaghan—the other from a similar deposit in the neighbouring county of Fermanagh. Figs. 1 and 2 represent a top and side view of the Donagh example. Fig. 2 has been engraved on a somewhat larger

scale than Fig. 1. The original, which is of fir timber, now forms a portion of the collection of Irish antiquities secured from oblivion by A. Knight Young, Esq., of Monaghan. Of the other Fermanagh example I cannot just now present a drawing. The original is in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, having, together with a number of other valuable antiquities, found in the Erne district, been



Figs. 3 and 4.



Scale 0 1 2 3 4 5 Feet

Figs. 5 and 6.

Yokes found in Co. Fermanagh.

recently presented by J. G. V. Porter, Esq., of Belleisle, Lisbellaw. Mr. Porter's presentation is perhaps the most valuable of the class of objects under notice hitherto found, as its extremities are ornamented in a manner which more than suggests the artistic ideas of the best

Age of Bronze in the British Islands. Of this most interesting relic, I hope ere long to have an opportunity of laying a full account before this Association. Figs. 3 and 4 are representations of one of a pair of "yokes," which some six and a-half years ago were found by turf-diggers at a distance of about seven feet from the then surface of the surrounding bog, on a portion of the estate of the Earl of Enniskillen which abutted on Lough Erne. It would be idle to speculate how deep the bog had been previously cut away, but there can be no doubt that this example of the "yoke," as well as another found with it (*see* Figs. 5 and 6), was at one time covered by peat many feet more than seven in depth. The man by whom they were discovered is now dead, but about the time of the finding he informed the Rev. C. Jamieson, of Florencecourt, that along with them occurred a large vase, which was broken to pieces by his spade. It was described as being narrow at the neck, like a pitcher.

The "yokes" last noticed are composed of oak. They are strangely contorted, split and twisted in appearance, the result of their having been too hastily dried by their finder. Nevertheless, each and every characteristic which would warrant their classification with "yokes," acknowledged as such, can be recognised in them in their present state.

Now what is a "yoke," in an antiquarian sense of the word? We know that in Scripture the term is often used in a literal sense, and sometimes metaphorically.

For instance, in Jeremiah, chapter xxviii. verse 13, we read—"Go and tell Hananiah saying: Thus saith the Lord: Thou hast broken the yokes of wood, but thou shalt make for them yokes of iron."

Again, in Lamentations, chapter i. verse 14:—"The yoke of my transgressions is bound by his hand: they are wreathed and come up upon my neck."

There can be no question that from the earliest ages, in the East, yokes or trammels of some kind were used for human beings, as well as for beasts of burden or of labour. Our remote ancestors no doubt followed the custom of the East in this respect, as in many others; and when

a few more examples of the interesting class of antiquities now under notice shall have been discovered, it may be well to consider to what particular purpose they had severally been used—whether for men, or for some of the lower animals. The so-called “yokes” hitherto discovered in Ireland, whether double or single, appear to be rather too small to be used on cattle of any still existing kind, but we are very much in the dark as to the characteristics of what might be styled the domesticated animals of a very early period in this country. It is quite possible that the Florencecourt “yokes” may have been simply neck and hand fetters for human prisoners of a pre-historic age. Or they may possibly have been fitted to the neck of some small beast of burden. About Derrygonnelly, Co. Fermanagh, a curious legend is current amongst the people. It relates to St. Feber, a holy virgin who, at an early age of the Church in Ireland, appears to have travelled from place to place, chiefly in the district now styled Fermanagh, converting many, and baptizing them in holy wells, several of which still bear her name. She is said to have been accompanied by a white doe, that animal conveying the few requisites considered necessary in early times for daily use, and a number of sacred books and requirements for the service of religion. The legend, which appears to be of great antiquity, is pretty, and curious as showing that for ages our countrymen did not consider the horse, ass and ox as the only animals which might have been trained for drawing or carrying purposes. It may, however, be objected that the example of a burden-bearing doe in this case is meant to be of a miraculous nature.

The following Papers were contributed :—

ON A PROCESSIONAL CROSS, OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY,
FOUND NEAR BALLYLONGFORD, CO. KERRY.

BY GEORGE J. HEWSON, A.M.

THIS very beautiful cross was found on the farm of Mr. John Jeffcott, near Ballylongford, on the 30th of March, 1871. I first saw it when passing by that place on my way to Ballybunnion in 1874, but was in too great a hurry to either make a drawing, or a copy of the inscription. However, I shortly after obtained a photograph of it from Mr. Collins, photographer, of Tralee, which I brought with me to the meeting of the Association held in Kilkenny, in October, 1874, which very much interested the Members then present, who urged me to make a closer examination of it, and get copies of the inscription. It was, however, a long time before I was again able to go to the place, which is a very out-of-the-way spot. When I was able to go there, I found Mr. Jeffcott, as on my former visit, most obliging; and, by his kind permission, I was able to make drawings and careful rubbings of the inscription. I had been unable to get the large-sized photograph, but Mr. Jeffcott kindly lent me his copy for the purpose of having it engraved. I was now able to read the name of the donor, which had not been before deciphered, and also to make out the date, which was given in the inscription in a most unusual, and, as far as I then knew, perfectly unique, manner. This caused many to whom I showed the copy of the inscription to dissent from my reading of the date; and, wishing to get collateral evidence which would set the matter at rest, I went to a great deal of trouble to procure such evidence, in which I have not been quite so successful as I wished. This caused me very great delay; and, since then, circumstances over which I had no control caused me to lay the papers aside, and it is only now that I have been able to take the matter up again.

The cross, allowing for the small ornaments broken off at the top and end of right arm, is $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches high,

and $18\frac{1}{2}$ wide across the arms—about the size of the Cross of Cong. The lower part forms a socket to receive a staff; the extreme edge of this socket is circular, and surrounded by a moulding of three small, round members; above this, eight ornamental ribs, running up it vertically, give it externally an octagonal form; above the socket is a large boss or knob, also of an octagonal plan, on which are eight diamond-shaped spaces, surrounded by thin, raised edges, which at first sight look as if they originally had stones set in them, but this is not the case, as they are occupied with thin plates of silver, each engraved with a different pattern; above this boss is a crown-shaped ornament, also of an octagonal plan, surrounded by eight little figures of ecclesiastics, with tonsured heads, and crosses in their hands; and in the ornamental work which surmounts this crown-shaped part are introduced eight cherubs, one of them being above each of the ecclesiastics; from the centre of this rises the cross proper, the shaft, arms, and top of which are all formed in the same fashion, each being wide and thin, and having four rope mouldings running along it—one at each edge, and two others which divide the flat part into three equal parts. In the centre of the cross is a large quatrefoil-shaped opening, surrounded by a plain flat border, chamfered off at both sides; this is thicker than the shaft, arms, and top of the cross. A precisely similar thick piece, with a quatrefoil opening in it, is at the end of each of the arms and of the top. Those four openings contained the emblems of the Evangelists, three of which remain, viz., the Winged Lion at the end of the left arm; Winged Bull at the end of the right; and the Eagle at the top; the fourth, which probably occupied the centre, is unfortunately lost. The entire cross was surrounded with a very beautiful and elaborate open-work border, of an almost lace-like character, which is most exquisitely finished at both sides with the graver; the emblems of the Evangelists are also finished equally well on both sides, and the rope mouldings also appear on both sides.

The various parts of the cross were made separately, and put together, in most cases, by soldering; the shaft



PROCESSIONAL CROSS FOUND AT BALLYLONGFORD, NOT FAR FROM
LISLAGHTIN ABBEY, CO. KERRY.

of the 13th or 14th century

of the cross proper is thus fastened to the crown-shaped part, and the central quatrefoil-shaped piece to it. To this central piece are attached three sockets, into which the arms and top fit; in each of those sockets are three holes for rivets or pins to fasten the arms and top in their places; but those are now gone, and their places occupied by small iron tacks; the terminal quatrefoil pieces are soldered on solidly to the ends of the arms and top; and all the rope mouldings, as also the ornamental edge, are thus put on; the emblems of the Evangelists are also fastened into the openings in the same way.

The engraving of the cross, on a scale reduced by photography, which faces this page, is most accurately executed from the large photograph, and gives a perfectly reliable representation of this exquisitely beautiful example of Irish 15th century metal work.

The front differs from the back in nothing but having the figure of the Crucifixion fastened on at that side, and in the spaces between the rope-ornaments on the arms and top being occupied by an inscription, engraved in incised lines; the spaces between the words, and the parts covered by the arms of the figure of Our Saviour on the cross, being filled by ornamental engravings of animals, birds, interlaced ornaments, and foliage. The figure of the Crucifixion is a separate piece, and is fastened on by three nails. There is a place left plain in the centre division of the top of the cross, in which is a rivet-hole, where I suppose a label containing the I.N.R.I., or some equivalent for it, to have been; this, however, has been lost. The figure itself is not very artistic, and is represented as extremely emaciated—the limbs particularly so; and what represents the crown of thorns looks more like a thick rope than anything else. This figure was gilt, and a good deal of the gilding still remains; the letters and ornaments of the inscription were also gilt.

Fac-similes of the inscription are given farther on, and may be relied on as most accurate representations. All were drawn and engraved on wood by Utting.

This inscription has given me some trouble to decipher; I have taken very great pains with it. I made

very careful rubbings and drawings, and examined the cross closely with a good glass; and I have no hesitation in saying that the inscription, as given in the full-sized drawing, is perfectly accurate, and that a reading from it would be identical with one from the cross itself: this can be tested by the use of a magnifying glass on the photograph; but in one respect the drawing has the advantage of the photograph, as the shadow thrown by the figure, and also by the raised mouldings dividing the lines, slightly obscures some of the letters, but those were perfectly plain on the cross: and seeing that they were a little obscure in the photograph, I took particular pains to copy them accurately.

The inscription I read thus *literatim* :

Cornelius filius Johanni
 nis YConchyr
 sue nacionis capi
 tanus et x Julina
 filia militis me
 fieri fecerūt p manū
 Wllialmi Corneli
 m° XXI° 00000
 x Juno iu

Cornelius filius Johannis YConchyr suae nacionis capitaneus et Julina filia militis me fieri fecerunt per manum Wllialmi Corneli, mxxi00000, Juno iv.

Cornelius, son of John O'Connor, chief of his sept, and Juli[a]na, daughter of the knight, caused me to be made by the hand of W[i]lliam [*the son of*] Cornel[i]us. June iv., mccccclxxix.

This inscription begins at the upper line on the left arm of the cross, and goes regularly down the three lines on that arm; it then goes *straight* across to the *lower* line of the right arm, and goes up the three lines on that arm, and then goes to the left-hand line on the top. The words "Cornelius filius Johannis" are quite plain: the only remark they call for is, that "Johannis" is divided in the middle of the second "n," one stroke of that letter being on the first line, and the other on the second. The next word, "YConchyr":

the first letter is \tilde{y} for *ui*; then comes "co" joined together, as in another word, further down; "n" is quite plain: "h" also I take to be undoubted. Then comes the \tilde{r} , similar to the initial, repeated again with the mark of abbreviation over it; and the final letter is an undoubted "r"; the rest of the second line is occupied by ornaments, which are partly covered in the photograph by the hand and arm of the figure, but which I have been able to give in the drawing. The first word of the third line is "sue," then "na \tilde{c} onis": this word is curiously divided by a foliage ornament placed between "na" and " \tilde{c} onis." The letters "co" in this word are joined together, and are identical with the "co" in " \tilde{Y} Conchyr," but a mark of abbreviation being placed over makes what was "co" in the former word equivalent to "cio" in this. The first four letters only of "capitanus" are in this line: the latter part of the line being covered by the right arm of the figure, is occupied by very good foliage ornament. It may here be remarked that, whilst the design of the cross and the engravings of animals and foliage are not distinctively Irish, the interlaced riband ornaments are peculiarly so, and may show a connexion with ancient Irish metal work.

We now go straight across to the *lower* line of the right arm of the cross. The first part of this is covered by an arm of the figure, and is occupied by foliage. The word "capitanus" is finished on this line. Next comes "et," and then, without any division, χ , which does not come into the reading which I make out, and which has puzzled me a good deal. Again, without any division, comes "Julina," the first "a" in the name Juliana being omitted. The initial "J" is quite different from that used in "Johannis" above, and deserves attention, for reasons which will appear further on. At the end of this line is a very-well-drawn rabbit. We now go *up* to the middle line on this arm. In the space under the arm of the figure is an unmistakeable fox, and the words "filia militis me" in this line are quite plain. Then comes the abbreviations for per, a "p" with a stroke across the tail: then, without any space, "manū," which is quite plain. This line is finished by a bird.

We now go to the top of the cross, beginning at the left-hand line. The first word in this is "Wllialmi,"



Inscription on left arm of cross.



Inscription on right arm of cross.

the first "i" being omitted. The other word in this

line is "Corneli." The "r" in this is of quite a different form from any other "r" used in the inscription. At



Inscription on upper limb of cross.

the beginning of the next line is "m°": then comes the space with the nail-hole for the label; then "xxi°," then a large space without any ornament, and then five "c's" reversed. The beginning of the next, which is the last line, is occupied by an interlaced ornament and a bird, which, from its position, seems to be intended to represent the legendary pelican; then comes an "x" much smaller than those in the line above, and identical with the one in the lower line on the right arm of the cross between "et" and "Julina," and then a "J," which is identical with the initial "J" of the word "Julina," just mentioned. This is followed by four strokes all alike, and a very good and well-formed "o"; then comes a foliage ornament; then what I give as "iv," and then another foliage ornament, which finishes the line and the inscription.

The Rev. J. S. Flanagan, P.P., of Adare, was kind enough to send a tracing of the drawing of the inscription to the Rev. D. H. Haigh, of Erdington, near Bir-

mingham, who has great experience and skill in reading such inscriptions, for the purpose of getting his opinion of my reading of the date of the year, and also of deciphering the last line, which had puzzled me. Mr. Haigh adopts the reading as given above by me, adding, himself the reading, "Juno iv." for the last line. The following is an extract of his letter to Mr. Flanagan:—"The only difficulty is the compound character 'xl'; but there can be no doubt, I think, that it is intended for J, since this value enables us to read 'Julina' (for Juliana), and 'Juno' (for Junio). I fancy it is I, with X prefixed to mark the *dzh* sound of J in these words, the J in *Johannis* perhaps being sounded Y. Your correspondent is certainly right in reading 1479."

Now, with respect to the reading of the inscription, I do not think that there can be any doubt as to what is actually on the cross; and as to the meaning of what is on it, I do not think there can be any doubt, except as to whether the date of the year is read correctly for 1479, that is, whether the *xxi* should be subtracted from *cccc*, or added to it. There are instances of books, printed in the seventeenth century, dated in this manner; and Colgan, who wrote early in that century, sometimes uses the numerals in this way in the headings of the chapters, as for instance, *xxvii.*, *xxviii.*, and *xxcix.*, followed by *xc.*—*Trias Thaum.*, p. 85. We still have survivals in the numerals *iv.*, *ix.*, *xl.*, and *xc.* I have stated my own opinion already that the correct reading is 1479. I was the first to suggest this reading, and I have been confirmed in it by Mr. Haigh.

There may be room for two opinions on the subject, and as I believe that, whatever the correct way of reading it may be, the manner in which the date is actually inscribed is very unusual. I have been particularly anxious to bring all the collateral evidence I could to bear on the subject. All I have been able to get amounts to what follows:—

1. In the table of descents of the O'Connors, Kerry, as given by the late Archdeacon Rowan, from the Mad-

den MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, appears the following:—

Johannis. Fundator de Lislaghten. (A.D. 1478).	=	Filia de Johan FitzGibbon. <i>Vulgo</i> , ye White Knight.
Connor. Fundator de Carrigafoil.	=	Johanna, filia de Thomas FitzGerald Equit. Valis.
Connor. <i>Vulgo</i> , the Fayer.	=	Slanny. fil de Turlogh O'Brien, of Killaloe.
Connor. <i>Vulgo</i> , Claudus or Baccagh, slain by the Fitz Maurices.	=	Honora, fil de Dermot O'Brien. fr. de 2 Com de Thomond.

2. In the Four Masters, and in every authority I have been able to consult, the date of the foundation of Lislaghtin Abbey is given as 1470.

3. There is an entry in the Four Masters of the death of O'Connor Kerry and his wife in 1485, but the Christian names are not given.

4. The Four Masters have an entry under date of 1524: "O'Connor Kerry, *i.e.* Conor the son of Conor," was taken prisoner by the M'Carthy's in the Co. Cork.

I think that the donor of the cross may be safely identified as the "Conor Fundator de Carrigafoil" of the pedigree. The name Juliana may have been easily changed to Johanna in transcription. There was no Conor the son of John who was "*capitanius sue nationis*" for a very long time before or after. If the date 1478, given after the name of "Johannes Fundator de Lislaghtin," be that of his death, and I do not see what else it can be, the O'Connor Kerry and his wife, who died in 1485, must have been "Conor Fundator de Carrigafoil," and "Johanna, filia de Thomas FitzGerald, Equit. Valis" of the Pedigree; and if so, the date must have been 1479, which was the first year of his chieftainship, and a very likely time for him to make a gift of this beautiful cross to the Abbey founded by his father. The "Conor, the son of Conor," taken prisoner

by the M'Carthys in 1524, would then be either "Conor the Fayer" of the Pedigree, or his son, "Conor Baccagh," most likely the former, as the latter was killed in 1568, according to the Four Masters. If we are to read the date as 1521, we must suppose that the date 1478 in the Pedigree was not that of the death of "Johannis Fundator de Lislaghtin"; that it was he who died in 1485, and that his son "Conor Fundator de Carrigafoil," the donor of the cross, died between 1521 and 1524; but I think the weight of evidence, as far as it goes, is decidedly the other way.

5. The style of art, the workmanship, and the form of letters in the inscription, are all characteristic of the fifteenth century.

I am glad that a full-sized fac-simile engraving of the inscription is published in the "Journal" of our Association, as I believe that both the design and execution of the ornamental engraving show considerable traces of the remains of national Irish art, at a time when in general it had greatly fallen from the excellence of earlier ages; and I believe that not many examples of Irish metal work, so characteristic and so good, of so late a date as the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, now remain to us, if they ever existed. Of the maker of the cross, William son of Cornelius, nothing is known.

The cross was turned up by the plough in tilling ground on which had been deep bog within living memory. Like most of the cut-out bog in that neighbourhood, it was, when the full depth of turf was cut away, found studded with the roots of the ancient forest *in situ*: these, which are locally called "rocks," have to be rooted out, and, if pine roots, are burned; but if oak, they are often used for building fences. The cross was in separate pieces when found, but whether it was so before the plough met it, or not, seems to be a matter of uncertainty. All the pieces were not found at once, and some have never been found, though very carefully searched for both at the time and when the field was tilled in the following year. At what time it came into the place where found, and whether purposely hidden there,

or accidentally lost, must remain a matter for conjecture; but that it originally belonged to the Abbey of Lislagh-tin (about two miles distant) admits, I think, of little or no doubt: the material of which it is composed is either copper, or (more likely) some alloy of that metal, possibly latén, but I cannot positively say so of my own knowledge. It retains traces of gilding, but whether it was entirely or only partially gilt I was unable to make out. Mr. Jeffcott, who saw it in pieces as it was found, told me that the flat part of the arms and top was made of thin *iron*, covered with copper (or alloy); and that the short pieces, which went into the sockets in the centre, were not so covered, the iron being there plainly to be seen. I did not see this, but I do not think that Mr. Jeffcott, a very intelligent man, who had examined it very closely, could well have been mistaken.

It is the subject of the greatest possible regret that this beautiful cross is not preserved in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. Mr. Jeffcott the finder, however, does not appear disposed to consent to part with it to anyone on any terms; but though he prizes it very much, and certainly does his best to take care of it, it must be exposed to many risks, from which it would be perfectly secure in our national collection, in which it is well worthy of a place along with the Cross of Cong, which, though so many hundred years older, also bears inscribed on it the name of another and earlier O'Connor, Therdelbuch Ui Chonchobar, king of Ireland, as donor.

ANCIENT IRISH BEADS AND AMULETS.

BY W. J. KNOWLES.

Of the kind of antiquities found in Ireland which are classed as beads and amulets, there is a great variety. They are formed of different materials, such as stone, jet, amber, glass, clay, and sometimes of metal such as lead.

Those of stone are generally called "spindle-whorls." Some of them are rude, with irregular outline, but others are quite circular in form, and show evidence of having been turned in a lathe. Of those in my possession and in the collections of my friends, a number are formed of sandstone, but many more are made of veined, spotted, or coloured stone, which has evidently been selected for its beauty. Diorite, jasper-slate, serpentine, steatite, mica schist, quartz rock, and quartz crystal, have all been used. The largest vary from about an inch to three inches in diameter, while others are as small as the smallest glass bead we would meet with on a penny string of the present day. As to the manner in which they are found, they are as a rule dug up singly, and seldom in connexion with other objects, therefore it is difficult to decide whether they may all be of the same age or not. These stone objects could be divided, I think, naturally into two classes. The one class would include all those with irregular outline, and the other those which are perfectly circular. If we examine attentively, we will find the beads of irregular shape to be frequently made of handsome stone, often highly polished, having the hole wide towards the outside and constricted in the middle, while those which are perfectly circular, and show evidence of having being turned in a lathe, have the hole wider than the others, and of the same width throughout. Now I think it possible that the former kind may be the older of the two, and that they were used entirely as ornaments, or as buttons, whilst the term spindle-whorl could only

be applied, with any degree of likelihood, to those which are circular; but many, if not all, of these I believe to have been ornaments also.

Of the irregularly-shaped stone beads or amulets I have a series, made of a beautiful green stone with blackish spots, some of which seem very like jade. I showed two of those beads to Professor Hull, in the hope that he, being Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland, might be able to tell me the locality where such stone is found; but although not quite certain, he was of opinion that it might occur among the metamorphosed rocks of Donegal. The beads of this material vary in size from $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches to $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter. Those of the largest size have their edges quite irregular. They are flat, highly polished, and the hole is not always exactly in the centre. It appears to me that the ancient people who used these ornaments considered the material very precious, and were unwilling to lose any of it by rounding the edges. Some of the smaller beads are more regular in outline, and are rounded on one side and flat on the other. About two dozen of this smaller kind have been found in the sandhills of Portstewart among flint scrapers and arrow-heads, and one at Dundrum among similar objects, therefore I am inclined to believe that these are of the age of the flint implements. In plate I., fig. 10, one of these small beads, which is of beautifully yellowish-green colour, is represented full size. (Note A). I have altogether upwards of fifty beads of this kind, including those from Portstewart; but I find very few in other collections. There are none in the Royal Irish Academy, nor in the Benn collection, now in the Museum, Belfast; but the Rev. Canon Grainger, M.R.I.A., and Mr. George Raphael, have two or three each. Dr. Casement, of Ballymena, had but one among his extensive series of stone beads, which he kindly added to my lot, as he very truly remarked that, viewing a series of similar objects together is much more instructive than seeing a single object of one kind here and another there. One of the largest is shown full size by fig. 12, plate I. Other material has been used to form such irregularly-shaped beads or amulets. I have some of speckled greenstone, micacious sandstone,

schist, and red jasper slate. I have one which, when quite fresh, must have been a rose-coloured quartz, and my friend Mr. Raphael has one of pure quartz crystal. Others which are not now handsome may have become dull by weathering. All those which I have been describing are flattish and thin compared with their breadth, and may possibly have been used as buttons. Some in my collection have two holes each.

Those having a circular outline have evidently been turned in a lathe. They show a series of lines, sometimes two together, which have been sunk into them while turning. The holes are wider than those in the former kind, generally about half-an-inch in diameter, and of the same width throughout. The majority of them appear to be formed from a blackish kind of shale. Some are nearly two inches in diameter, but others are quite as small as an ordinary bead. The larger ones may have been used as spindle-whorls, but several of those in my collection have the holes much worn on opposite sides, which would lead me to infer that they were used for other purposes. In one instance, where the stone is cut into for about half the width of the hole, the whorl has been shifted, and grooves begin to appear at right angles to the others. In an amber bead in my collection similar grooves have been formed. The marks have evidently been made by cords working backwards and forwards for a long time in the same track. This might occur if cords from opposite sides of the dress were passed through the whorl and fastened by a knot. The whorl in this case would be a central ornament, and would be liable to have tracks made on the sides of the holes by the constant working of the cord (*see woodcut, Fig. 1.*)

There are some belonging to both classes which are small and bead-like in form, and some of the irregular kind have had their edges ground in such a way as to appear nearly circular.

If the stone is handsome there is generally no other ornamentation, but where the material is dull we have lines scratched on the surface. Besides the concentric lines already mentioned, we have lines radiating from

the centre to the circumference. I find several of my whorls showing the same design in ornamentation, though the number of lines in each case is not the same. I have four somewhat similar to Fig. 2. In one case there are eighteen radiating lines, and each alternate space is filled with cross lines.

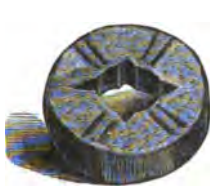


Fig. 1. Stone bead with worn cord grooves ($\frac{3}{4}$).



Fig. 2. Whorl with lines radiating from the centre ($\frac{3}{4}$).

In one of those whorls, which I would place in the class of irregular shape, the ornamentation is made up of lines crossing in different directions, forming crosses and various other symbols. The lines appear only on one side, but the other side has recently had its weathered surface removed by scraping or grinding, and any ornamentation it may have had would, therefore, be obliterated. Fig. 3 gives a representation of it $\frac{3}{4}$ natural size.



Fig. 3. Whorl with irregular lines crossing each other ($\frac{3}{4}$).

I have another object which recently came into my possession, which is rounded and polished on one side, but the other has been carved so as to show an elevated ring, and inside that a nipple-like portion, through the centre of which the very small hole passes. A small piece of bronze wire was in the hole when it was found, but was lost before the object was offered to me for sale. This I believe to have been a button.

There are other stone ornaments somewhat different from those which I have described. There are some with wide holes, and having the solid outer part rounded at the edges and towards the interior, which we may describe as rings. I have one fine object of this kind which

was found at the foot of Slemish. It is about 2 inches in diameter. I have some others which are smaller, and some fragments also which, when perfect, must have been large enough for the wrist. I have also several oval stone objects about 2 inches long, with a hole through the entire length. I believe they may be called long beads. There are several smaller objects of the same kind in my collection.

I have also a considerable number of objects of the kind called "burnishers" in the "Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy," but which are denominated "wrist-guards" by the Rev. Canon Greenwell, F. S. A., and "bracers" by Mr. Evans, F.S.A. I have one which is 5 inches long, with two holes in each end, and a raised edge round the ends on the upper surface. I have also five others with one hole in each end, one with a hole in one end, and a partly bored hole in the other; and eight or nine broken specimens. These are all formed of hard handsome stone, and polished. There are other objects again very like these, but with a hole in only one end. I have two flat specimens of this kind, and one square in section, which approaches in form to another class of objects called whetstones, but, owing to its perfect shape, small size, and the handsome red jasper of which it is formed, I believe it to have been an ornament. Of the various stone ornaments to which I have made reference I find I have upwards of two hundred in my collection. They were mostly procured from dealers who go about the country collecting them from the farmers and labourers as they dig them up, but in many cases they inform me that the parties from whom they purchased them have had them in their possession for several years.

Before leaving the subject of stone ornaments, I may mention that a few years ago a larger number of stone beads than we usually meet with was thrown on the market, if I may so express it. A certain dealer, not finding a sufficient supply for his customers among the farmers and labourers, took to manufacturing them, and I have been told that he would frequently sit up all night making these, and also bronze objects, clay urns, and

war clubs, so as to supply pressing orders. From this energetic manufacturer the forged beads passed into the hands of other dealers, who, in their anxiety to get rid of them, would place a considerable number of the forgeries and a few good and tempting objects in one lot, which could not be broken. All or none must be taken. The spurious beads were made chiefly of the bole and lithomarge, now turned out plentifully wherever iron ore is mined in the county Antrim; but they were so rudely made that no one of any judgment could be imposed on by them. When a dealer got a lot of these no amount of reasoning would make him believe, or I should rather say *admit*, that they were forgeries. His answer would always be—"nobody could make these things now-a-days." In order to convince one of these men I procured a piece of lithomarge, which I may say is quite soft, easily cut with a knife, and takes a fine polish by merely rubbing it, and from this I formed a very neat bead, which I ornamented with concentric rings, put on a little clay here and there, and stuck a little piece of cobweb in the hole, to show that it had lain in the house for some time, and then took it to my friend the dealer, saying, with a long face, that I was afraid it was a forgery. Not at all, he asserted; it was perfectly genuine. Did I not see this and that mark of "anteekwity" about it, and gave it as his most decided opinion that no man could make such an object in the present day. After I had him fairly committed I confessed the trick, and he declared he would never believe that half the things he met with were genuine after that. He then asked me if I would just lend it to him, that he might show it to others to see if they would be deceived as well as himself, to which I consented—made him a present of it in fact—hoping that I was now in a fair way of stopping the forging business. Thinking no more of the matter, I was shortly afterwards on a visit to my friend the Rev. Canon Grainger, who pulled out his latest purchases to let me see them, when to my astonishment there was conspicuous among the lot my lithomarge forgery. I asked him how he had got it, and he informed me he had purchased it, having no suspicion it was spurious. I

afterwards asked from the dealer an explanation of his conduct, but his answer was, "I did not sell it to him: I sold him the lot, and gave him the forgery into the bargain." I believe Canon Grainger still keeps it as a curiosity among his extensive collection of stone whorls and beads.

Jet beads are not common, but we find a few. Among the beads, rings, and amulets of this material in my own collection there are two flat and triangular pieces that were found while cutting turf close to Lisnacannon Fort, in the neighbourhood of Rasharkin, Co. Antrim, which are similar in shape and ornamentation to the large outer ornamented pieces in the necklace figured in Evans's "Stone Implements and Ornaments," p. 411. I have also two oval beads about 2 inches long, with the hole passing through from end to end, a ring with mother-of-pearl settings, and others of common type.

Amber beads are also occasionally met with. Sometimes we find them formed from an irregular piece of amber, the hole being very small; but generally the amber beads found in Ireland are neatly rounded, which has probably been done by turning. A few years ago I got a string of such beads which had been found in a bog between Connor and Crebilly, in Co. Antrim. The dealer from whom I bought them did not know they were amber, but described them to me as being "composition." A second string of similar beads was found in the same bog, and got into the hands of another dealer, who managed the sale of them differently. (Note B.) He brought all the large ones to me, one or two at a time, till he got them disposed of at a price that pleased him, and then he disposed of the smaller ones in one lot to some of my neighbours. The largest of those which came into my possession is about $1\frac{3}{4}$ or 2 inches in diameter, and globular in shape. I obtained upwards of forty altogether. I have one amber button with a bronze eye. If the eye had been lost, it would certainly have been called a bead.

Of leaden beads I have five or six, some of which are ornamented. There is one which is more remarkable than the others. On one side it has five sets of three

lines each, running from centre to circumference, dividing off five spaces, in each of which there are three dots. On the other side there have been six spaces, three only of which are now perfect and distinct, divided by single lines. In each space there are three dots placed like a triangle, and in every alternate space the dot nearest the centre is surrounded by a circle. Fig. 4 shows both sides.¹



Fig. 4.—Leaden Bead (3).

Glass beads are more abundant than either of the last two kinds, but ancient ornamented glass beads are not so numerous as one would be led to suppose, from hearing of the large numbers in private collections. In the Benn collection, an account of which appeared in a recent number of the "Journal," it is stated that the beads number upwards of four hundred. The Rev. Canon Grainger and Mr. George Raphael counted their glass beads for my satisfaction, and they found they had each upwards of five hundred; but large numbers of the beads in these, as in the Benn collection, are quite plain, small, and unornamented, and many common beads of recent date are mixed up with them. If we count only those which are more or less ornamented, we will find that each of these three collections numbers only about fifty. Dealers try their hands at deceiving collectors in glass beads also. I have known cases where common penny strings have been purchased, the beads put in the fire, and then taken to collectors and sold as old beads. It is quite true, as stated by Mr. W. H. Patterson, M.R.I.A., when describing the Benn collection, in the "Journal" for

¹ Two leaden beads somewhat similarly ornamented are in the Museum in Newcastle-on-Tyne, one of which is marked

"supposed used as a weight with a style-yard beam."

July, 1880 (No. 43), that collectors wink at shams occasionally for the sake of getting good things; but at the same time the dealers soon get to know that particular objects will suit certain collectors, while others never see such objects, because the dealers think they would not give the high price that is wanted. At first, when I began to collect, dealers were quite willing to give me a choice of the objects they had to sell, by giving a proportionately higher price, and those which I did not require would have been sent to collectors in England or others at home; but latterly collectors have increased, and dealers are anxious to sell their lot of good and bad together. Notwithstanding that, however, a choice article is frequently laid aside for me, because it is known that I will not object to a high price if the object is good. In this way I have accumulated perhaps a larger number of ancient ornamented and handsome beads than many other collectors; but of course I do not pretend to say that I have got all that is rare and valuable, as I am aware, from inspection of the Benn collection, and the collections of Canon Grainger and Mr. Raphael, that many good things have slipped past me. I am also aware that Mr. Robert Day, F.S.A., of Cork, has many beads, not only rare, but in some instances quite unique, in his large and valuable collection.

We may class with ornamented beads those which have had various shapes, lines, or bosses impressed on them, though all of one colour; but those to which I have been referring have the ornamentation composed of variously-coloured glasses or enamels, which are placed in a more or less artistic manner on the surface of the bead. Of this kind I have upwards of one hundred, and though no two are exactly alike, I find I could arrange about sixty to eighty of them into three divisions:—1st. There is a series varying in diameter from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, with a raised zigzag ornamentation of white enamel. The ornamentation is not unlike scribbling, and it is frequently quite regular, like a series of capital M's or W's. Two of them are shown by Plate II., Figs. 1 and 2. Sometimes the beads are cheese-shaped, and would appear square in section. In two

examples of this kind the ornamentation is a regular zigzag, with a border of yellow enamel at the edges. (See Plate II., Fig. 3.) The beads themselves are either black, red, or a pale amber colour. I have seen a series of beads with somewhat similar ornamentation in South Kensington Museum, labelled as having been obtained from Saxon tombs; but those in my collection are much larger, and the ornamentation I might say has been put on with greater dash and spirit. 2nd. There is another lot which are ornamented with knobs of glass, variously coloured, or with white and coloured threads, which have been twisted into a rope-like form and fixed into the glass. I have one fine bead of this class, which was found at Magherabane, in Glenwherry, Co. Antrim, having a rope-like spiral surrounding the holes at each end, and on the surface thirty-six knobs in three rows of twelve each. Every alternate knob has a white spiral thread running twice round, but the other knobs show only a sunken track where the ornamentation, which has now disappeared, was once laid. Probably the knobs were alternately ornamented with white and yellow spiral threads, which must have given the bead a very striking and handsome appearance. It is about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. (See Plate I., No. 5.) I have another very handsome and perfect bead, slightly smaller than the last, represented by Fig. 7, Plate I., having the rope-like ornamentation round each hole, and two rope-like spirals crossing each other in a wave-like fashion over the surface of the bead, forming six spaces, and in the centre of each space a knob is placed. It was said to have been found in an ancient fort near Dunloy, Co. Antrim. In Plate I., Fig. 8, is represented perhaps the most remarkable bead of this kind. It is of blue glass, in the form of an animal's head, with two knobs for the eyes, and the hole for the ears. Two rope-like spirals, composed of yellow and greenish glass, run from the muzzle to the eyes and ears; a similar spiral surrounds the crown, and a white line runs from the centre of the forehead to the back of the head. It was described to me as a horse's head, before I got possession of it, but when viewed in front it gives one more the idea of an

ape. It was lately found in the townland of Rokeel, near Broughshane, Co. Antrim, while digging away ground to level a road. The finder said it was got at a considerable depth below the surface. I have two handsome beads of this class, represented by Figs. 1 and 9, Plate I., which have each six projecting ridges running from end to end. In one the tops of the ridges are ornamented alternately with white and yellow spirals. In the other the ridges are ornamented with green rope-like spirals, and the spaces or furrows with spirals of white and blue. I have a broken specimen of the kind represented by No. 8 of the illustrations to Mr. Day's Paper in the "Journal" for April, 1869, with three holes, and a smaller specimen with two holes. Fig. 6, Plate I., has a yellow band passing in wave-like form round it, and connecting the four large central knobs. Another handsome bead is represented by Fig. 3, Plate I. And a beautiful blue bead, with nine long knobs placed alternately in three rows, each knob tipped with yellow enamel, is shown by Fig. 13, Plate I. There are many others of this class in my collection equally deserving attention; but though the design in shape and ornamentation may be different, either the rope-like spirals and knobs, or both together, distinctly separate them from the first series. Fig. 4, Plate II., shows a bead which I think forms a connecting link between these two series. It has zigzag lines over its surface like the first kind, and knobs like the second variety. Compare also the *arrangement* of the ornamentation on Fig. 4, Plate I., and Fig. 3, Plate II.

The third kind consists of a series of beads of dark glass, having the surface ornamented with variously-coloured enamels placed irregularly in spots. They are of medium size, and as they are all very similar in appearance, Fig. 8, Plate II., gives a fair representation of them.

Of those which would not fall into any of the above divisions, and of which only one example is found, I possess several which are worthy of notice. There is one of pale yellow glass with three raised spirals of bright yellow enamel, covering the whole surface of the bead.



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



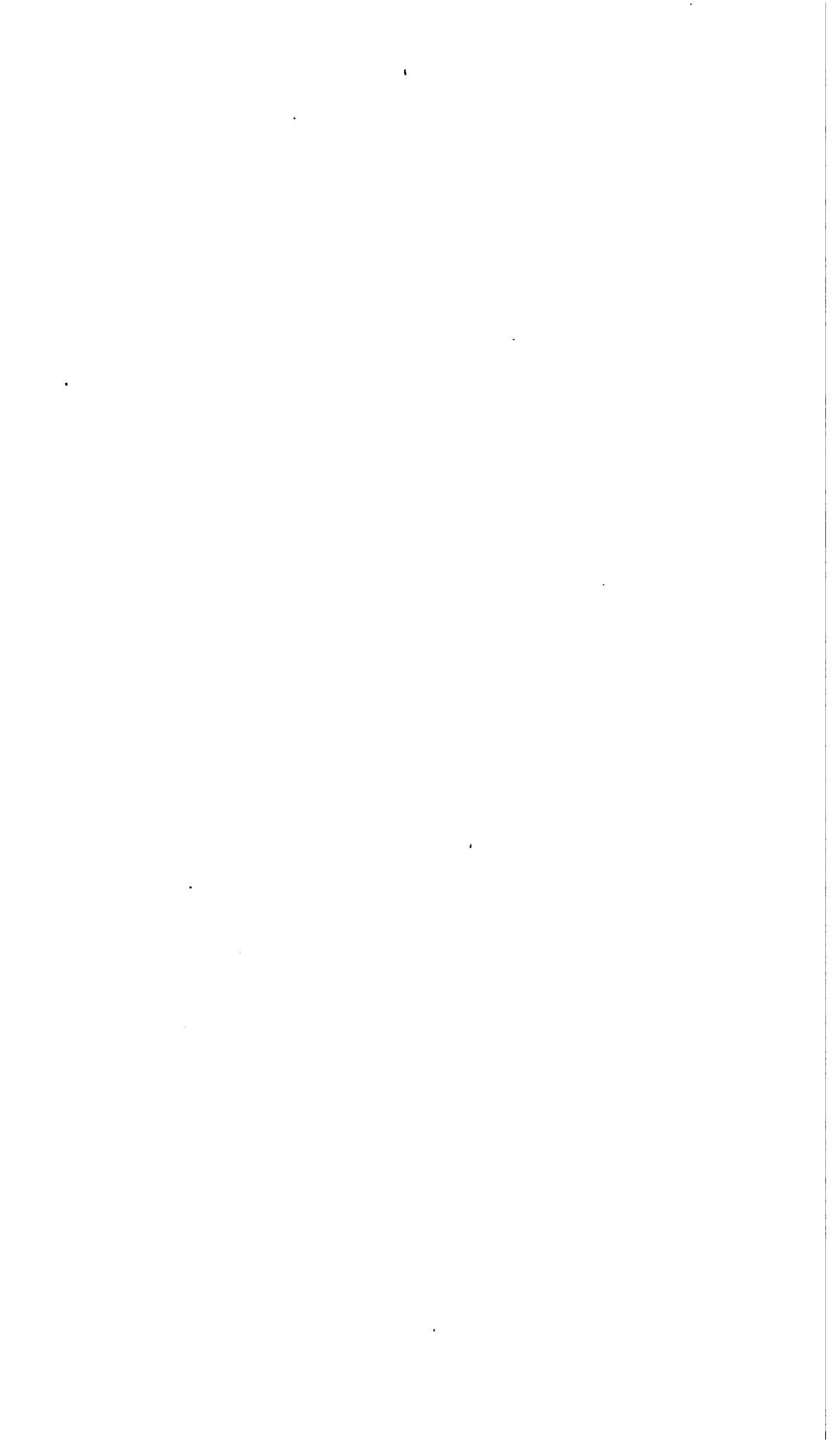
8



9



10



(Fig. 11, Plate I.) There is another in my collection of sea-green glass, about $\frac{7}{8}$ ths of an inch in diameter, ornamented with three large circular faces, occupying nearly the whole of the bead. These have the interior portion sky-blue surrounded by a white margin, and in each of them there are three brownish garnet-like settings surrounded by white margins. (See Fig. 10, Plate II.) I have also another very remarkable bead about $1\frac{1}{4}$ th inches in diameter, with black, yellow, and striated bands alternately, giving the appearance of a serpent coiled up, and such, I believe, has been the idea the maker intended to represent. I have three large oval beads of dull, opaque, greenish glass or paste, and grooved or fluted, identical in appearance with some which are labelled Egyptian in the British Museum, and similar I believe to that represented by Fig. 117, in the "Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy."

There is another curious kind of glass beads with no hole. They have a knob at each end, and a constriction in the middle. They are described as dumb-bell-shaped objects, and are known locally as double glass beads. Some are green, some blue, and others are of mixed colours. I have one which has the one end green, and the other blue. There are twenty-one of these in my collection, and I have some stone objects of the same shape. Fig. 2, Plate I., shows one of those glass objects.

Concerning colours, we have in the first series a groundwork of amber or red, in the second, blue, and the third, greenish, somewhat like black bottle-glass. In the ornamentation we have sometimes three, and often four colours in one bead. Green, white, blue, and reddish-brown in one; red, white, yellow, and green in another; and sometimes, when we have a fewer number of colours, there may be two shades of one colour.

As regards the number of knobs, bands, or projecting ridges on ornamented beads, threes, or multiples of three are most common; though fours are not uncommon, and fives are sometimes found.

As in the case of the stone beads, I cannot describe the finding of many of those of glass in my collection, so as to give an idea of their age, being almost entirely

dependent on the accounts given by dealers. Sometimes I have been able to confirm their statements, but in the majority of cases I found it impossible to obtain additional information of any value. I was present at an excursion of the Ballymena Naturalists' Field Club to Lisnacrocher Crannog a short time ago, and in digging over part of it one of these ornamented glass beads was turned up by Dr. Casement, of Ballymena; but as we were under the guidance of the Rev. Canon Grainger, who had first brought this Crannog into notice, the bead was added to his collection. Various bronze objects have been found in and around the Crannog, including the very perfect bronze sword-sheath which Canon Grainger exhibited at our meeting in Belfast last year.

The majority of the beads of glass present internal evidence of the manner in which they were made. The glass has at first been in the form of a rod, then a portion, when in a soft state, was bent into the form of a bead, and sufficiently heated to cause the ends to unite. I have one example where the union has not taken place; in others, though the junction is complete, it is visible. When the ornamentation is composed of a spiral rod, it has been laid on in the same way, and the line of junction can be made out in every case. I have one bead which is made up of three rope-like spirals placed side by side, and completely fused into each other, so that the spiral threads give the idea of lines being painted on the outside, and forming the chevron pattern; but, on observing the ornamentation to be the same on the inside as on the outside, I was able, on close examination, to make out its real character. (*See Fig. 9, Plate II.*¹) Knowing that this was the manner of formation, one can the more easily conceive how one bead has been formed over another, as is the case with the very remarkable example in Mr. Day's collection, represented by No. 7 in the Plate illustrating his Paper in the "Journal" for April, 1869.

¹Two similar beads are in the York Museum, labelled as being found in a large English barrow, near Driffield,

with arrow-heads, ornaments of crystal and other objects.

Possibly the ornamentation on both stone and glass beads may have some symbolic meaning. Fig. 6, Plate II., has three spaces formed by the wave-like arrangement of the two lines which surround it, and in the spaces are spots with radiating lines, which may represent suns. Other lines may represent lightning, and others wheels in motion, and so on, like similar ornamentation on Dr. Schliemann's¹ whorls from Hissarlik. The knobs being placed for eyes, in Fig. 8, Plate I., suggests to one's mind that they may be intended for eyes in other cases. In the bead represented by Fig. 5, Plate II., there are four knobs, and when two of them are looked at together in front one can distinguish quite a face-like image. I have lately observed this face-like appearance on several beads, two knobs showing eyes, and a line or lines passing between, giving the idea of a prominent central ridge or nose.

The origin of the glass beads is doubtful. One is rather taken with the theory that those found in Europe, Africa, the British Isles, etc., had a common source in Egypt or Phœnicia, and were carried along various trade routes to countries far apart. But, though this explanation may seem to hold good, there are certain difficulties in the way. For instance, one would expect that those brought to the British Isles would be identical in every respect, and that, owing to England being nearer the source of supply, more would be found there than in Ireland; but this, as far as I can find, is not the case. I believe the Irish specimens are not only larger, and more highly ornamented, but more numerous than the English examples. I have seen "Aggry" beads in South Kensington Museum, which are also believed to have had a Phœnician origin, but I have not found or seen any beads of a similar pattern in Ireland. Then

¹In Dr. Schliemann's *Troy and its Remains*, edited by Philip Smith, there are thirty-one pages of plates of specimens of whorls dug up at Troy. They are of various sizes and materials: terra cotta, burnt hard, preponderates; they are engraved with Aryan symbols, the suastica,

central suns, stars, the sôma, altars, &c. Some are very similar to the specimens which accompany this Paper. A comparison would be highly interesting, and would probably give some grounds to infer their Eastern origin.

again it is said that we have glass objects which are peculiar to Ireland, as, for example, the dumb-bell-shaped objects,¹ and those, "the ornamentation of which is composed chiefly of a twist of clear and white opaque glass."² I would not therefore be surprised if it be yet found that our Irish glass beads have been manufactured at home. If the ancient Irish could manufacture the beautiful bronze and gold objects, which we find so abundantly in our museums and private collections, and ornament them in many cases with enamel, I do not see why they would not be equal to the manufacture of beads. However, I think we have not as yet sufficient data to enable us to decide the question definitely, and we must therefore leave it an open one.

NOTES.

NOTE A, p. 523.—In the "Journal," vol. v. (Fourth Series), p. 323, in connexion with the jade celts said to have been found in the county Antrim, there is a note on jade, in which it is stated that I suspected some of the ancient Irish implements would be found to have been made of saussuryte. Saussuryte, or Swiss jade, is a lime epidote with a hardness of from 6 to 7, and specific gravity of about 3.36; but Dana mentions that Hutlin and Pfaffius have described a saussuryte, partly altered, that had the low hardness of 3.5. On account of the lime in its composition, saussuryte is liable to be changed by methyloitic action into steatyte and ophyte (*serpentine*).

Mr. Knowles has sent me one of his dark-green beads, and pieces of two others of a light dirty yellowish-green colour. These undoubtedly are now more or less changed into ophyte; but it should be remembered that they possibly have been twice subjected to methyloitic action. *First*, probably when *in situ*, and, *secondly*, some of them have undoubtedly been altered after they were made into beads, both before they were covered up by the sand, and subsequently when they were again exposed. The green bead, although partly altered on the surface, has a specific gravity of 2.628, and a hardness of 5; these are a little lower than that of saussuryte, but higher than that of serpentine (H. 2.5 to 4, S. G. 2.5). The light yellowish-green beads have a specific gravity of 2.5, and hardness of 2.5.

¹ Robert Day, F. S. A., M. R. I. A., "Journal," B. H. A. A. I., No. 6, April, 1869.

² Alexander Nesbitt, F. S. A., South Kensington, "Handbook on Glass," page 133.

Some of the beads on the outside seem to have weathered into an impure meerschaum, which gives them an appearance as if they had been burnt. From the form of the beads it would appear as if they had been made out of very thin seams, which would be more or less liable, when *in situ*, to have been chemically changed.

The softer beads are too hard for steatyte (*soap stone*), but may be classed as serpentine (*ophyte*); while the green beads are too hard for serpentine. I think it highly probable that originally the rocks from which the beads have been made were saussuryte, or closely allied to it. In fact all the beads might have been made from one seam or thin vein—the light-coloured ones being made from portions near the surface, where the vein was most altered. The more complete polish would be on the hardest pieces; therefore, the green beads should resist the subsequent methyloitic action best and longest. Furthermore, some or all the beads that are now so much altered may have been for a long time exposed to atmospheric influences, either before or after they were first buried by the æolian sands.

Thin veins or seams of epidote, more or less allied to saussuryte, are not uncommon in the amphibolic metamorphic rocks. I have observed them as adjuncts of serpentine and hornblende-rock in the Tyrone hills, near Pomeroy; also in smaragdite schists in the Derry hills, and associated with hornblendyte and taleyte in the Mourne Mountains, Co. Down; while I suspect they also occur in the metamorphic Cambrians, or Cambro-silurians of north-east Antrim.—G. H. KINAHAN.

NOTE B, p. 528.—In connexion with amber beads, it may be interesting to point out that, prior to 1848, very handsome rosaries, made up of amber beads were not uncommon in Hiar Connaught or West Galway, and the barony of Burren, Co. Clare. During the "bad times" many of these were pledged in Galway, and afterwards sold to collectors, but a few still remain in the country. I have also seen amber beads that had been dug up near the old churches on the islands in the Shannon, especially in one of the islands in Lough Ree. Wilde, in the "Catalogue" of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, suggests that the amber was probably brought into the country by the Danes; but O'Flaherty, in his "History of Hiar Connaught," says pieces of it, sufficient for trading, were washed in on the shores of Galway and Clare, and if in his time, probably also in pre-historic times.—G. H. KINAHAN.

ON SEVERAL SEPULCHRAL SCRIBINGS AND ROCK MARKINGS, FOUND IN THE NORTH-WEST OF IRELAND; WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR THEIR CLASSIFICATION.

BY W. F. WAKEMAN, HON. LOCAL SEC. FOR FERMANAGH.

BEFORE entering on the subject of this Paper I may perhaps say a few words concerning the antiquarian status of the county of Fermanagh. It is strange, but true, that the whole of the north-western district of Ireland, Fermanagh in particular, has not hitherto received that attention from artists, antiquaries, geologists, or botanists, which its varied treasures of the past, or of the present, can legitimately claim. There is perhaps no territory within the bounds of Great Britain and Ireland which can present to the inquiring mind a richer quarry of geological, prehistoric, and even of mediæval monuments. Within almost a walk from Enniskillen we have the crannoged loughs of Drumgay, Lough Eyes, Lankill, Drumdarragh, and others. On Devenish we possess the *Model Round Tower* of Ireland, together with the remains of a sixth-century *cill* (that of St. Molaisse), and an abbey church, "racy of the soil," and dated in a grand Lombardic inscription still extant. We have also on Devenish crosses richly decorated, and indeed unique in character. Inismacsaint, Iniskeen, and Cleenish, will present treasures to the mind of the ecclesiologist. These are all sixth- or seventh-century foundations. By the way, Molaisse, or "Molush," as he is remembered by Erneans, was the friend and contemporary of Columkille, the apostle of Alba, now called Scotland, from its colonization by the Irish, who, as all scholars know, are the true *Scoti*.

Stone circles and kindred monuments are in Fermanagh most plentifully developed. The very finest circle in Ireland may be seen at Wattle Bridge, near Newtownbutler. It actually claims state with that of the famous Avebury in England, some of its stones being over 16 feet in length. Many of our pre-historic remains, such as the so-called "giants' graves," are in

extent, and in the rude grandeur of their construction, unmatched in the British Islands. Indeed we shall have to travel to Brittany to find their equals. Fermanagh is the most northern county in Ireland where monuments bearing legible Ogam inscriptions have been discovered. Hitherto I have but barely glanced at the rich store of archæological treasure with which the neighbourhood of Enniskillen abounds. The sketch would be wholly incomplete were I to omit mention of the wonderfully interesting caverns of Knockmore, near Derrygonnelly, especially of one called the "Lettered Cave," from the array of scribings of various epochs which its sides present. These caverns were undoubtedly occupied as dwellings by primitive tribes, and as yet have scarcely obtained the amount of notice from antiquaries which they so richly deserve. Their geological character is common to most limestone districts. But the caves of Knockmore are not the only examples of primitive dwelling-places which Fermanagh presents. At Loughnacloyduff, beyond Boho, may be seen a cavern the walls of which are richly inscribed with archaic markings. Within a cave at Knockninny (the property of the Earl of Erne), which had been the dwelling-place and mausoleum of some primitive family or tribe, stone implements and a magnificent sepulchral urn, as well as portions of others, were discovered. All these, which were left at my disposal by his lordship, I have thought proper to deposit in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. By-the-bye, I may here say, *en parenthèse*, that some of our north-western fictilia are grander than others found elsewhere, either in Erin or Britain. The Rev. Canon Greenwell, of Durham—perhaps the very highest authority on the subject of burial usages in Britain—has lately written to me as follows:—"I hope enough remains of the very fine cinerary urn from Killicarney to enable it to be re-constructed." (Killicarney is situated near Belcoo, within a few miles of Enniskillen.) "It is indeed a very fine example, and surpasses any British one with which I am acquainted. But, taking them as a whole, the Irish sepulchral vessels excel those from the sister island, and show that then,

as now, the artistic quality was largely developed in Ireland." Thus writes Canon Greenwell of the present day; but another authority, secretary to Prince John, afterwards King of England, and known as Giraldus Cambrensis, some seven hundred years ago described the music and painting, as then existing in Ireland, as something divine, and as having inspiration from angels. So much for the usually so-called barbarous Irish; and Gerald Barry, who was no friend to Erin, was considered one of the most learned and accomplished men of the time in which he flourished. He has the honour of having written our very first "Guide Book."

What I have now to say consists mainly of a disquisition on old stones and their scribings.

The question of the origin and uses of our Round Towers was, for a considerable period, a vexed one. It has been at length settled to the satisfaction of most inquirers possessed of common sense, and of even a little knowledge of architectural art, as practised here in prehistoric times, as also from the earlier ages of the Church, down to what may be considered the mediæval epoch. Another question, which even in our own days has been rather warmly discussed by not a few writers, was one referring to the Cromleac—its character, uses, and so forth. This, like the cloitcheach or bell-house (Round Tower) controversy has, I apprehend, been sufficiently solved, and the quondam irrepressible Druids cannot be any longer credited with the erection of several hundreds of so-called "altars" or "temples," distributed all over our island; which works, from the gigantic-chambered cairn, like those of New Grange and Dowth, to the simplest kist (all varieties of the cromleac idea), have been found to be simply graves or monuments of a primitive people. Thanks to the genius, learning, and energy of a few gifted antiquaries, amongst which band the Right Rev. Charles Graves, Bishop of Limerick, Sir Samuel Ferguson, and the late R. R. Brash, are eminently conspicuous, much of the obscurity in which another heretofore archæological mystery—that of the Ogam—would seem to have been dispelled. Petrie, as it were from his grave, under the able editorship of Miss

Stokes, assisted by Dean Reeves, has in a manner embalmed the great majority of our Christian inscriptions. The Rev. James Graves, of Kilkenny, the Rev. John O'Hanlon, and the Rev. J. F. Shearman, Drs. Todd, Wilde, and Joyce, and not a few other learned and painstaking antiquaries, have recently illustrated Irish history, customs, etc., etc., in a manner which rivets the attention of all who would inquire into the past of Erin.

At the present day, one subject of considerable interest, I may say, to the archæologists of all civilized communities, remains to be solved. I allude to the elucidation of the so-called "Rock-markings," or "Scribings," which, whether noticed upon European, Asiatic, or American monuments, often in their general features bear so strong a family likeness one to the other, that it is at first sight difficult to believe that they had not been executed by one and the same race of people. Such an idea, however, it would be the essence of absurdity for one moment to entertain. Philosophers tell us that savages, or semi-savages, situated widely apart, and placed under somewhat similar climatic conditions, will instinctively run in parallel grooves of thought; and thus in the form, material, and decoration of their arms, and objects of every-day life, as well as in their personal decorations, present a like development. So also with their *Fetichism* or religion, or by what other name the devotional feeling inherent in the hearts of even the most abject tribes may be styled. It need be no wonder then that, far and near, over the surface of the "Old" and of the "New World," rock and stone, scribings, often of an unknown period, are to be found; and that they should frequently have much in common.

In this Paper I do not for a moment aspire to trace the origin of foreign or of our own scorings; but chance having thrown in my path some three principal groups of this interesting and tantalizing work, situate in the north-west of Ireland, and hitherto unnoticed by antiquaries, I thought it well to compare them with one another, and with examples already noted and published.

The Deer-park of Castle Archdall, near Kesh, Co.

Fermanagh, was certainly in time-forgotten ages the site of a great cemetery. Here we have to this day remaining nine mounds of important dimensions, besides a considerable number of lesser tumuli, and at least one stone circle. Whether this group had been the settled burial-places of a great family or tribe, or whether it was common ground for nobles, and the mass of their tribe or clansmen, will, in all probability, never be known.

In the "Leabhar na h-Uidhri," one of the most venerable manuscripts which the accidents of time and war have left to us, occurs a tract entitled "Senchas na Relic," or the "History of the Cemeteries of Pagan Ireland." This MS., which was compiled at Clonmacnois, about the beginning of the eleventh century, by Maelmuidri Mac Ceilachair (pronounced Maolmurra Mac Cealhar) is, according to Petrie, but a transcription from a record several centuries older than the time of Maelmuidri. It states that "These were the three chief cemeteries of Erin, before the Faith (*i. e.* before the introduction of Christianity), viz.—Cruachu, Brugh, Taillten, Luachair Ailbe, Oenach Ailbe, Oenach Culi, Oenach Colmain, Temhair Eraan." Of these sites at present only two can be identified, viz., Brugh, otherwise New Grange, upon the Boyne near Drogheda, and Croghan in the county Roscommon. The late Mr. Conwell, M.R.I.A., &c., has attempted to identify the cairns which appear upon the hills above Oldcastle, county Meath, with the Taillten, of old writers. He has not, as I believe, succeeded in proving that Telldown, a well-known place some ten or twelve miles distant from Oldcastle, should be disinherited of its ancient fame. It is equally to be regretted that the venerable author of the "Senchas na Relic" did not go further into his subject, as we have in Ireland many other cemeteries of pagan times, which must have enclosed the ashes of kings and nobles; for instance, Carrowmore, county Sligo, where almost within rifle-shot of each other may be counted upwards of sixty cromleacs and circles, to say nothing of numerous dallans; Ballon Hill, county Carlow, where some hundreds of urns were found, and Drumnakilly, near Omagh,

where many specimens of the finest sepulchral fictilia ever discovered in northern or western Europe occurred.

It is more than probable that the great cemetery in the Deer-park, Castle Archdall, is one of those omitted in the list. At the time of its establishment the surrounding districts must have been very thickly inhabited. The face of the country adjoining on every side exhibits many indications of the old haunts of a primitive people—remains of their forts, dwellings, sepulchral enclosures, and even of their minor tombs. It is really painful to think how this most interesting tract of country has been overlooked. I shall for a moment just barely glance at the class of monuments which it contains, not one of which has hitherto received any attention, except indeed in some instances when farmers required materials for top-dressing, or mason's stones for building purposes. The Castle Archdall remains have been already referred to.

At Carn, one mile from Ederney, is a stone cashel, the walls of which are at the base generally about 18 feet in thickness. The plan is that of an irregular circle, and the enclosed space may be described as measuring about five roods. There are the remains of two carns close by, from one of which no doubt the land derives its name. On Ardvarney are two raths; on Ardress one; on Tullanaglug ("the hill of the bell," a curious name, which requires some investigation) a carn. On Tullaghcaldrick may be seen a splendid fort, adjoining which, about forty years ago, a human skeleton and earthen vessel were discovered together in a kist formed of sandstone flags. On Ardore is a large carn which is known to contain a quantity of human bones. Close to Ederney, at Monabreece, is a fine rath; and a "moat" of most singular kind. Immediately near Kesh occur a carn, an earthen mound, and a pillar-stone of enormous proportions. The latter upon its south-western angle bore an inscription in the Ogam character, which some few years ago, when a *savant* from the south was expected to come in order to examine it, was,

by a man named Gerard Irvine (whose intentions were no doubt praiseworthy) so scraped, cleaned, and improved, that little trace of the original remains. His aim was to make the legend as "good as new," and that he succeeded is sufficiently and painfully evident. At Montioghroe are several dallans, or pillar-stones of considerable size, but untouched by a chisel; and close to them a large and perfect circle of standing stones, which, until very lately, had been covered by bog. At Tawnydarrogh there stands a huge dolmen surrounded by a fosse, and a stone circle, close at hand; in Gortnaree, a mound which appears never to have been violated; at Drumnacross a large rath crowns the hill. These appear to be the chief archaic monuments of the immediate neighbourhood; others of less importance are numerous.



Fig. 1.—Principal Mound in the Deer-park, Castle Archdall.

Having thus, however slightly, indicated the chief archæological features of the country in which the great cemetery of the Deer-park is found, I may naturally touch upon the subject of my present essay, the purport of which is to show that a beginning, though a small one, at length may be made to classify our pre-historic scribings.

The chief mound in the Deer-park is of the form usually seen in such works. It is composed of earth and stones, and measures 118 paces in circumference. Its height is at present 8 or 10 feet, but it must originally have been considerably higher. Within the centre are the much disturbed remains of a megalithic chamber. The

great peculiarity of this tumulus consists in this, that its base is surrounded by a set of miniature mounds, nineteen in number, set at regular intervals, and seeming to constitute a portion of the original plan. The contents of these little hillocks, as well as those of the central chamber, will form a subject for a future Paper, or rather a continuation of the present one. I may say, however, that portions of human bones, and others apparently belonging to cattle, together with flint flakes, and quantities of wood charcoal, occurred in them. It was evident that the place had been violated, most probably by the Northmen, who are recorded by native historians to have searched and plundered every cave in Ireland during the ninth century. We know that golden ornaments were often buried in sepulchral chambers.

It is now my endeavour, however feebly, to show that it may not be altogether a hopeless task to classify, in some measure, our archaic markings. Here in the north-west we find three grand varieties. The first to be mentioned are of a class tolerably well known, from examples which occur at New Grange and Dowth, on the Boyne, at Knockmany, near Clogher, at Muff, near Derry, at Boho, Fermanagh, and most notably on Sliabh na Caillighe, near Oldcastle, county Meath. In character they are extremely various, consisting, for the greater part, of circles, spirals, lozenge-shaped patterns, imperfect concentric circles, chevrons, cups, and other figures which may at present be mentioned as non-descript. No key to their meaning has as yet been discovered. They may be symbolic, ideographic, or simply intended as ornament. Fig. 2, showing the work carved upon the internal face of the larger remaining inscribed stone of the ruined chamber of the Deer-park mound, will convey a fair idea of this kind of carving. The central group may possibly be intended to represent some animal with head, legs, and tail, something resembling the pre-historic sculpture of the cave bear engraved in "Early Man in Britain," p. 216, by Mr. W. Boyd Dawkins; not a few of them might be considered as rude attempts at the representation of

Inches



Fig. 2. Carvings on stone of Sepulchral Chamber in the Deer-park, Castle Archdall.

golden antiquities, like some preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and elsewhere. Such a supposition, however, is not worth much.

In Fig. 3 will be found a device most carefully cut. The figure, which is a portion of a "lozenge" pattern,

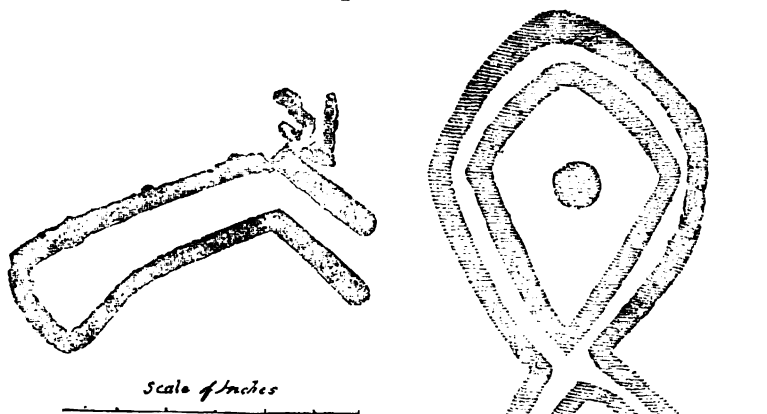


Fig. 3.—Carving on stone of Sepulchral Chamber in the Deer-park, Castle Archdall.

is widely separated from any other carving on the stone, and from its position must, when the chamber was constructed, have been overlapped and hidden from view. It is much to be regretted that we have not the whole of the design. It is probably illustrated by Fig. 4.

This is a "lozenge," twice repeated, with a small cup or dot within each compartment. Upon the same edge of the stone, towards the base, some traces of concentric lines which appear originally to have enclosed

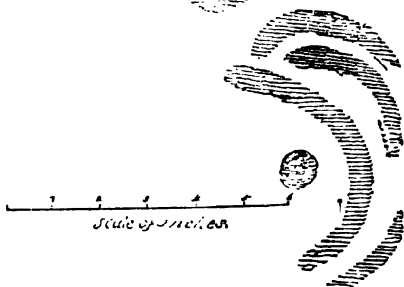


Fig. 4.—Carving on side-edge of stone of Sepulchral Chamber in the Deer-park, Castle Archdall.

a small cup, can still be observed. It is worthy of remark that when the monument was perfect these

carvings, like that on the now upper edge of the stone (*see* Fig. 3), must have been concealed from view by the stone or stones immediately adjoining. Figures of the "lozenge" class are not unfrequently found upon our sepulchral urns, or upon fictile vessels which may have been food-holders, discovered in graves of early date. They are also to be seen in a slightly modified form at New Grange, and at Sliabh-na-Caillighe. At the former monument work of this kind, as well as circles and spirals, can be felt by passing the fingers through narrow openings between the great stones which form the chamber sides.

I have now noticed all the work which appears upon the face or edges of what may be styled No. 1 block of the Deer-park group. That upon No. 2 is equally characteristic of our rudest and probably most ancient form of scribing.

Fig. 5.—Here it consists of spirals, cups, chevrons, and strokes. Surely this cannot be considered as an effort at ornamentation, and yet we find that New Zealanders, and not a few other savage tribes, were in the habit of tattooing their persons with figures almost exactly similar. *They* surely held such designs to be decorative, or as conferring some dignity upon their bearers. Newgrange is profuse in the display of this chevron pattern. It is also very common upon burial urns, food-holders, and upon the fictilia of crannogs. Indeed it appears to have been in use during all periods of society in Ireland, from the supposed simple "Stone Age" to comparatively recent days: witness the prevailing style of ornament upon the doorways of churches built in the so-called Hiberno Romanesque fashion. But it was far from being confined to Ireland and the South Sea.

Fig. 6 represents markings upon the lower portion of the stone which bears the chevrons. They consist of what would appear to be a very rude spiral, and portion of a concentric circle presenting three lines, accompanied by a cup. There was never any more of these figures than what remains. They are placed at a considerable distance from the other markings, and appear to be complete in themselves.

Fig. 7 represents another isolated carving, which appears upon the shoulder of the same stone. It shows a cup, with what is rather rare in Ireland, a channel passing in a straight line from it, together with seven strokes, four of which are more or less curved. These



Fig. 5.—Carving on stone of Sepulchral Chamber in the Deer-park, Castle Archdall.

lines would appear to have possessed at one time a meaning, a key to which, let us trust, may yet be found. Work very similar occurs at Knockmany, Knockmore, and elsewhere. The strokes do not appear to bear any relation to ogams.

Fig. 8 exhibits a combination of cups, one of which is central, the others, five in number, being ranged around it. It is complete in itself, and is quite unconnected with any other device. Cups of this class are very commonly found upon our megalithic remains, and not unfrequently upon the surface or side of the earth-fast rock. It is at times most difficult to distinguish them from natural markings, especially in limestone formations; but when we find them enclosed within a circle, or circles, sometimes four deep, their artificial character is evident, as at

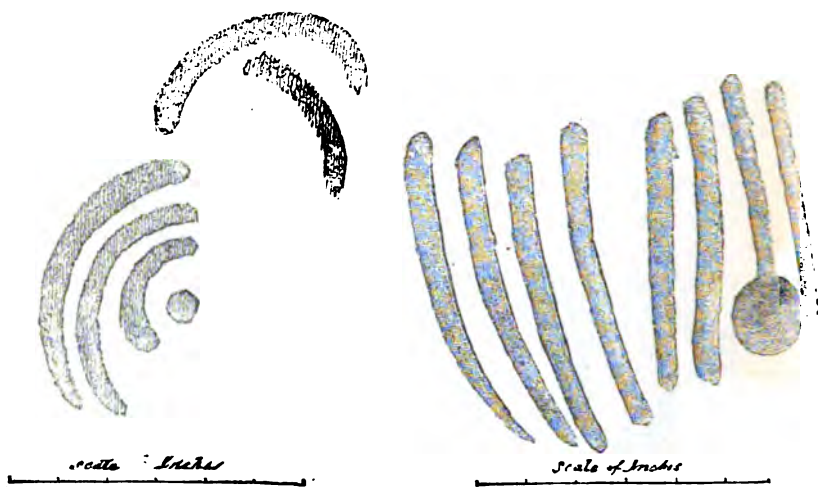


Fig. 6.—Carving on stone of Sepulchral Chamber in the Deer-park, Castle Archdall.

Fig. 7.—Carving on stone of Sepulchral Chamber in the Deer-park, Castle Archdall.

Sliabh-na-Caillighe, where they are to be found arranged more or less in geometrical figures. In many instances the hollow will be seen enclosed within a circle or circles, varying in number from two to four or five. In British examples a channel, from the cup, passing through all the surrounding lines, may often be observed.

In Fig. 9 we find what may be described as a rude double spiral, the right-hand member of which embraces an oval, within which is a small cup. The enclosure to the left is plain, excepting that it also contains a cup.

There are, above ground at least, in the locality no other scorings, to be noticed.

Hitherto I have referred only to generally well-noted types of our archaic stone markings; such as may be supposed to belong to an age when metal of all kinds, with the exception perhaps of gold, was unknown in this country. It is now my pleasing duty to bring before the meeting a notice of tomb-scorings of a class which antiquaries have been vainly looking for. They are perfectly new to archæology (at least in connexion with stone monuments), and form as it were a "missing link" between the scribings and ornamentations of the so-called "Stone Age," and those which prevailed during the period of a mysterious bronze culture in Ireland. There is a total difference

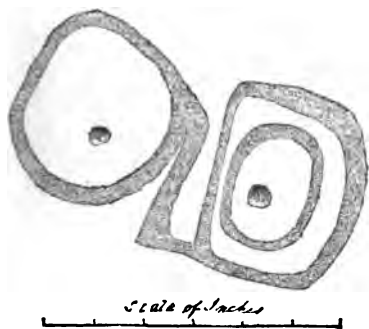


Fig. 8.—Group of Cups on Stone of Sepulchral Chamber in the Deer-park, Castle Archdall.

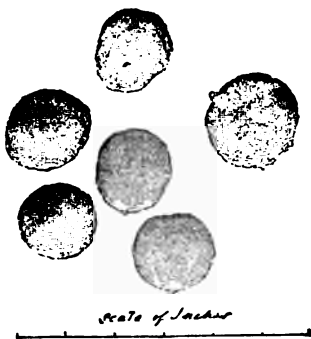


Fig. 9.—Carving on stone of Sepulchral Chamber in the Deer-park, Castle Archdall.

between the two styles. The older principle would however appear not to have been suddenly abandoned, as upon one of the remains, presently to be noticed, some slight, but very well marked, indications of primitive ideas are most interestingly preserved. The monument on which they occur is of the cromleac class, consisting of stones touching each other, and forming a somewhat oval figure, measuring on the interior 5 feet 9 inches by 3 feet 9 inches. None of the stones are more than 4 feet in height. They were covered by an immense flag, and the whole was surmounted by

a tumulus composed of earth, sand, and stones. Some twenty-seven years ago, all but the sides of the structure was removed for agricultural or grazing purposes. Fig. 10.

For the sake of more easy reference to this monument, I have, in the accompanying plan, numbered the stones.

The first bears two sets of scorings, one upon its edge, the other upon its internal surface. The former,

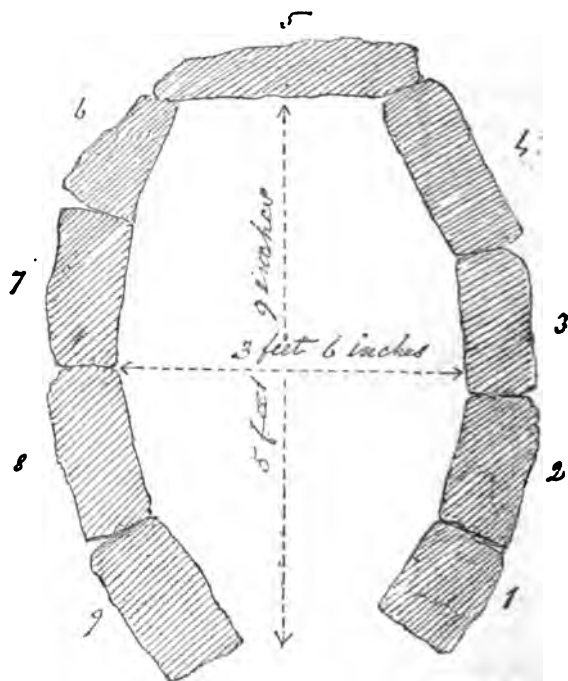


Fig. 10.—Plan of Sepulchral Chamber, Clover Hill, Co. Sligo.

Fig. 11, consists of small cups, or rather dots, each enclosed by a circle, and a couple of straight lines cut horizontally. This marking differs little from what may be considered a primitive type, as illustrated by Fig. 12, which represents the remarkable pillar-stone at Muff, county Derry. Whether the surface (Fig. 11) upon which it appears was originally blocked up, or otherwise, must remain a matter of conjecture, as, pos-

sibly, the opening to the kist which it faces may have been caused by the removal of a stone. The carving upon the internal surface is very singular, if not unique in such monuments. For an exact idea of its appearance the reader is referred to Fig. 13, which

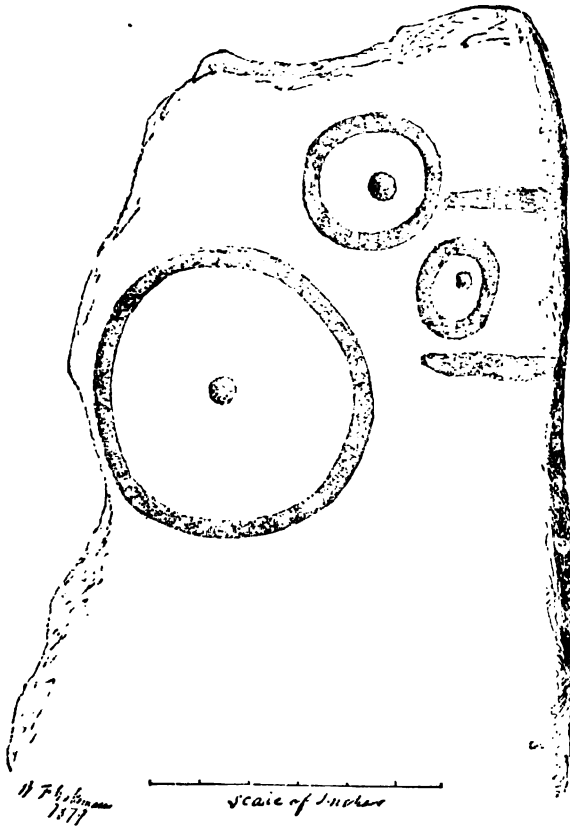


Fig. 11.—Carving on Stone of Sepulchral Chamber, Clover Hill, Co. Sligo.

is simply a shaded drawing, or etching, traced from a rubbing, and reproduced by the unerring Dallastype process.

Stone 2 in the plan is also carved, and is represented in Fig. 14. Here we find a very characteristic ornament, in a style which antiquaries will refer to the Bronze Age.

Stones, 3, 4, 5, and 6 are plain upon their external and

internal faces. Whether they be so on their edges it is at present impossible to say. They may be so carved in the cryptic manner already referred to, as found in



Fig 12.—Pillar-stone at Muff, Co. Derry.



Fig. 13. Carving on Stone of Sepulchral Chamber, Clover Hill, Co. Sligo.

other monuments. On stone No. 7 of this group. (see Fig. 15) is probably one of the most curious of the



Fig. 14. Carving on Stone of Sepulchral Chamber, Clover Hill, Co. Sligo.

carvings. Its graceful contour speaks eloquently of the artistic feeling of the mind by which it was designed. Elsewhere we have nothing in stone like it; but it fully

recalls ornamentation found upon some of the articles of the more advanced bronze culture, as presented by discoveries in Ireland. Rude and rough as these designs may at first sight appear, they convey a very important



Fig. 15. Carving on Stone of Sepulchral Chamber, Clover Hill, Co. Sligo.

significance in the history of the so-called *Opus Hibernicum*. That they are later than the primitive style of lapidary scribing, or ornamentation, must at once be

conceded. There can be no doubt that they belong to that long past and most mysterious era when the use of bronze prevailed. The designs have quite an oriental look. The divergent spiral, so prominent amongst the ornamentation of the best period of Christian Irish Art, is in these scribings abundantly heralded. Why attempt to draw from Byzantium, or elsewhere, the origin of our early cross or church decorations? We have them all, or nearly all, upon megalithic structures which are beyond the range of authentic Western history—older than Byzantium itself, as a seat of Roman art. Of the contents of this tomb I could hear nothing; but it is worthy of remark that Petrie has recorded the finding of a bronze sword in the immediate neighbourhood.

Here then, in the north-west, we have examples of a well-marked primitive style of rock scoring, by no means confined to this country, followed by what must be considered a middle stage. For examples of a still later class, probably the latest of this interesting series, I beg to refer to the sides of the so-called "Lettered Cave" of Knockmore, near Derrygonnelly, county Fermanagh. Caverns in the limestone cliffs of this locality (as I have already suggested) were used as dwelling-places, perhaps by more than one tribe or race. Unmistakable evidence of their long habitation by man is easily obtained by digging in their floors, which invariably present layers of charcoal, broken bones, and at times fragments of rude pottery, similar to those found in tumuli and crannogs. The charcoal- and bone-bearing levels are generally separated, to the distance of some six or eight inches, or more, by a deposit of earth. Stone, bone, bronze, and iron instruments have sometimes been found within them. The sides of two of the Knockmore caverns are richly inscribed, some of the scorings evidently pointing to the earliest times, while others will, I think, be generally admitted to belong to a primitive Christian period. Of the great majority of these scorings I some years since made careful rubbings and drawings. These, with accompanying Papers, were laid before meetings of the Royal Irish

Academy; and were subsequently published in their *Proceedings*. I had also about the same time the honour of presenting to this Association an illustrated Paper referring to the neighbouring sculptured cavern of Loughnacloyduff. One of the illustrations referred to is here reproduced, as an example of scoring of a kind almost peculiar to the north-western portion of Ireland.

Before concluding, I think it but right to thank Colonel Cooper, of Markree Castle, county Sligo, for his kindness in permitting me to use the drawings of

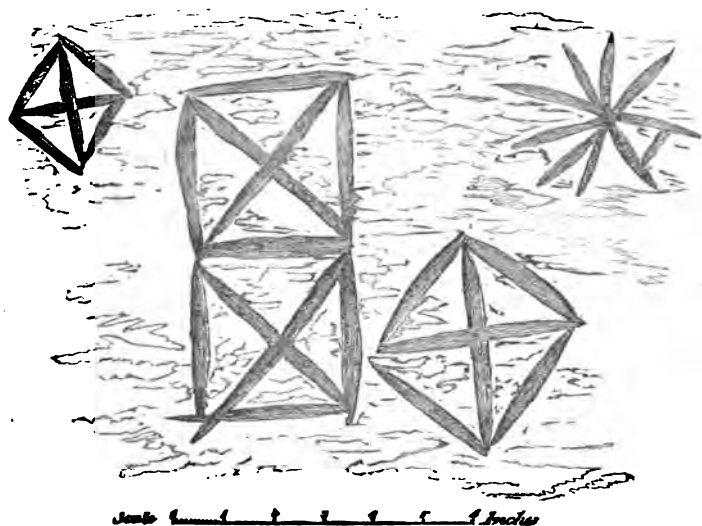


Fig. 16.—Carving on wall of natural Cavern, at Loughnacloyduff, Co. Fermanagh.

the Clover Hill scribings which accompany this Paper. The originals were made by me some two years ago, and now form a portion of the Markree collection of illustrations referring to the antiquities of Ireland in general, and to those of the county of Sligo in particular.

The work of explorations at the minor mounds in the Deer-park, Castle Archdall, has yet to be completed. The result will, I trust, be faithfully recorded in the pages of our "Journal." So far my task has been accomplished; and it is with much pleasure that I

now record the cordial co-operation of three gentlemen, connected with Fermanagh, in the recent investigation. Our associate, Mr. Atthill, of Ederny, J.P., who must be considered as a colleague or partner in the interesting work, by his energy, antiquarian knowledge, and ubiquity amongst the diggers, contributed much to our success. Captain Mervyn Archdall, owner of the soil, was good enough to enter warmly into our views, and most liberally supplied labourers, and ample refreshment for all. The services of the late Captain Montgomery Archdall were also of great value. This family has a truly historic name in Fermanagh. In troublous days their ancestors

“ Carved at the meal
With gloves of steel,”

in the quaint old castle which stands in the demesne. Their chief glory, however, is of a peaceful, literary, and it may be said national character; for to one of this race do we not owe the invaluable “*Monasticon Hibernicum*”?

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT A GENERAL MEETING, held in the Museum, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, October the 12th, 1881 ;

RICHARD LANGRISHE, V. P., in the Chair :

The following Member was elected :—

The Rev. J. S. Chapman, the Rectory, Arvagh, Co. Cavan.

Mr. Robert Young, Belfast, sent the following notice relative to his Paper on wrought timbers discovered in the boulder clay at Belfast.

I observe in the April No. of the "Journal" some criticisms on my Paper read at Belfast in July, 1880, on wrought timbers found in the boulder clay at Dover-street, Belfast.

Mr. Kinahan "suggests that these were originally part of a wooden structure erected against or at the base of a cliff of boulder clay in years long past, and that the weathering of the cliff into a slope covered up the beams." I have every respect for Mr. Kinahan as a geologist, when he records facts, and draws conclusions from them in a legitimate way; but if he has not seen the locality, is it not going a little too far to assume there was here a state of things that would fit in with his preconceived theory? If he should visit Belfast, I would be happy to be his guide to the site where these timbers were found, and I am sure he would be the first to admit that conditions such as he mentions on the south coast of Wexford, at Errisbeg, and in the county Mayo, are entirely non-existent here.

Mr. W. G. Smith also "considers I am in error in referring these *timbers* (not piles) to the inter-glacial epoch," and "thinks they may belong to a late period of the Neolithic" or "even to the Iron Age," and the deposit appears to him "to be the simple result of *rain-wash*." I do not know how Mr. Smith can pronounce so dogmatically on a question of this nature, without having made a personal examination of the locality.

I presume Mr. Smith is not familiar with the characteristics of the county Antrim boulder clay, as I have been for many years, else he

never would have thought it possible that an observer of ordinary intelligence would confound it with what he is pleased to call rain-wash.

Since July, 1880, some important evidence has been brought to light with regard to the nature, or rather the origin, of this Belfast boulder clay. My friend Mr. Joseph Wright has found it full of Foraminifera—exclusively *marine* organisms, and this, coupled with some very singular appearances in excavations which I noted many years ago, and which remained a puzzle to me until now, satisfy me that we derive this deposit, if not wholly, at least in part, from icebergs. If this fact be established, as I trust it shortly will be by sufficient proofs, I see no difficulty in conceiving that this wood-hut, which stood on the surface of the ground at one period, was afterwards, when the land sunk below the sea, covered by the *debris* from overturning or melting icebergs. I would refer to only one other point in Mr. Smith's critique. It is admitted on all hands that the Neanderthal skull is of a low type; but are there not others of the earliest period, of which an eminent authority on such matters—I think Huxley—said words to this effect, "that they were average skulls, and some might have belonged to Greek philosophers"?

J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A., of Highfields, Thelwall, Cheshire, sent a Pedigree of the family of Ryland, of Dungarvan and Waterford; and a Memoir of the Rev. Peter Rylands or Rilands, of Limerick.

The pedigree of Ryland of Dungarvan, though very imperfect in many of its details, contains all the genealogical particulars that could be obtained from Wills, from the Records in the Office of Ulster King of Arms, from information communicated by some of the present representatives of the family, and from an interesting manuscript account of the Rochfort family and its connexions, written in the year 1798, and now in the possession of Dr. Caulfield of Cork.

At what period the Rylands first settled in Ireland is unknown, but, from Lodge's *Patentee Officers*, vol. i., page 176, it appears that a certain *William Rilands* was appointed Gentleman Porter or Janitor of Dublin Castle, at a salary of twelve pence Irish a-day, as early as 15th December, 1590. Of this person there are not any further particulars forthcoming; and whether he belonged to the Lancashire family of his name, to one long settled in Gloucestershire¹, or to another family resident in London, can only be the subject of conjecture.

Contemporary with *Charles Ryland*, of Dungarvan, and his brother (?) the Mayor of Youghal, but apparently not of the same family, was the Reverend *Peter Rylands*, or as he signed himself *Rilands*, a Master of Arts of Trinity College, Dublin, and Treasurer and Vicar-Choral of the Cathedral of Limerick. He was born at Westhoughton, in Deane parish, Lancashire (where his family had resided on an estate called the

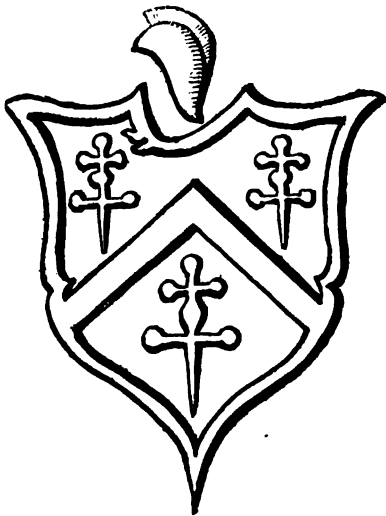
¹ Of the Gloucestershire Rilands was *John Riland*, Archdeacon of Coventry, and Rector of Birmingham, who died 3rd March, 1672, aged 53, and is commemorated by a tablet fixed over his burial-place in St. Martin's Church, Birmingham.

He is now represented by the Rev. William Kirkpatrick Riland Bedford, Rector of Sutton Coldfield, the accomplished author of a heraldic work of considerable value, entitled "The Blazon of Episcopacy."

Rylands, since the time of King Henry III.),¹ and was baptized at the neighbouring parish church of Leigh, 29th October, 1651. His father, Peter Rylands, of Daisy Hillock, in Westoughton, gent., Agent for Sequestrations under the Parliament, died in the year 1663; and it was at about this time that he was sent to the adjacent Free Grammar School of Winwick, where the Reverend Ralph Gorst, B.A., had been Master since 1644, and had educated John Howe, afterwards the celebrated chaplain of Oliver Cromwell. At this school Peter Rylands probably remained until 24th June, 1668, when he was entered at Trinity College, Dublin; he became Scholar in 1672, graduated B.A., 24th January, 1673-4, and M.A., 1676. On the 3rd of March, 1680-1, he was collated Treasurer of Limerick Cathedral Church, being installed 4th April, 1681, and in the following year he became a Vicar-Choral. In 1683 he signed an address to Charles II. He married Diana Wray, sister of Sir Cecil Wray, and daughter of Sir Drury Wray, of Bramstone, Baronet², by his wife Anne Casey, daughter and heiress of Thomas Casey, of Rathcannon, Co. Limerick, Esquire. Mr. Rylands, if he had children, does not seem to have left surviving issue. After his death his widow re-married to the Reverend *William Twigge*, Archdeacon of Limerick, by whom she had two daughters and co-heiresses,—the elder, *Jane Twigge*, wife of the Reverend Stackpole Pery, by whom she was the mother of the Bishop of Limerick and Viscount Pery, and the younger daughter, *Anne Twigge*, wife of Thomas Mansell, Esquire, M.P. for Limerick.

Mr. Rylands remained Treasurer of Limerick Cathedral until his death, which took place about August, 1695, at the early age of 44, and he is buried in the parish church of St. John, at Limerick. His will, dated 22nd July, and proved 2nd September, 1695, makes mention only of his sister Elizabeth Hope, and of his wife Diana, whom he appoints sole executrix.

The armorial bearings used by the Dungarvan and Waterford Rylands do not help to identify the family, as they are not to be found in any heraldic work. The widow of Lieutenant Nicholas Ryland seals with a *chevron between three cross-croislets fitchés*, and almost the same coat appears on the old tombstone at Dungarvan, the crosses being what may be described as *cross-croislets*,



Shield of Arms from the Ryland Tomb at Dungarvan.

¹ For an account of this family see *The Genealogist*, edited by G. W. Marshall, LL.D., F.S.A., &c., vol. iv., pp. 170-178.

² See *The History of the Wrays of Glentworth*, by Charles Dalton, Appendix, &c.

patriarchal botonné fitché. The family now use Argent, a chevron between three lioncels rampant. Crest: a cubit arm, the hand grasping a crescent, with the motto *Nil humani a me alienum* [puto]. The colours are unknown, though on a modern note-paper die the chevron is shaded azure. Sometimes the lioncels have been used without the chevron.

In collecting materials for this pedigree I have been assisted by Sir Bernard Burke, C.B., Ulster King of Arms, the Ven. John F. Ryland, Archdeacon of Lismore, Mr. Theodore Ryland, Richard Caulfield, LL.D., Mr. Thomas Falls, of Dublin, and Canon Hamilton, of Limerick, to all of whom I desire to express my thanks for their kind help.

The inscription on the tombstone at Dungarvan, which is surmounted on the slab by the shield of arms given at page 563, *supra*, as follows:—

[SHIELD OF ARMS AS GIVEN, p. 563.]

Here lyeth the body of Richard
Ryland, Esq., who departed this
life the 31st day of March 1751
aged 72 years.

Also the body of Rich^d. Ryland,
Esq., hi[s] nephew who Died the . .
Aug^r, 1760 aged 44, together
with three of his children.

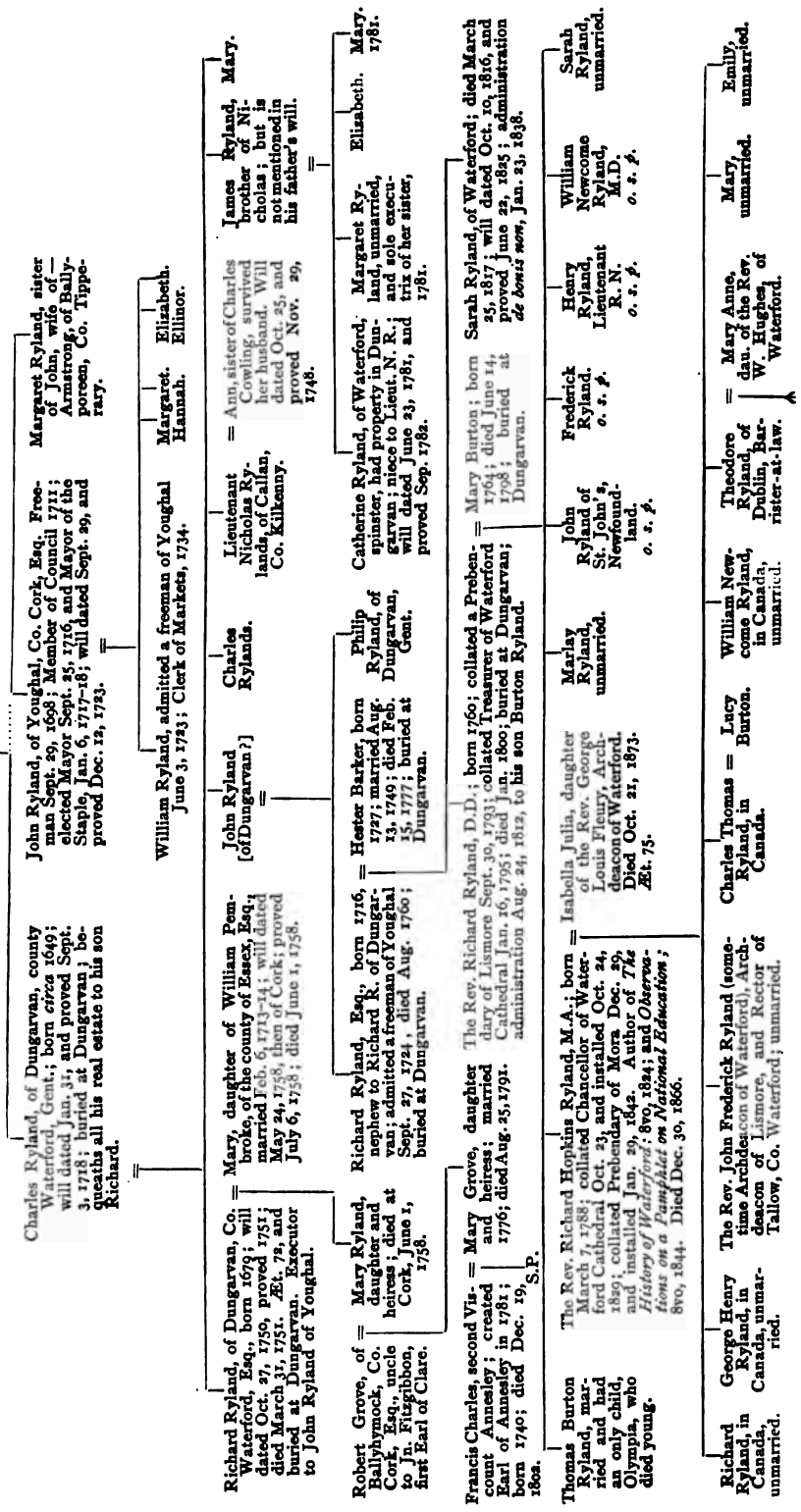
Also the body of Mrs. Esther Ryland,
[w]ife of the latte[r] who departed this
[l]ife the 15th of Februar' 1777 aged 50.

[A]lso the body of Mrs. Mary Ryland
[t]he lamented wife of the Rev. D[r]
Richard Ryland who departed this
life the 14th of June 1798 aged 34,
together with two of her children
who died before her.

The pedigree of Ryland of Dungarvan and Waterford, compiled in tabular form by Mr. J. Paul Rylands, referred to at the commencement of his Paper, will be found on next page.

RYLAND OF DUNGARVAN AND WATERFORD.

RYLAND.



The Rev. James Graves exhibited a photograph of a Bronze Bovine Mask, which he had purchased some years ago from a dealer in old iron, &c., at Mitchelstown in the Co. Cork. This bronze had formerly hung in the hall of the hotel at Mitchelstown, and had been sold at an auction of the effects of the hotel-keeper, and passed into the hands of the dealer in question. The tradition relative to the antique was, that it had been found in a bog on or near the Galtee mountains, but this could not be proved. He, Mr. Graves, had subsequently transferred the bronze to Lord James W. Butler, in whose possession it now is. This very interesting antique had been exhibited at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries in 1879, and Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum, F. S. A., made the following communication relative to it:—

“Before venturing to offer any remarks upon its probable origin or use, I will endeavour to describe it as accurately as lies in my power.

“I have already stated that the mask is of the full front face. It is of cast bronze, hollow within; its extreme length from the outside of a fixed ring on the top of the head to the tip of the protruding tongue is exactly 14 inches, of the head only $11\frac{1}{4}$; width from tip to tip of the ears—a small portion of one of which is wanting— $11\frac{1}{4}$; depth, externally, $4\frac{1}{4}$; internally, $3\frac{1}{4}$ ths; the tongue is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, measuring from the teeth to the tip, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide; the perfect ear, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long; the weight, 4lbs. $9\frac{1}{4}$ ounces avoirdupois.

“The horns are wanting—they may have been of some other material. The projections of the skull to which they were attached terminate in a flat surface $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, partially covering the junction, but having an irregular central circular opening $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, and communicating with the outside of the head, and are each encircled by a triple wire-like edging, apparently formed or finished by a file or rough thin-edged stone.

“The ears are formed separately, and soldered on, or perhaps previously fashioned by casting and hammering, of which there are indications, and inserted in their respective places in the mould previous to running in the melted metal.

“The tongue projects from the mouth as a flat and thin plate of bronze, rounded towards the tip, and supported beneath by an irregular rod of the metal, having much the appearance of a vegetable stalk or twig.

“The lips, slightly opened, reveal the teeth, rudely indicated by dividing incisions worked by a kind of graving-tool; they are edged with a projecting double wire-like border, formed in the cast. There is no opening from the mouth into the interior of the mask.

“The nostrils are formed as elongated, kidney-shaped openings, left rough from the casting, and communicating with the inside.

“The eyes are curiously represented. An almond-shaped projecting

border, with pointed ends, formed on the inner side by a larger central and nearly half-round moulding between two smaller ; and on the outer side of three such, but of equal thickness, incloses the pointed oval and slightly convex ball, in the centre of which is a small orifice communicating with the interior, and also surrounded by a projecting half-round edging.

"At the section from what would have been the hinder portion of the head and the neck is a ledge of metal, projecting outward, formed in the casting, and strengthened at the angle of its junction with the ex-



Bronze Bovine Mask found in Ireland.

terior of the mask by a half-square moulding. From immediately above this, on each side, and at the upper part, is an upright loop of metal, also formed in the casting, and doubtless used for attaching the mask to the place or object for which it was destined. This loop is not merely a flat 'eye' on the same plane as the edge, adapted to receive a nail or rivet, but is of rounded metal, and at right angles thereto.

"The peculiar head-stall or gear with which it is harnessed is a remarkable and characteristic feature of this curious bronze. It consists of an ornamental strap, extending longitudinally from the centre of the nose

to the loop at the top and back of the head, crossed by another which encircles the narrower part above the nose. It is in relief, consisting of a central projecting row of beading between two less elevated wire-like half-rounds. On a line with and between the eyes it bears a crescent, above which, at a short distance, is a circular disc, the lunar and solar emblems. Although somewhat coarsely executed in the details, which show but little sign of tooling, the casting of this mask has been effected with considerable skill; some lines perceptible on the inside surface were probably caused by cracks in the core of the mould into which the fluid metal had been run.

"That metal is a bronze of rich golden colour, probably composed of the usual proportions of copper and tin, with but little, if any, accidental admixture. I did not think it requisite to have it analysed.

"On first seeing the smaller photograph sent to me by Lord James Butler, and in answer to the question put by him as to what period and country I thought the bronze might be ascribed, I guardedly replied, that, judging only from the photograph, there was something about it which would give the impression of its being of late Celtic origin, the stated *provenance*—a bog in Ireland—giving some colour to that suggestion. But on seeing the mask itself, notwithstanding a certain surface-colouring or patina, which might have been derived from the action of heat upon the metal, that first impression quickly waned, and the conviction arose that to India, perhaps Southern India, and of no very recent time, it must be ascribed.

"I may here say that a precisely similar train of thought and change of opinion, the first on seeing the smaller photograph only, and subsequently on seeing the mask itself, passed through the minds of three or four of my friends, whose knowledge and judgment are far beyond my own, but by whom my own opinion is fortified and confirmed.

"The archaic look given by the waved moulding round the eyes, the beaded ornamentation of the head-gear, each appearing sharper and finer as though beaten up, the metal seemingly thinner when represented by the diminished photograph, deceived us all. That beading seemed to have affinity with the embossed ornamentation of certain bog-found bronze shields, &c.;¹ the ends of that waved moulding were suggestive of those curled lines frequently ending in the sharply-defined and elegantly-turned volutes that enrich some of the works of the later Celtic artists. But on examination of the original, such presumed affinities were seen to be fallacious, and our opinions were corrected.

"The bronze mask of a goat or antelope preserved at Abbotsford, and figured in the seventh volume of the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," page 334, plates xlv., xlv., and the swine's head of similar material figured on plate xlvi. of the same volume, both of which are undoubtedly of Celtic production, when referred to in comparison with the object now under notice will show a marked difference in the manipulation and manner of workmanship; they are, at the same time, fully characteristic of the delicately-executed ornamentation of the

¹At page 349 of vol. vii. of the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland" is a representation of a bronze Celtic mirror found at Balmacellan, in

Kirkcudbright, on which is a bead-work edging of a similar character to that which the photograph seemed to show of this head.

later Celtic period, but bear no affinity to our bovine head. Those plates are illustrative of an able Paper on the subject by Mr. John Alexander Smith, the then Secretary of that Society, in which their style of workmanship and ornament are clearly considered—but it throws no light upon our mask. Neither can the idea of an Assyrian or Phœnician origin be entertained, nor do I believe it to be Persian.

“The lunar and solar emblems on the harness of this mask, unconnected with other evidence, would give us but an uncertain clue, for it is well known that they occur on objects of various countries and periods, from those of the Pharaohs to the present time.

“On inquiry into their symbolic use in Indian mythology, we find that the crescent, surmounted by an ovoid or circular disc, was a distinctive mark or emblem on the forehead of *Mahadeva* and of his family. These emblems of *Siva* and *Parvati* (the sun and moon), according to Paolino da San Bartolomeo, were used by the Shivanites, who painted them in yellow on the forehead.

“In further confirmation of the Indian origin of this mask, we find, on examining photographs of sculpture, and also on smaller objects preserved in museums, &c., a manifest agreement in certain details. Thus on comparing the singular characteristic bordering of the eyes with photographs of the grand stone bulls, several of which exist in various parts of India, notably those at Warungal, Hallabed in Mysore, Chamoondie, Tanjore, &c., it will be seen that a corresponding treatment prevails, and that it would seem to be a conventional mode of representation, doubtless with an idea of expressing the elongate and somewhat languid but beautiful eye of the Indian bull or cow.

“In the unrivalled collection of photographs of Indian architecture belonging to Mr. Fergusson, to whose courtesy I am indebted for a comparison of the details of this bronze mask with the portraits of various stone bulls, I find that, as a rule, the eyes are similarly bordered. Few, if any, of the more important are represented as harnessed with head-gear, and not one bears the disc and crescent, as is the case on Lord James Butler's bronze.

“The photographs at the India Museum give similar evidence. In the bronze the horns are wanting; those represented on the stone bulls have a conventional short truncated form, exaggerating nature. On those larger figures of the bull in repose, as also at Ellora in the sculpture representing the nuptials of *Siva* and *Parvati*, he is more or less richly adorned with an elaborate forehead strap, from which hangs a central pendant, and with a magnificent collar fringed with smaller, and with a large central bell; but we do not find the disc and crescent among the ornaments. The head-stall, with nose-trap, &c., is almost always wanting, except where the bull is in movement or actively employed. Thus on a small bronze group of rather coarse execution, preserved in the India Museum, and representing *Siva* or *Mahadeva* riding on the bull *Nandi*, the latter is harnessed with a complete but simple head-stall.

“In Coleman's ‘Mythology of the Hindoos,’ as also in plates 17, 18, 24, and 49 in Moore's ‘Hindu Pantheon,’ are representations of incidents in the mythical history of *Mahadeva*, and it will be observed that in each instance a bull's head or mask is represented; and on plate 17 it is seen that water flows from the mask, which would seem to be used as typical of the emanation of a sacred source, perhaps that of the Ganges or of the

holy lake Anodad. Such representations would suggest the possibility that this may have been the purpose for which our bronze was cast, viz. as the emblematic and ornamental face of a fountain in some structure devoted to the *cultus* of *Mahadeva*. The form and contrivance of this mask would, however, hardly warrant such conclusion. May it not rather have been used in processions, perhaps attached by its rings to some banner or the hangings of a processional car? An early fancy to my mind—which I have since learned has also occurred to others—was, that it might have been attached by its loops to a screen or curtain, used during rites or ceremonies connected with the service of *Siva*, or of the sacred bull; that sybilline utterances or mystic sounds might have been given through it by a person concealed behind, who could observe through the orifices of the eyes unseen by worshippers. I cannot agree with a suggestion that it may have been the cover to some box or other vessel for sacred use. Neither does it seem possible that this mask could have been used as a *chanfron* to cover the face of a small-sized horse, as was doubtfully suggested of the Abbotsford Celtic bronze. That would seem to have been better adapted for a human head-gear of emblematic or heraldic significance, a use to which it would be impossible to adapt Lord James Butler's bronze.

"The suggestion which to me would seem to have most weight, and agrees more truly with the fashion of our mask, is that advanced by Mr. Fergusson, the great authority on Indian architecture, viz., that it may have been the most important and typical ornament of an elephant's trappings, placed perhaps on the forehead gear—may be for the elephant which bore the image of *Siva* or *Mahadeva* at some processional ceremony. In harmony with this suggestion we find that the back edge has a flat return convenient for fixing against leather or other flexible material; that the upper and lateral loops, cast in the metal, are not adapted for the insertion of nails or studs, but suitable for fixing by a thong or cord.

"Although no trace of gold is now apparent, the mask may have been originally gilt or lacquered; precious stones, set in a gold casing, may have been inserted in the eyes and nostrils, and the horns formed of jewelled ivory or jade.

"But all this is surmise; for, not being fortunate enough to obtain any certain data, from the various works on Indian mythology and antiquities to which I have been able to refer, nor from those persons whom I have had the advantage of consulting, I am forced to offer suggestions, merely, as to the use of this curious bronze.

"I should be glad if any of those whom I have now the honour of addressing, and who are learned in the mythology and ceremonial observances of the peoples of India, could refer to some fact, or record, by which its real use may be determined. That it is of Indian origin I have little doubt; but how and when it got into, and out of, an Irish bog, I will not attempt to guess."

The following Paper was contributed :—

NOTES ON KERRY TOPOGRAPHY, ANCIENT AND MODERN,
WITH EXTRACTS FROM THE UNPUBLISHED DESMOND
SURVEY AND INQUISITION.

BY MISS HICKSON.

(*Continued from page 364.*)

THE Brian Mac Murrough, or Brian O'Knogher, whose *farran* or portion of land lay in and close to the borough of Tralee in 1586, and the Terence Oge of Ratass, mentioned at p. 363, seem both to have been members of a tribe of O'Connors, who were owners of the last-mentioned place before 1474, and whose blood is inherited by the present owner of Tralee. An Inquisition taken at that town in 1623, to ascertain what lands and tenements were possessed by Dermot Mac Tirlogh O'Connor, late of Ballingowan, a farm a little to the east of Tralee, says that James, 7th Earl of Desmond, "Lord of the Liberties of Kerry, the Decies, and Imokilly," had, on the 7th of July, 1474, enfeoffed the ancestor of the said Dermot of certain lands within his manor of Ackennis¹, and that the said Dermot, who died in 1612, was seised as of fee, in the same year, of Ratass, Ballingowan, Curroghlie, Ballintobine, Ballinbrenagh, and Ballinboscery. The five last-mentioned denominations, and part of the east side of the present borough of Tralee, are all included in the parish of Ratass. Curroghlie is the modern Rockfield, the residence of Major Leigh, near Ballyseedy; Ballintobine is Ballintobenig, a little to the north-east of the borough [*vide Map*, vol. v., p. 160]. In the last century, and the early part of this, it was the property of the Collis family, was purchased from them by my father, and is now owned by S. Huggard, Esq.

¹ Ackennis seems to be a corruption of Aicme Innis, i.e. the sept or tribe of the island. Dermot Mac Tirlogh's lands lay partly within the manor of Castle Island, as appears by a letter of Sir William Herbert's, written from that place in July,

1588. Sir William says in this letter (calendared by Mr. Hamilton) that, to oblige Sir Edward Denny, the grantee of the manor of Tralee, he had allowed Dermot Mac Tirlogh to be annexed to as a freeholder.

Ballinboscery is now Ballinvosherig. The ancient little church of Ratass is well known to antiquaries from Petrie's description, and his admirable sketch of its doorway with the enormous lintel of red sandstone brought from a considerable distance.

There is a confused and rather unreliable tradition in Kerry that the Ratass or Ballingowan O'Connors descended from a Connaught retainer of the De Burgh, or Burke, wife of James, 7th Earl of Desmond, above mentioned; but, however this may be, it is certain that, to whichever branch of the old race they belonged, Connaught, Kerry, or Offaly, they held an excellent position near Tralee so far back as 1474, and managed to a certain extent to retain it, with quite wonderful persistence, through centuries of confiscation. Although they were supposed to have forfeited their *farran* near Tralee in 1586, yet deeds and rentals amongst the Denny muniments, and Petty's books of distribution in the Record Office, show that they not only retained them after that year, but that they acquired much more in addition, and were prosperous and wealthy freeholders and burgesses in and around Tralee in 1641. From a deed of sale executed on the 27th of May, 1662, by Colonel Hierome Sankey, the well-known Cromwellian officer, to Sir Arthur Denny, of Tralee Castle, we find that the lands called the Farran of Brian and Rory O'Connor, consisting of Clash, Cuilloge, Gortgarrane, Creaghduffe, and Clonmore, running north-westward and southward from Ratass church, with other large tracts around Tralee, were granted to the said Colonel to satisfy the claims of his officers and soldiers for their services between 1641-60. Brian O'Connor is also set down in Petty's books as the forfeiting proprietor, in 1641, of Lisloose, Shankyle, Raronane, Gortincloghil, Gortinraghry, Cahirslie, Carrigeendaniel, and Carrumgraigne, all fine farms or fields lying to the west and north of the borough of Tralee. These, with the *farran* above mentioned, west and south of same, were held by Brian O'Connor and Rory O'Connor under Denny, as they had been held under Desmond, at nominal chiefries. In 1653, James O'Connor of Tralee, evidently a wealthy

member of the family, received the following certificate of transplantation :—

“No. 907. James O'Connor of Traly, in the countie of Kerrye, hath on the 18th of December, 1653, ninety eight persons, nineteene acres of somer corne, forty one coves, two yearlings, twenty one horses, and forty sheepe.

“RICHARD OUSLEY.

“ROBERT HALL.

“WHITTAL BROWN.”

It is more than doubtful that James O'Connor ever left Kerry. The Denny owners of the town had been, like the O'Connors, on the king's side in the civil war until resistance to the Parliament and Cromwell was no longer possible, when they submitted, and were allowed as protestants to retain nearly all their estates. Their influence, and that of Colonel David Crosbie, the Cromwellian governor of Kerry, was probably exerted to save many of their Roman Catholic tenants from transplantation or death.¹ In 1656, at all events, Dermot Tirlogh and Thomas O'Connor were still on their old ground in or near Tralee, as appears from a kind of clearance list, taken by the government in that year, to ascertain whether the transplantation decrees respecting “papist proprietors” in Kerry, as they are termed, had

¹ In his preface to the third volume of “A Contemporary History of the Affairs of Ireland, from 1641 to 1652,” the editor, Mr. Gilbert, quotes a passage from a letter written in March, 1652, at Dublin, by Colonel John Jones of the Cromwellian army, which says that an order is about to be issued, to lay waste the county of Kerry; and Mr. Gilbert adds the following foot note to this passage :—

“This county [Kerry] was, by the last powers that subdued it, laid waste for many years, so that it was death for any man, woman, or child, to be seen in it.”—*Report on the State of the County Kerry*, 1673.

Mr. Gilbert does not mention where this MS. report is to be found, but it was printed in full from the original in the Record Tower of Dublin Castle, by the late Archdeacon Rowan, in the “Kerry Magazine” for January, 1856. This MS.

report of 1673 was drawn up by Edward, Lord Herbert, of Cherbury and Castle Island, and two other absentee justices of the peace for Kerry, named Barnes and Butler, aspirants after forfeited lands, and while it contains a modicum of truth, all persons who have a thorough knowledge of Kerry history can see that it is a partisan document full of falsehoods and exaggerations. Lord Herbert's Kerry estate adjoined those of The Mac Gillicuddy and The O'Sullivan More, and, with a covetous eye to the fragments left them in 1660, he states that those chiefs had not been adjudged innocent by the Court of Claims, and that they have not paid quit-rent (they had both gone into exile with Charles II.), and that Mac Gillicuddy was allowed to act as justice of the peace. The Mac Gillicuddy papers containing the certificates of that chief's loyal services, signed by Ormond and Clancarty; the royal acknowledgment of the same in the letters

been carried out. The O'Connors do not appear to have been amongst the "innocent papists" restored in 1670, although Sankey's deed of sale, above mentioned, seems to anticipate that such a restoration was probable; for it contains a clause that, if the *farran* of Bryan O'Connor should be claimed by any of the "ancient proprietors, or any other persons making claims thereon," and that these claims were allowed, then Sankey was to return the purchase-money to Sir Arthur Denny. The ancient proprietors, however, kept their lands "in sight" in all senses of the word. Some of them settled down as tenants on part of the *farran*, to which Captain Bateman, an officer in Sankey's troop, made good his claim after 1662; others lingered on the outskirts of their old inheritance near Cahirslee, engaging in trade, and getting long leases of lands from the Denny family, who seem to have greatly favoured them.

On the 22nd of June, 1704, barely fifty-one years after James O'Connor of Traly had received the above certificate of transplantation, Colonel Edward Denny of Tralee Castle, son and heir of Sir Arthur of 1662, executed a *renewal* lease of Loghercannan, of which more hereafter, described in the Desmond Survey (*vide ante*, p. 364) as a "most fertile piece of land" (it has indeed been

patent restoring him to part of his estates, &c., sufficiently expose the nature of Lord Herbert's alleged grievances. But, as regards the passage quoted by Mr. Gilbert, the words of the report are not as he has printed them—"This county (Kerry) was, by the last powers that subdued it, laid waste for many years, so that it was death for any man, woman, or child, to be seen in it"; but "This country was, by the last powers, &c.," and the country meant, as anyone who reads the report in the original MS., or in Archdeacon Rowan's printed copy, with ordinary care, will see, comprises only the three southern baronies of Kerry, Dunkerron, Iveragh, and Glaneroght, with the barony of Beare and Bantry in the county of Cork. This small district, celebrated in the old Irish rhyme as "the high and horrid hills of Desmond, which St. Patrick did not think worth blessing," always in old times more or less a waste,

was probably desolated between 1649 and 1660; but so far from the whole of the county Kerry being a waste during that time, it fared better than any other part of Munster. This was mainly due to the fact that Colonel David Crosbie, at the eleventh hour, came to terms with Cromwell, and was appointed by him governor of Kerry. He was allowed to retain on his estates many who had been set down for transplantation; and, as his mother, eldest brother, sisters, and nephews, were Roman Catholics, his influence, secretly or openly used, was of much service to their party in Kerry. In fact some of the depositions in Trinity College Library charged him with secretly favouring the Irish in arms against the commonwealth, but Cromwell seems to have wholly disregarded these charges, although they were made before magistrates and officials of his own, in 1661-3.

always one of the finest farms on the estate, and lies close to Cahirslee), to James O'Connor, junior, of Tralee. In the following year, 1705, Colonel Denny leased houses and premises in Tralee to the same James, and also executed a favourable lease of the lands of Clogherbryne (*vide ante*, p. 363), near Loghercannan, to his brother Thomas O'Connor. The brothers seem to have been sons or grandsons of James, who received the transplantation certificate fifty years before. Thomas O'Connor married a Miss Watkin, daughter or grand-daughter of a Protestant burgess of Tralee, in 1635–40, and had by her a son who died unmarried, and a daughter who married Arthur Cecil Hamilton, Esq., of Cavan, and had by him a daughter and heiress, who married in 1741 the third Viscount Southwell, grandson of the first Lord, and his wife Lady Meliora, daughter of Earl Coningsby, and sister of the wife of Colonel Edward Denny. Another of the Tralee O'Connors, Dermot O'Connor, apparently the grandson of Bryan MacDermot who forfeited Cahirslee, Raronane, &c., in 1649, and Murrough or Morgan O'Connor, were also engaged in trade in the suburbs of Tralee in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Murrough O'Connor, apparently the son of Dermot, had a brother Maurice who, having conformed to Protestantism, was rector or curate of Tralee. He married Anne, only daughter of Barry Denny, Esq., M.P. for Tralee in 1697, and his wife Catherine, daughter of Sir Boyle Maynard, of Curraglass in Cork. Barry Denny, who was the nephew of Sir Arthur Denny of 1662, had in 1698 a lease for ninety-nine years from his cousin the owner of Tralee, of the lands of Ballyvelly, close to Loghercannan, and shorter leases of houses and premises in Tralee. His only son having died *s. p.*, these lands and houses passed to his daughter Anne, wife of the Rev. Maurice Connor, who had an only son Barry, and a daughter Jane. In the early part of the eighteenth century, therefore, the heiress, grand-daughter of Thomas O'Connor, ousted in 1649, was the wife of Lord Southwell the great-grandson of Earl Coningsby, while it seemed certain that Barry O'Connor the grandson of another of the ousted O'Con-

nors of Tralee, would inherit, through his mother Anne Denny, a good slice of the Denny estate. Fate, however, was against the old name, though not against the old blood. Barry O'Connor died *s.p.* His sister Jane succeeded to their mother's inheritance in and near Tralee, and married her cousin the Rev. Barry Denny, fifth son of Colonel Edward Denny of Tralee Castle, by the Lady Letitia, daughter of Earl Coningsby. The Rev. Barry Denny had by his wife and cousin Jane O'Connor a son Barry, who ultimately succeeded by survival to the whole of the Denny estates, and who was created a baronet in 1782.

Sir Barry Denny, a most popular and kindly landlord, raised and equipped a fine troop for the famous national army of Volunteers in that year, and reviewed them, with eight more troops raised in different parts of Kerry, at Clonmore, the before-mentioned portion of the *farran* Brian O'Connor forfeited by his mother's family in 1649. Sir Barry Denny's daughter married Rowland Bateman, Esq., of Oakpark, the descendant of the Cromwellian who had obtained the rest of the said *farran* in that year. Thus, had the Rev. Maurice O'Connor, and his brother Morgan lived a little longer they would have seen the grandson and the great-grand-daughter of the former, owners, not merely of the old *farran* of the race, but of the whole of the Denny and the Bateman estates, and related in blood to some of the best families in both islands, and to the descendants of King William's Viceroy, Earl Coningsby. The whirligig of time had brought strange revenges and compensations to the O'Connors of Tralee, set down in the Elizabethan as well as in the Cromwellian Survey for confiscation. Such cases of compensation and restitution, through the intermarriages of English and Irish, are (contrary to the notions of those who have not studied the bye-ways of history) very common in Ireland, but this one of the O'Connors of Tralee is too remarkable to be overlooked in any notice of the antiquities of the land of Ciar, at the present day, when attempts are still made to keep up racial distinctions which have no real existence in any part of the island.

One of the castles of Robert Ryce¹ or Rice, mentioned at p. 363, must have stood very near the great castle, for, from an old MS. journal of the siege of the latter place in 1641, still preserved, it appears that the Protestants who crowded into both castles in that year for protection kept up communication with one another by means of letters attached to ropes which were flung from the towers of the great castle to Rice's castle. Old documents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seem to show that the latter stood at the east side of Tralee square. The land of Mac Ellystrym, mentioned in the survey (*vide ante*, p. 363), lay at the west end of Tralee near Cahirslee. The ruins of Castle Mac Ellistrym, a small but strong fortress, stood thereabouts until some six or eight years since, when they were pulled down to make room for a new street or row of houses.

An Inquisition, taken at Tralee on the 10th September, 1641, finds that Christopher Walsh and Celia or Cicely his wife were seised of the lands of Castle Mac Ellistrym, and of the burgage of Rory O'Nihilly in Tralee, and of Ballymac Robert; and that the said Christopher died in 1621, and that his son and heir was Nicholas Walsh. The Mac Ellistrym lands therefore must have passed at an early date from their original owners, either by purchase or marriage, into the Walsh family. "Nicholas Walsh of Traly" is one of those mentioned in the Royal Declaration of Thanks issued after the Restoration, who, for special services to Charles in his exile, were to be restored to their old lands forfeited in 1649. But Walsh appears to have been one of those left out in the cold, and Mac Ellistrym's lands remained after 1649 with the Bateman family. The burgage of Rory O'Nihilly seems to have included part of the present Rock-street in Tralee, and Farran

¹ Robert Rice was a member of the old Kerry family of his name, which forfeited extensive possessions in Kerry in 1649: *vide* First Series of Old Kerry Records for a long list of their forfeited lands which passed to the Cootes and Mullins, or

de Moleyns families. I may here observe that the names of two gentlemen of this old Kerry family, mentioned at p. 359, should have stood "Dominick John Rice, Esq., of Ballylongford," and "Justice Dominick Rice, Esq., of Bushmount."

Mac Brandon or Brandon's burgage probably also lay in that direction, from whence a road leads to Fenit, where the saint is said to have been born, A.D. 481. In the early part of the seventeenth century, Arthur Denny leased to David Nihil (the Anglicised form of O'Nihilly) the town and lands of Tallaght, and the rectory and glebe lands of Ballinahaglish, all adjoining Fenit, for a term of twenty-one years. This old Kerry name, I think, in modern times was still further corrupted to Neale, in which form it still lingers about Tralee, and is confused with the better known O'Neil of Ulster origin. Of the two "broadways" mentioned in the survey (*vide ante*, p. 363,) only Great Castle-street can now be identified, which is divided into Upper and Lower Castle-street; the latter, including part of the site of the great Castle, Cloghan. The land of Redmond Mac Bryan (probably an O'Connor) lies to the south of Tralee.

In the early part of the seventeenth century, Cloghan and land adjoining it were held at a yearly rent of £11 by Edward Roe, a Protestant chief tenant of Sir Edward Denny. Roe's heiress carried it to the Conways, whose heiress in turn conveyed it to the Colthursts. Sir George Colthurst, Bart., sold the lands in the present century (still subject to the old chief rent of 1599, and a heriot), to various persons. Colonel Rowan, Edward Mulchinock, Esq., and the Hilliard family, now own the greater portion of the Cloghan property. The burgess lands of Tralee, before 1587, are of course very hard to identify at this distance of time, some of them being now covered with streets and lanes, and the original names long forgotten. The *locale* of the garrane or shrubbery of O'Harraghten cannot now be discovered, although it is mentioned in the letters patent of 1639, together with Brandon's Burgage and Gwyar's or Guaire's Burgage. The latter name seems to mark the site of some vanished cell or church under the patronage of the St. Guaire of the seventh century, who is said to have been, like St. Brandon, a native of Kerry, although his name sounds Cambrian, and it survived until the middle of the eighteenth century, as is evident from the following

abstract of an old lease amongst the Denny rentals and estate books :—

“Jan. 5th, 1742. Colonel Thomas Denny to Patrick Hely Fitz Thomas, merchant, the tan-yard, mill, house, and small cabin south of said tan-yard, together with the gardens and small closes or fields west of said yard, called Guaire’s lands—two acres, three roods, and twenty-seven perches, bounded on the north by the house of the Rev. Maurice Connor, deceased, and the orchard, garden, and fields, lying westward thereof; on the west with part of Cahirslee, and on the south with part of Roland Bateman’s paddock, Gortacushlane, and Michael Fitz Gerald’s house; on the east with the street or highway leading from Tralee to Gallow’s Green; for twenty-nine years at £5 10s., with five bushels of oatmeal on every first day of said term, or 10s. in lieu thereof, with a clause of surrender at six months’ notice from the 29th September.”

Land in that neighbourhood, the present Rock-street, is now commonly let at six or eight pounds an acre, with a considerable fine, and good business premises thereabouts at five times that sum.

In the appendix to the First Series of my “Kerry Records,” published in 1872, I drew attention to a then uncalendared record amongst the Carew MSS. at Lambeth, which seems to show that the original owners of the great Castle of Tralee, mentioned in the Survey (*vide ante*, p. 363), were not, as is popularly supposed, Geraldines, but Fitz Henrys. Readers of the Irish State Papers relating to the rebellion of Gerald, Earl of Desmond, killed in 1583, will remember that one of his grievances, real or fancied, was that a chest of muniments, title-deeds, and charters, etc., had been stolen from him, and that it was detained by the Viceroy and Sir George Carew, with a view to invalidate or destroy his hereditary claims to the palatinate of Kerry and his lands in Desmond. However this may be, there is a long list amongst the Carew MSS. of such papers, apparently drawn up by Carew himself in the lifetime of the Earl. It gives a brief abstract of the contents of each paper as it lay before the compiler, and one is described as a conveyance or assignment by Sabh or Sabina Mac Learnay to James, Earl of Desmond, of the “Greate Castell of Tralye,” dated in the “second yeare of Edward VI.,” that is, in 1549. The Mac Learney is evidently a clerical error for Mac Henry, the Hiberni-

cised form of Fitz Henry, and it is of course possible that the old deed was merely a re-conveyance or release, made by the lady to the Earl, of the Castle, which she may have only occupied as a tenant for a certain time. But against this solution of the difficulty is the undoubted fact that King John did grant to Meyler Fitz Henry the cantred of Offeriba, in which the Castle stood, as well as the cantreds of *Aicme Ciarraighe*, and *Eoghannacht Loch Lein*, parts of the present county of Kerry, and that, however much the Geraldines may have resisted the carrying out of the grant, it did take effect, for it was through a marriage with a Fitz Henry heiress, in the latter part of the twelfth, or the beginning of the thirteenth century, that Maurice, son of Raimond le Gros, and father of the first Lord Kerry (direct ancestor of Lord Lansdowne), obtained the lands of Killury, Rattoo, and Ballyheigue, part of the ancient inheritance of the *Aicme Ciarraighe*, i.e., tribes of the race of Ciar (vide *Irish Names of Places*, by Professor Joyce, 1st series, p. 117).

Under King John's grants the Fitz Henrys may have been the first to build a castle at Tralee, to keep watch and ward over Offeriba, which was soon to be encroached on by the Geraldines, and the conveyance of 1549 may have completed the surrender of the place to the latter. The old Castle of Tralee in which Henry Davells was so cruelly murdered, as represented in the quaint contemporary sketch reproduced at p. 483 of the first volume, third series, of this Journal, was completely destroyed in 1579-83. It was rebuilt in 1625 by Sir Edward Denny, grandson of the grantee of 1586, but was again ruined in 1641, when it was besieged for several months by the Irish Roman Catholic party under Florence Mac Carthy and Pierce Ferriter. Of the one hundred-and-seventy Protestants who then took refuge in the castle, one hundred-and-twenty, including the Commandant, Sir Thomas Harris, father-in-law of Sir Edward Denny, perished by the sword, or by diseases produced by want of food, and by the drinking of bad water. In 1649 the castle was repaired, only to be again demolished at the end of forty years in the civil war of 1688-91. It

was rebuilt in 1700, and occupied by the Denny family until the close of the eighteenth century, when a handsome modern mansion was added on to the old one by the father of the present baronet. This new mansion was hardly completed when the owner decided to abandon it, and had the whole fabric, old and new, pulled down. The stones, timber, and costly fittings, were sold off, and the present Denny-street rose on the site of the old historic castles of the Fitz Henrys, Fitzgeralds, and Dennys. All of their surroundings proper that now remain in the pleasant and fair demesne running southward and westward towards the foot of Sliabh Mis and Tralee bay, and including in its circuit the ruins of the Countess' castle and manor of the survey of 1586 (*vide ante*, p. 364). A fragment of a double pillar of grey marble, which lies in a shady nook of the grounds near Castle Countess, probably once formed part of its windows, or doorways, which must have commanded a fine view of the bay and mountains as far as Brandon Head. The site of the street of the New Manor is now probably pasturage, or part of Sir E. Denny's demesne. On the other hand, a large portion of the old demesne lands of the Castle of 1586, Loghercennaen and Clonelouer, mentioned in the survey (*vide ante*, p. 364), is now covered by the town of Tralee, Day-place, Bridge-place, the Square, and the small streets behind it, Stoughton's-row, the Terrace, Edward-street, two railway stations, and the Wesleyan and Presbyterian churches. On the northern, and as yet unbuilt on, part of Cloonalouer (the leper's meadow, *vide Joyce*, 2nd series, p. 81), there are three forts, one of which was partially levelled a few years ago; and a labourer lately digging a trench at the base of the sloping rampart came upon a large block of reddish stone, similar to that of which the neighbouring little church at Rath, already noticed, is built, close to which lay a human skull, of rather peculiar shape and great thickness. It seems to have been part of a body buried in the rampart of the fort in pre-Christian, or very early Christian, times; and other remains of the skeleton may still lie in the same place, which the people are very shy of exploring

further. It is difficult to get them to consent to clear away even the upper portions of such ramparts; but when they do so they are careful to leave the base and central mound untouched, whatever scarcity of arable land there may be in the district.

The old demesne land of "Loghercennaen," mentioned at page 364, is identical with the "Loghorte Cannane *alias* Loghlancannane," mentioned at p. 160. In an Inquisition taken in 1622, on the death of Arthur Denny, son of Sir Edward Denny of 1586, the district is called Lohort Cannon, and in the letters patent before mentioned granted to the second Sir Edward Denny, son and heir of said Arthur, it is described as "the late religious house, precinct, and site of the Abbey of Traley, otherwise Loghercannon." It is evident from this, that the ancient Loghercennaen comprehended not only the district near Tralee now known by that name, but all the land running towards it westward and southward of the ancient Castle, the site of the ancient Abbey, its gardens and closes, now covered by that portion of the Denny demesne between Castle Countess and the Square, Abbey and Mary-streets, Stoughton's-row, Day-place, and Strand-street, with the lanes around it between Ballyvelly and Knockanacuig to the strand. The streets having overrun all this middle portion of Loghercannon, and the Denny demesne having absorbed all the south-east portion, the name thereabouts of course was lost, and only retained in the western-seaward portion, where the ground is still divided into arable or pasture farms, with a cottage or country-house here and there. Now, as to the meaning of the name "Logher, or Lohorte, Cannane, *alias* Loghlancannane" (*vide ante*, p. 160), Dr. Joyce tells us that Lohort is a corruption of *Lubh-ghort*, an herb plot, or herb garden, that the "cannon" in modern Irish names is a corruption of *cananach*, a canon or church dignitary, and that *ceanannus* was the old Irish name for a "royal or head residence" (*vide* Joyce, 2nd series, pp. 91, 228). *Lann* he tells us was the Irish for church, borrowed in very early times from the Welsh. Loghercannon is generally supposed to be the "herb-garden

of the canon," and the *lan* in the *alias Loghlancannane* tends to confirm the notion that the old name had something to do with an ecclesiastical settlement thereon. My knowledge of the Irish language is too slight to justify my expressing a "positive" opinion as to the true meaning of the name; but from the study of Dr. Joyce's invaluable little books, the historical records quoted above, and my long and intimate knowledge of the natural features of the district, I venture to suggest that long before the Dominicans, or Canons, or Fitz Gerald's, or Fitz Henry's, came to Kerry, all this district bordering on the north-east strand of the *Ligh* or *Li* was called, and with good reason, *Lubh-ghort-keenaghan*, i. e. the herb garden of the mossy land, or the land abounding in moss. The portion of Sir Edward Denny's demesne which lies between Abbey-street and Castle Countess, and which in old times formed part of the gardens and precincts of the Abbey, the southern end of old Loghort Cennaen in fact, which the Geraldines granted to the friars as a site, according to the letters patent, was, and is to this day, a land abounding in mosses, insomuch that in modern times, until about 1835, it was never known by any other name than that of the "Mossy Hills." There are no real hills there, but the ground undulates and is broken up by a number of little hillocks or rocky knolls, closely carpeted with an extraordinary profusion of the greenest and softest moss. Was not their name until 1836 a "mere English" survival of the Irish *Keenaghan*? As regards the *Lubh-ghort*, a narrow belt of this ground now covered with ornamental shrubs, and a gravel walk behind Abbey- and Mary-streets, and which in 1584 must have skirted the walls of the monastery and church, was in the early part of the last century the Castle kitchen-garden, the successors probably of the herb plot or garden of earlier times. In the closing years of the last century, and the first of the present, the bowling-green at the east end of Sir E. Denny's demesne, and the mossy hills at the west end of it, were the favourite resorts of all Tralee folk, grave and gay. The former has long vanished to make way for its fashionable suc-

cessor—a tennis-lawn; but the latter remain in all their eternal verdure, shaded by stately trees (with memories as long as that of Tennyson's "Talking Oak"), to justify the graphic old Irish name *Lubhghortkeenaghan*. Although grasses have been sown for a couple of centuries on these hills, the mosses fairly conquer them, carpeting the whole surface of the ground. I may add too that great part of the middle portion of the district, at the north-west side of Strand-street, equally justifies this name, for it abounds with herbs plots or small kitchen-gardens and fruit-gardens, from which the Tralee market is supplied; while at the extreme end of Loghercannon, near the sea, there is a fort marked on the Ordnance Map *Lisloghort*, the *lis* of the herb garden. The following extract from the Survey of 1586 shows the possessions of the Dominicans in and around Tralee up to that date. The Abbey lands did not pass immediately to the Dennys in 1586, but were granted to persons who sold to them before the middle of the seventeenth century:—

"The site and house of the late Friars of the Order of Dominic, *alias* White Friars, is situated in the borough and town of Tralee, on the river called the Guye (*sic*), near the port of Tralee, in a most fertile vein of land. By which river vessels of the burden of five tons may come to the walls of the said house at the spring-tide. And the said house, which was large and ample before the rebellion, had a certain church adjoined to it, in which the ancestors of the said Earl were honourably buried. But now, as well the aforesaid house and the aforesaid church are ruinous and in great decay. Their circuits and precincts, with certain gardens and closes of land enclosed by a stone wall, contain, by estimation, five acres of land, worth per annum,

£2 13s. 4d.

"And there are outside the sites of the said house divers parcels of lands and gardens, upon which were certain tenements, now waste and prostrated, worth per an.,

£0 8s. 0d.

"And to the said late house also belongs a parcel of best land lying in the parish of Tralee, on the west side of the town aforesaid, called Ballyvoyelan, *alias* Ballylevahaen, containing thirteen acres of land, which, at the rate of 2s. 6d. per acre, are worth per annum,

£1 12s. 6d.

"And to the said house belongs a fishing in a certain river running by the lands of Ballyvoelan (*sic*) aforesaid,

and being in the demesne lands of the Manor of Tralee, worth per annum, £0 1s. 8d.

"And there is also near the said house and upon the river aforesaid a place where was a corn mill, now a ruin, worth per annum, £0 6s. 8d.

"And to the aforesaid house belongs also another house in decay, with two acres of land in the eastern part of the parish of Dingle *alias* Dinglecushe, worth per annum, £0 2s. 6d.

"And further to the aforesaid house of the Friars of Tralee belongs the 20th part of all the corn for the tithes of the following towns, villages, and lands, renewing annually to the said late Earl, which tithes are extended by the aforesaid Commissioners per annum as follows, viz. :—

"The town of Tralee aforesaid,	£1	16s.	0d.
"The town of the Island,	£1	4s.	0d.
"The town called Cogrekerri,	£1	16s.	0d.
"For the Countesse's lands in or near Tralee aforesaid,	£0	1s.	0d.
"The town of Tallogh,	£0	12s.	0d.
"The Newe Manor,	£0	12s.	0d.
"The town of Barrow,	£0	6s.	0d.
"The town of Ballyhe in the parish of Dingle,	£0	4s.	0d.
"The town of Kill-ballylahiff near Glanegalt,	£0	8s.	0d.
"The lands called Kyllnecleragh near Dingle aforesaid,	£0	2s.	0d.
"The park of Dingle aforesaid,	£0	3s.	0d.
"The town of Moneneny in the said parish,	£0	8s.	0d.
"And so in all per annum in lawful money of England to be paid at the aforesaid feasts by equal portions, £12 18s. 0d."			

As the Abbey walls did not certainly extend further westward than Stoughton's-row and Mary-street, the "river vessels" mentioned above must have been able to sail up between that row and the present Day-place as far east as Bridge-place. The site of the two latter must have been in early times a marsh or slob, like the district near Blennerville-bridge at the present day; and when the spring-tides met the Lee or Lehey, running below Castle Countess and Mulgrave-bridge and the stream called the "Big River" for generations, which ran by the Abbey walls, and must have been "the Guye" of the survey, a wide river or lough must have filled the present Day-place. The residents thereabouts are indeed able to verify for themselves (though not exactly to their satisfaction) the correctness of this old survey of 1586 every winter, when the mingled waters of the bay and the two rivers assert their ancient rights and

bounds, and rise to the depth of a couple of feet in kitchens and cellars, occasionally submerging even the breakfast rooms of some of the best houses on the Terrace. The northern side of the monastery before 1586 could have been scarcely accessible at certain seasons except by boats. The alias *Loghlanccannane* (*vide ante*, p. 160), if interpreted the "Lough of the church (*lann*) in the land abounding in moss" would then have been highly appropriate.¹

(*To be continued*).

¹ As an instance of how learned etymologists and philologists may dispute about the meaning of an Irish name, while all the time the simple-minded Irish peasants have solved the question by their own unaided powers of observation, I may mention here the following circumstance, told me by my relative Dr. Busteed, of Castle Gregory. He was one day walking over a district close to Brandon Head (near to the spot from whence it is believed that the Saint began his famous western voyage), known by the name of Murreregan, a word said to be derived from the Irish word for the sea *muir* (v. Joyce, 2nd series, p. 248), or *Murdhucha'n* a mermaid, one of those fabulous beings having been supposed to haunt the little bay thereabouts, as I have mentioned in a note to my 1st series of "Kerry Records." Dr. Busteed, who knows something of Irish, had been much exercised by the learned explanations given of the derivation and

meaning of Murreregan, and was puzzling over them on the summer day he walked over the fields so called. A country girl, the daughter of a fisherman or small farmer in the little village, passing his way, he said to her, "Do you know the meaning of the name of the place you live in? Why do they call it *Murreregan*?" Quick as lightning came the unlearned, but probably quite correct, answer, giving Dr. Busteed information which he, although well acquainted with west Kerry, and a good botanist, never knew before, "*Yers!* shure its because the *urragan* grows here: the place is all full of it!" The said *urragan* is a weed which does grow luxuriantly in the place. I am hopeful that, although I am ignorant of "scientific philology," my explanation of *Lobore Cennaen*, from the little "Keenaghans" around the herb-garden of the Abbey of Tralee, may be as good a hit as the Corcaguiny girl's explanation of Murreregan.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL
HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
OF IRELAND,
FOR THE YEAR 1882.

At the ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held at the Museum,
Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January
the 4th, 1882;

THE RIGHT REV. W. PAKENHAM WALSH, D.D., Bishop
of Ossory, in the Chair :

The Honorary Secretary read the Annual Report as
follows :—

“The year which has closed has not been marked by much change in the affairs or working of the Association. Successful Meetings were held at Cork in April, at Enniskillen in July; the other two Meetings of the year were held at Kilkenny. The Association has, as yet, therefore found no place of Meeting in Connaught, which is to be regretted, as no part of Ireland is so rich in antiquities. There has been a slight increase in the roll of Fellows and Members—which number five hundred and two, being twelve more than it comprised at the end of 1880. The Fellows now number eighty-six. Three Fellows and nine Members were elected during the past year. The financial condition of the Association is fairly prosperous, and would be very satisfactory but that there are large arrears of subscriptions due by a considerable number of the Members. The expenses of the Meeting at Enniskillen have not been deducted from the funds of the Association, having been fully defrayed, including the cost of a most interesting excursion, by the generous donation of £10 by the Earl of Enniskillen. The printing of the Annual Volume—the Destruction of the Bruden da Derga—has made considerable progress, and it is hoped it will very shortly be ready for delivery.”

The Report was unanimously adopted.

The President, Officers, and Committee were elected as follows:—

President.—His Grace the Duke of Leinster, M.R.I.A.

Treasurer.—Rev. James Graves, A.B.

Honorary General Secretaries.—Rev. James Graves, A.B.; Richard Caulfield, LL.D., F.S.A.

Committee.—Peter Burtchaell, C.E.; Robert Day, M.R.I.A., F.S.A.; Barry Delany, M.D., C.M.; Rev. Samuel Hayman, M.A.; Maurice Lenihan, J.P., M.R.I.A.; Robert Malcomson, A.M.; Rev. Philip Moore, P.P.; Rev. John O'Hanlon, M.R.I.A.; C. D. Purdon, M.B., F.R.C.S.I.; J. G. Robertson; Rev. John F. Shearman; Rev. C. A. Vignoles, A.M.

The following new Members were elected:—

Major Otway Wheeler Cuffe, Washington Lodge, Waterford.

Rev. James M'Kenna, P.P., Brookboro', Co. Fermagh.

Joseph Richard Daly, Bellevue, Circular Road, Limerick.

Henry Bourke, George-street, Limerick.

George Raphael Buick, M.A., Cullybackey, Belfast.

George Dames Burtchaell, B.L., Barrister-at-Law, Dublin.

Rev. Canon Humphreys, Quin Rectory, Ennis.

The Rev. R. Deverell presented a jetton of small size, which was found near Durrow.

The Rev. John Power presented a collection of ancient coins found near Emly.

Mr. John Browne, M.R.I.A., presented several Roman and some Greek coins, also a collection of recent tokens.

Mr. John Hogan said that it was generally known that there was a "new Tholsel" in Kilkenny which existed previously to the erection of the present Tholsel, which was generally and more especially known as the new Tholsel. That both, however, were on the same site was not hitherto proved. The following abstracts of documents preserved amongst the muniments of the

Corporation of Kilkenny, and for which he was indebted to the kindness of Mr. Patrick Watters, Town Clerk, clearly proved this identity of site, besides giving other interesting information:—

1578, "By Deed or Fee-farm Grant, dated 4th December,
4th December. 1578, in the 21st year of Queen Elizabeth, Thomas Marshall granted to Edmond Shee and John Roth fitz Robert, Burgesses of Kilkenny, one Messuage, with its Appurtenances near the Market Cross, which Messuage lies in length from the Messuage of Robert Roth, in the south as far as the Highway leading from the said Cross to the Church of the blessed Virgin Marie in the North, and in breadth it lies from the Cemetery of the said Church on the East, to the Highway on the West: To hold the said Messuage to the aforesaid Edmond Shee and Robert Roth, their heirs and assigns, for the use of the Sovereign Burgesses and Commons of said Town of Kilkenny, and their successors for ever, paying yearly to the said Thomas Marshall, his heirs or assigns, thirty-three shillings and four pence, at Easter and Michaelmas.

"This document is in contracted Latin; the following is an extract from the original with regard to the description and boundary of the premises:—

"Unum Messuagium cum suis pertinentibus juxta Crucem Mercatoriam, ibidem situatum, quod quidem Messuagium jacet in longitudine a Messuagio Roberti Roth versus Australem usque ad viam regiam ducentem a *dieta cruce*, usque ad Ecclesiam beate Marie Virginis versus Boream, et in latitudine jacet a cemeterio predictæ Ecclesiæ ex parte orientali usque ad alterum vicum ex parte occidentali."

"There is an endorsement on this Deed, in an ancient handwriting, as follows:—'The Estate past by Thomas Marshall and his son William Marshall to the Corporation of the "New Tolsell."'

1579, "Lease from the Souvraigne Burgesses and Commons
3rd July. of Kilkenny to Ellane Raughton, Widow, of a Shoppe room under their 'new Court House,' on the East Syde of the Market Cross of Kilkenny, next to Helias Shee's Chamber, which lieth in the South Side of the said new Court House, as the said Shopp rome shall be marked and meared unto the said Ellane, when the worke of the said new Courte House shall be ended and fynished: To hold for forty years, paying yearly three shillings current money of Ireland. The said Souvraigne Burgesses and Commons granted to the said Ellane thirteen shillings and four pence yearly, till the said new Courte House be fynished and builded.

1609, "A Lease of this date, made to Piers Archer fitz
20th October. Richard, Merchant (after reciting the Lease made to Ellen Raughton, dated the 3rd July, 1579, of the Shop room under the 'new Tholsel or Court House' on the East Side of the Market Crosse), the Mayor and Citizens, in consideration of forty

shillings, granted and set the same to said Piers Archer for three score and one years from the expiration of the Lease to Ellen Raughton, at the yearly rent of ten shillings.

1664,
10th September. "Lease of this date to Thomas Evans, Esq., Peter Goodwin, Merchant, and Thomas Houlden, Gentleman, Sheriff of the said City (in consideration of the sum of fifteen pounds to be disposed of towards erecting or building of a House or Court of Guard for his Majesty's Service). The Mayor and Citizens demised and set to said Thomas Evans, Peter Goodwin, and Thomas Houlden, the Shopp under the new Tholsel, with the waste Cellar next to it, wherein lately the Guard was kept, together with the Loft or Garrett over the said new Tholsel, and the Shopp *under the old Tholsell*: To hold for one and twenty years, paying yearly the rent of tenne shillings.

1697.
25th September. "Lease of this date to Thomas Gee, of the 'Four Shoppes under the New Townsell,' also the Rooms now in the Coffyman's possession over the said Shopps, and all the upper Garretts over the Aldermen and Common Council's Rooms, together with all the Cellars underneath the said Townsell, excepting that on the south side thereof, next Mr. Boursicott's, Merchant, which is designed for the use of the Markett of Kilkenny: To hold for ninety-nine years, paying yearly one Pepper Corn."

Mr. Alexander Nesbitt, F.S.A., sent the following observations relative to the probable origin of beads of glass found in Ireland:—

Mr. Knowles has, in his Paper in this Journal (vol. v. 4th series, p. 522), on "Antient Irish Beads and Amulets," raised the interesting question of the origin and place of manufacture of those formed of glass which have been found in Ireland.

The question is a difficult one, for it is certain that objects of this class, almost identical, have been produced in different countries, and at widely separated periods of time. The Venetian manufacturers, at the present day, make beads which scarcely differ from some of those found in tumuli in England, which are probably not much later in date than the Christian epoch. The manufacture of such beads is probably traditional, and has passed from Sidon to Rome, and thence to Venice; an example may therefore have been made in either of those cities, and at any time from perhaps some centuries before A.D. to the present year.

Something may, however, be done towards assigning probable dates and places of origin to examples, by observation of the circumstances under which, and the places in which, they are met with, and I have been endeavouring to apply this method of inquiry to the examples figured by Mr. Knowles.

Beginning with those in his Plate II., I observe that the material and method of ornamentation of Nos. 1, 2, 3 very closely resemble those often found in fragments of vessels at Rome, the material being a brick-red paste, and the ornamentation a yellow or white enamel, carelessly

applied to the ground in lines. Beads thus made are, I think also, sometimes found near Rome, and also in graves of the Anglo-Saxons of the pagan period.

Beads such as No. 4, in which knobs of coloured enamels project from a ground of a different colour, are also met with at Rome, as are also fragments of glass vessels decorated in a like manner; these appear to have been cheap and common wares. Beads of the like kind were found at Nydam in Denmark (*vide* "Denmark in the Early Iron Age," Pl. V., figs. 19, 20), with remains probably dating from the fourth or fifth centuries, A.D.

Beads of types closely resembling Mr. Knowles' Nos. 6-10 (Pl. II.), that is, with spots, annulets, lines or twists of coloured enamels level with the surface, but not penetrating far below it, are common at Rome, and frequently found with Roman remains in England; as also in barrows belonging to the "early iron period" in the same country. Altogether similar beads were found in the graves at Hallstadt in the Salzcammergut, and at Marzabotto, near Bologna, the former of which probably date from about the fifth century B.C. downwards, the latter from the second or first century, B.C. (*vide* Dr. Thurnam's Paper on British Barrows, in the *Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, vol. xliii., p. 497). Beads of like character are often found in graves of the pagan Anglo-Saxon period; many instances will be found in the pages of the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, and like publications.¹ Such I believe continue to be made at Venice, they certainly were made there not very long ago.

The method by which such beads were made was, I apprehend, that the glass was gathered in a viscid state on a metal rod, and the bead formed by pressure and rolling on a surface of stone or metal; knobs, rings, and lines of enamels were then stuck on, and when it was desired that the surface should be smooth, the whole was re-heated and again rolled.

Large beads were thus made (and possibly still are) at Venice. The later and more usual method is first to draw out the glass into "cannelle," or rods with a longitudinal perforation, and to divide these into pieces by the aid of a blow-pipe. The external decoration is then added by the application of little sticks of enamel passed over the surface of the bead as a pencil is applied to paper, under the action of the flame of the lamp driven by the blow-pipe. It is quite possible; however, that beads were often made in the manner suggested by Mr. Knowles, from portions of a rod heated and bent.

The more peculiar beads are those figured in Mr. Knowles' Plate I., figs. 1, 3, 4-9, all characterized by the superposition of lines or knobs composed of opaque, coloured or white, and transparent colourless, glass threads twisted together spirally, on a coloured ground, usually transparent blue. Beads of this type seem to be much more common in Ireland than anywhere else; examples have been found in England, Scotland, and in Switzerland (*vide Journal of Historical and Archaeological*

¹ See for instance Neville's *Saxon Obscures* (London, 1862), Pl. XVIII.-XXI.;

Faussett's *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, edited by C. R. Smith (London, 1856), Pl. V., VI.

Association of Ireland, April, 1869, p. 337), but in these countries they seem to be seldom found; this fact would, it should seem, go far to show that they may have been made in Ireland, and I can see no improbability in the belief that such was the case. The system of uniting threads of opaque and transparent glass in a rod or cane was much practised by the Roman artificers of the earlier centuries of the Christian era, who formed ornamental vessels of the rods of glass thus made, the prototypes of the "*vetro di trina*" (lace glass) of the Venetians. This method may very easily have passed into Ireland, where it is evident from the ornaments on the chalice found at Ardagh, Co. Limerick, and from other examples, much skill in manipulating glass must have existed in the tenth and some following centuries. Perhaps we may with reason believe that the art of working in glass was brought into Ireland about the time when Christian immigrants from Gaul, Italy, and elsewhere, came in considerable numbers into the country. If this supposition be adopted, we may suppose that beads of this type date from about A.D. 500 to A.D. 1200.

The bead figured by Mr. Knowles as No. 5, Pl. I., seems to me specially curious, as its ornamentation makes it correspond somewhat closely to the description which Pliny (Bk. xxix., ch. vii., sect. 12) has given of the *ovum anguinum* which he had seen; he says of it "*vidi equidem id ovum mali orbiculati modici magnitudine, crusta cartilaginis velut acetabulis brachiorum polypi crebris insigne Druidis.*" Literally translated, this may be taken to mean that the cartilaginous crust was like that of the suckers on the arms of the cuttle-fish; but I cannot but think that Pliny would not have gone so far out of his way for an illustration if he had meant no more than this, but that he meant that the surface was covered with what resembled the suckers of the cuttle-fish in form.

Mr. King ("*Antique Gems*," p. 454) indeed supposes that what Pliny saw was really the shell of an echinus or sea-hedgehog, but I do not think that this opinion is tenable, for Pliny knew perfectly well what an echinus was, and would have known one when he saw it. It does not appear that Pliny recognized it as being glass, and the identification of balls or beads of glass of unusual size, form, or colour, by modern antiquaries as *ova anguina* seems to be due to the practice among the peasantry of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, of so regarding them. Dr. Thurnam, in the Paper which I have above referred to, says that "in Monmouthshire their ophite origin is firmly believed in by the peasantry, who wear them as charms and as a cure for goitre."

The tradition would appear to be a genuine one, *i.e.*, one which has been handed down from father to son from time immemorial; and we may therefore reasonably consider that the beads now reputed to be *ova anguina* are in some degree portraits of those which the Druids considered precious; a good deal of interest therefore, it seems to me, attaches to an example which corresponds so nearly to the most detailed description of the object which we possess.

It may be remarked that I have suggested that the beads more or less of this type are probably of Irish manufacture, and date from say A.D. 500 to A.D. 1200, and that therefore this object could hardly have belonged to a Druid. I do not suppose that it did, but would only suggest that it may possibly be a copy, perhaps at several removes, of the objects which were once so much valued; where then were the originals

made?¹ The object which Pliny saw was no doubt brought from Gaul, but was probably not made in that country; for we can hardly suppose that a fabulous origin and mystical virtues would be ascribed to objects either fabricated in the country or frequently imported by traders. As in the case of the aggrs beads in Ashantee, and the beads to which the Pelew islanders attach such extravagant value, great rarity and obscurity of origin are required, in order that such objects should become invested with a halo of mystery. Nor probably was the bead which Pliny describes the work of any Roman glass-worker, or he who had studied the glass manufactures of his day would have recognized it as such. It would obviously be futile to attempt to conjecture where the prototype of the *ovum anguinum* which Pliny saw may have been made, but it must have been the work of some artificer of an early date; and it seems possible that the "crusta" which Pliny describes was the white coating which glass when long buried in damp earth assumes in consequence of decomposition. Such a coating, consolidated by the help of some gelatinous matter, would assume very much the appearance which he describes.

I purchased last year in Rome a bead $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in diameter, of very peculiar character. It is composed of a very coarse badly-fused glass, greenish-grey in colour, full of porosities, and is ornamented with seven rows of spots of white enamel with centres of transparent blue. These enter but a very small distance into the mass, and must therefore have been applied after the bead was formed; they have been brought to the same level as the matrix. There is one remarkable peculiarity in this bead, that the central aperture is about an inch in diameter, and that the bead seems to have been formed, not on a metallic rod, but on a core of clay and sand; this is remarkable as indicative of a very early date, for many of the beautiful little bottles and amphoræ made in Egypt, Phœnicia, or Greece, were made in the same manner and not blown. This is perhaps indicative of a non-Egyptian origin, for the Egyptians practised the art of glass-blowing from a very early period, and it seems possible that the bottles made on a core are Phœnician or Etruscan imitations of Egyptian originals. I am much inclined to believe that my bead may be of Etruscan origin, and it may possibly have been something of this kind which Pliny describes.

As Christianity spread in Gaul, such objects probably became the talismans of the vulgar, and were made by cunning artificers; some example may have found its way into Ireland and served as the model which, more or less freely imitated, has produced the many varieties figured in the *Journal* and elsewhere. These, which at one time must have been in common and ordinary use, and tolerably plentiful, having gone out of fashion, they have been thrown aside, buried and forgotten; and like so many of their kindred when disinterred, their origin having been forgotten, have become, like their ancestors, the objects of mystical fancies.

¹ *Vide Vossius de Orig. et Prog. Idolatriæ*, lib. iii., c. lxxxxix. Edit. Amstel, 1700.

"Perseæ a Zoroastre multo ante Cyri Regis tempora sic edocti, unum omnis boni fontem agnoverunt; videlicet, Oro-

masdem; mala vero cuncta putarunt esse ab Arimanio, ab Oromasde esse bonos Deos stellasque easque positas in ovo; per quod ovum mystice significabatur mundus."—*Ib.*, lib. ix., c. ix.

It may perhaps be thought that I have given too much importance to a trifling subject, but I may venture to suggest that investigations which may assist in throwing light on the commerce and arts of early and obscure periods are well worthy of being carefully prosecuted. I may add that beads or balls ornamented by lines of coloured enamels disposed in waves radiating from a centre, such as that engraved on p. 165, fig. 122, of Sir William Wilde's Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, are common at Rome, and were therefore probably made there, and not, as Sir William surmises, in Ireland.

The following Paper was contributed :—

THE CELTO-BRITONS OF ARMORICA—MAXIMUS CLEMENS, EMPEROR OF BRITAIN, GAUL AND SPAIN; THE BRITISH LEGIONS; CONAN OF MERLADOG, HIS DESCENDANTS KINGS OF BRITAGNE: CONTINUED INTERCOURSE WITH THE MOTHER-COUNTRY. ARMORICAN SAINTS AND ECCLESIASTICS; THEIR CONNEXIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES.

BY THE REV. JOHN FRANCIS SHEARMAN.

(Continued from p. 481.)

THE population of Bretagne located in the rugged and most western province of France constitutes no inconsiderable branch of the old Celtic family of Great Britain. This ancient people have long preserved their independence as a distinct race under the pressure of their Gallic and Frankish borderers; and though to-day constituting an integral part of the French empire, they maintain to a very considerable extent their original Celtic speech and customs. To trace their connexion with their British congeners is the object of this chapter; to show how long and under what circumstances that was maintained involves the history of an extended period.

The primæval population of Armorica or Britannia minor, as it was named at the Council of Tours, A. D. 461, was undoubtedly the same as pervaded ancient Gaul and the island of Great Britain. The classical writers Parthenius, Amianus Marcellinus, and Diodorus Siculus, have handed down the original myth of the travels of Hercules in Gaul, his alliance with Celto, daughter of King Britanus; their sons were Gelathes the Eponymus of the Gauls; and Celto who, assuming his mother's name, was the Patriarch of the Celto-Gauls. However this may be, it is quite certain that within historic times a race known as Britani or Brithones inhabited the north-west coast of Gaul, and occupied the opposite shores of Britannia, whither they carried their peculiar civilization displayed in the megalithic structures still extant there, in style and construction not unlike the

primæval rock monuments of Carnec and Locmariaker in Bretagne. Judging by analogy, some of the same race must have passed over to the then remote Hibernia, where an abundance of similar structures still extant proclaim a common source of art and race.

The seaboard on the northern coast of Gaul stretching from the Rhine to the Loire was called anciently *Armorica*, from the Celtic *ar muir*, *at* or *on the sea*. This name was, later on, restricted to the coast between the Loire and the Seine. *Armorica* in the fifth century comprised an angular space, the vertex of which was Ushant or Cruach Ochident, *i. e.*, the western hill or cliff, with Mons Jovis or Mount St. Michael in the bay of Avranches in the north-east, and Nantes on the south as its base. *Lyddau* or *Letavia* was another name for the region: it is said to be derived from the appellation *Leti*,¹ applied to the survivors of conquered nations who, being driven from their homes by the Romans or barbarians, were located as in a place of refuge in this western region. Julius Cæsar subdued the Armorican provinces fifty-six years before the Christian era. The brunt of this war was borne by the *Veneti*; their whole fleet was destroyed in a naval engagement in the estuary of the Loire, their nobles put to the sword, and the remnant of that gallant tribe was sold into slavery. A succession of revolts followed, under the Emperors Tiberius and Nero; finally the Armoricans were compelled to adopt the religion of their conquerors. No one could claim the privileges of a Roman citizen without first abjuring the religion of the Druids; they were proscribed and exterminated, being regarded as the fosterers of a national spirit among their countrymen. Towards the close of the third century, the inroads made by Saxon and other Teutonic tribes on the east coasts of Britain, and in the country between the Walls, led to a settle-

¹ *Leti*—from this word is formed another name for *Armorica*, *Letavia*, which is not derived from *Latium*, as is sometimes alleged. However, in the *Felire* of Aengus, June 27, we find the Gloss "*Leatha a nomine Latium*." In the Books of Lismore and Fenagh, the City

of Rome is called "*Roim Leata*."—*Vide* "*Hy Fiacra*," p. 410. By the Britons, the country was called *Llydaw*; by the Irish, *Letha* and *Leatha* and *Leteoc*.—*Vide* Nennius, p. 66, add. notes xi.; and Daru, "*Hist. de Bretagne*," I., p. 82.

ment of some fugitive Britons in the provinces of the Veneti and Curiosoliti, on lands assigned to them by the Emperor Constantius Clorus. Again, after the middle of the fourth century, about A.D. 364, from similar causes at home, a new colony of expatriated exiles came to find a home in Armorica. About the year 388, a still larger contingent of the insular Britons settled in Armorica, and laid the foundations of an independent kingdom, which endured until the eighth century. Before this time, the Roman legions in Britain assumed the authority of electing their commanders as emperors. The first was Carausius, who, with the concurrence of the legions, assumed in 287 the title and authority of Augustus. After ineffectual attempts to subdue him, Diocletian and Maximian acknowledged him as their associate in the empire. He was slain A.D. 293 by his chief officer Allectus, who then assumed the Purple; he too was slain in 296, and Britain was recovered for the empire after a severance of more than ten years.

In the year 383, Maximus Magnus Clemens, a Spaniard or Iberian by birth, was in command of the Roman legions in Britain, where for twelve years before he had served under Theodosius: taking advantage of the unpopularity of the Emperor Gratian with the army, and jealous of the younger Theodosius, who was associated in the empire, he induced the legions in Britain to revolt and proclaim him emperor in 383. His long service in Britain, and his alliance by marriage with Helen daughter of Eudaf or Octavius, a British regulus, facilitated his elevation to the supreme command. The following year he subdued the Picts and Scots, who had renewed their old tactics when any disturbance occurred in the army. Not content with Britain as an empire, Maximus aspired to the possession of Gaul and Spain. He accordingly crossed over the sea with his legions, accompanied by his brother-in-law Conan, regulus of Meriadog, who commanded a large contingent of native levies to enforce the claims of Maximus. The Emperor Gratian was at Triers, which he left at the approach of Maximus, who followed him; a battle was fought near Lyons, which continued for five days; some of the

troops of Gratian began to waver, and finding that they were deserting him, he fled from the field of battle with 300 horse. Andragathius, general of the horse of Maximus, contrived a device to ensure victory; he got himself carried in a covered litter beyond the Rhone, and a report was spread that the empress was coming in this litter to visit Gratian; on hearing it, he crossed over the river to meet her. Away from his army, and unprotected, Gratian was confronted by Andragathius, who leaped from the covered litter, and murdered the emperor, on the 25th of August, A.D. 383. After this victory, so disgracefully achieved, Maximus persecuted the followers of Gratian, and was about to cross the Alps to attack Valentinian, then at Milan. St. Ambrose interposed, and by his persuasive eloquence stopped the career of the usurper, and concluded a treaty with him, whereby he was to rule Gaul, Britain, and Spain, leaving Italy with the rest of the West to Valentinian. This occurred at Triers in 384, where St. Ambrose passed the spring of that year, and courageously refused to communicate with a tyrant whose hands were stained with the blood of his master. Meanwhile, Maximus had been recognized as emperor by Valentinian and Theodosius; and St. Ambrose, in return for his good offices, was persecuted by Valentinian, who took part with the Arian heretics. Maximus for the time took his part, and wrote to the emperor in defence of St. Ambrose and the cause of orthodoxy, saying that "All Italy, Africa, Gaul, Aquitaine and Spain, with Rome as well, which holds the first rank in religion as well as in the empire, maintain this faith." In the year 387, Maximus ambitioned to add Italy to his empire and was making preparation for its invasion. Valentinian and his mother, forgetful of their cruelties to him on former occasions, had again recourse to St. Ambrose. He journeyed to Triers to induce the tyrant to forego his designs. Maximus received him disdainfully, and reproached him with deception, in preventing his going to Italy at a time when he would have no opposition: he insisted that Valentinian should now come to him. St. Ambrose pleaded the unreasonableness of this demand, to ask a child to cross

the Alps in the midst of winter, and reminded him of how Valentinian had sent back to him his own brother, who was his hostage at the very time he murdered his brother Gratian, asking him to surrender his body to the emperor, in order not to be deprived of an honourable burial. As St. Ambrose refused to communicate *in divinis* with Maximus or his bishops, who were Ithacian heretics, he was ordered to depart. Valentinian then sent a courtier Domninus; he was cajoled by Maximus, and sent back with a convoy apparently to assist the emperor against the barbarians in Pannonia. Reaching the Alps they seized all the passes, and Maximus followed with his whole army into Italy, and made a stand at Aquileia. Valentinian fled with his mother to Thessalonica, whither also his brother Theodosius came, and in the spring of the year 385 they jointly declared war against Maximus. His army was defeated at Siscia (Peissig) in Pannonia, and the troops under his brother Marcellinus on the River Drave met a like disaster; Maximus fled to Aquileia, which was besieged, and, as escape was impossible, his soldiers consulting their own safety stripped him of his imperial robes and delivered him to Theodosius, who was at first inclined to spare his life; he was, however, beheaded on the 28th of July, after a reign of over five years: and thus ended the career of the last military usurper in Britain. His son Victor was defeated and slain in Gaul by Argobastes, the general of Theodosius, and subsequently the murderer of Valentinian.

The old British traditions give other details not recorded in classical sources. Maximus or Maxen Wledig, while resident in Britain, married Elen or Helen, daughter of Eudaf or Octavius, chieftain of Ergyng and Euas, districts now comprised in Monmouth and Herefordshire. He had by Elen three other sons, not named by classical authorities, viz.—Eugenius or Owain Vinddu, *i.e.*, “of the black lips”; Publicus or Peblig, reputed a saint, and patron of Llan Peblig in Carnarvon, where his natale was observed on the 3rd day of July; and Cystennen or Constantine, of whom there is no further record.

CONAN MERIADOG.¹—Eudaf had a son or nephew Cynan or Conan, chieftain of a small territory called Meriadog, in the present Denbighshire, where it is still known by its ancient name. Conan accompanied his brother-in-law in command of the native British troops and levies, which with two Roman legions 14,000 strong amounted to 40,000 men, and this, allowing for exaggeration, must have been a strong force. After the defeat of Gratian, Conan and his troops were settled in Armorica by Maximus. Another and more probable account is, that after the defeat of Maximus the survivors of his British allies were sent by Theodosius to settle amid their countrymen in Armorica under the government of Conan as a Roman magistrate, who, though a subordinate ruler for a time, was ancestor of a long line of independent kings of Armorica. Some time before his death, Conan became independent of Roman control. Daru, in his "History of Bretagne," dates this event at A.D. 410. In the year 416, Exuperantius, Prefect of Gaul, was sent into Armorica to reduce the Britons to obedience, but he failed to accomplish this mission. Up to the year 418, Germanus, afterwards Bishop of Auxerre, was Dux or Roman governor of Armorica and the Nervian districts; after his consecration as bishop, on the 7th of July in 418, he ceased to be a civil ruler; and it is not at all improbable that, through his influence with Theodosius, the Britons, under Conan as their king, were left independent; for in the next year, 419, the Britons of Armorica were treated as allies by the Romans. Conan died at Nantes, the seat of his government, in 420; he left issue two sons—Congar, of whom there is no further record; Urban, Urien or Erbyn, who died four years before his father. As his decease was co-

¹ Meriadog still survives in the name of a small township Cevn Meriadog, in the parish of St. Asaph, in the Hundred of Isdulan Denbeighshire, on the left bank of the River Elwy, where there are some curious caves in the limestone cliffs overhanging the river. In early times, Meriadog comprised a large territory, of which Conan was regulus. The historians of Bretagne are quite mistaken in interpretat-

ing "Meriadeo" as they write it, "the great king": it is not a Hebrew word. Meriadog is only the affixed name showing where Conan came from. Examples of this are quite common—i. e. Brockwell, Ysgathrog; i. e. Skatrog, a place in Denbeighshire, Emrhys, Lyddaw, i. e. of Letavia; Constans or Cystennangornaw, i. e. Carniw, an old place in Monmouthshire.



TRICK.

MAWON Restitutus, Rusticus, Rectitutus, Redegius, Rhystyd, Khedyw, *aliases* Irish and Welsh; the Longobard of Armorica. *Query* was this Restitutus, or Rusticus son of Rusticus and *Germanilla*, parents of St. German, Bishop of Auxerre, 418-448. Born A.D. 378. German was Governor or Dux of Armorica up to 418. "Lives of the English Saints," p. 22. He was the friend and patron of the Armoricans and Britons. In this case St. German was uncle to the wife of Aldroen, King of the Britons of Armorica; to St. German, Bishop of Man; and connected with the other Kings of Armorica.

PATRIC
dal
Sai
ven
Str
24,
bur
pp.

Conis, or Conitius. "Vit. Trip." =
II., c. xxi., p. 132, Jocelyn, cap.
50, "e Britanorum genere."
Supposed to be Conan Meriadog, brother-in-law of Maximus Clemens. Conan died at Nantes, A.D. 420. "Daru. Hist. de Brit." I., p. 60.

Darerca, March 22.
"Act. SSm." Colgan, p. 259, nn. 2, 3, p. 262, nn. 15, 16, 17. She was his second wife. "Daru," I., p. 64.

LOMAN,
432;
died
May
Broci
"St.

SECUNUGHNA,
Sechtshbyter
Secht Killin;
drsnna,
448, an. 20.
LecanMart.
"Usnegal."
p. 383
p. 716

Diarmiad, of Drumcorroti.
"Act. SSm." Colgan, pp. 3, 166, 717, 718, &c.

A daughter,
wife of Aldroen,
King of Armorica, A.D. 445-464.

MEL, Bificer
hebafrar-
&c.; Ellac-
fore "pa-
cratedayo.
died 1, 19;
487.
SSm.

LALLOCHA, of Senlis, between Rooskey and Lanesbro, west of the Shannon.
August 5 (?).

ECHEA, of Cillglais, Kilglass, and of Senlios, south of Slieve Baughna, Roscommon. Aug. 5.
"Actt. SSm." Colgan, p. 717.

temporary with the invasion of Exuperantius, it is not improbable that Urban fell in defence of his country.

Daru, the Historian of Bretagne, vol. i. p. 64, states, on the authority of Abbé Gallet, that Conan was twice married, and that his second wife was a sister of St. Patrick; that is Sen, or Old Patrick. Irish authorities state that Darerca, St. Patrick's sister, was married to a man of the British nation called Conis, Cone, and Conitius. Considering the numerous *aliases* connected with the names of the *reguli* of the Britons of Armorica, the Irish form of this name may very well represent Conan. Conitius was the father of six or more sons; the eldest was St. Mel, Bishop of Ardagh, in Ireland, who died A.D. 487; he was born probably about the year 404. Another son, named after his father, Conitius, Conit, Conu, and Cone, is spoken of in the "Tripartite Life of St. Patrick," part II., cap. xviii., xix., as a *ceard* or worker in metals. He was a bishop; his church was at Tellach-na-Cloch, now Tullanaroch, in the parish of Kilcolman, in Mayo. The period of these ecclesiastics synchronizes with the time of Conan Meriadog, who died A.D. 420. There are evidently some germs of truth underlying the assertions of Gallet and the ancient Irish authorities: undoubted and well-sustained facts of a like kind, in other instances in connexion with Armorican families, give a strong appearance of reality to these old historic authorities (*see* Genealogy of the family of St. Patrick).

SALOMON or SELYV.—Conan was succeeded by his grandson Salomon, Count of Nantes, son of Erbyn. His *aliases* are Selyv, Witol, Guitol, Quicquel, Vitric, and Victric.—Daru. "Hist. de Bretagne," i., p. 64. He was born *circa* A.D. 392, and became King of the Britons in 421. His wife was the daughter of the Patrician Flavius; he confirmed a treaty with the Emperor Valentinian III., which his grandfather as an independent ruler made with the Emperor Honorius. He abolished many barbaric customs introduced by the Roman tax-gatherers amongst his subjects—selling into slavery the wives and children of bankrupt debtors, and other abuses, which gave the malcontents some pretext for

their opposition. Salomon was slain in the territory of Leon on the 25th of June, A. D. 434. The place where this murder was perpetrated was named Merzer Salaun, the scene of the martyrdom of Salomon corresponding to the Cambrian *Merthyr*, which is so often met in Welsh topography. A church, in which his relics were enshrined, was erected at the place where he was slain; a portion of them are still preserved in a bust of gilded wood in the cathedral of Vannes, and a parochial church bearing his name existed in that city until the Revolution of 1793. A chapel in the old cathedral of Rennes bore his name; and a church in the town of Pithiviers, in the diocese of Orleans, was dedicated to this same Saint.

GRALLON.—A period of anarchy ensued after the death of Salomon; his son Aldroen or Audrien did not succeed him; opposed to the enemies of his father, he was set aside, and Grallon, Count of Cornuaille, surnamed Maur or great, said by some authorities to be the eldest son of Salomon, and by others more probably his uncle, being a son of Conan Meriadog, succeeded after A. D. 434. He made alliances with the barbarians, in opposition to the policy of his predecessors. Merovius, father of the Frankish king of that name, was his chief ally; as he was suspected of conniving, if not taking a more active part, in the murder of Salomon, this, with his alliance with the Franks, induced the Emperor Valentinian, at the earnest entreaty of the Patrician Flavius, father-in-law of the murdered king, to send his lieutenant Littorius to reduce the Britons to obedience. They were defeated by that general in 439. Grallon, however, did not succumb under his adversities; he rallied his troops, and with new levies, in A. D. 445, besieged and captured the city of Tours, which however he had soon after to abandon. He died in 446, leaving, it is said, only one daughter, Ahes, founder of the Castle of Caer or Ker Ahes, now the town of Carhaix. The *aliases* for Grallon were Gradlon, Galuron, Galon, and Golis. One of his wives, it is said, was a sister of St. Patrick; he was thus, according to some authorities, brother-in-law to Conan his father. The Ancient Irish Lives of St. Patrick tell us that he had a sister, Tigris or Tigrida, and that

her husband was Golet or Gollit, a Briton by race. The sons of Tigris and Gollit were:—Loman, Bishop of Trim, October 11th; Brocaidh, Bishop of Imlech Each, Emlagh in Mayo, July 9th; Brocan, June 27th; Mogenoc or Conan, Bishop of Cillduma Glyn, now Kilglyn in Meath, near Kilcock, December 26th; and Munis, December 18th, of Forgney, in West Meath ("Trias Thaumaturga," p. 228; "Vit. Trip." cap. xli.).

ALDROEN.¹—After the decease of Grallon, Aldroen, son of Salomon, succeeded in A. D. 445. About the time of his accession, in 435, the insular Britons, worried by domestic strife and the inroads of the Saxons on their territories, applied for aid through their legate Guithelinus, Archbishop of London or Caerlleon on Usk, to their kinsman Aldroen, offering to acknowledge him as their king, provided he would deliver them from the invaders. He refused the proffered gift, but sent, however, his brother Constantine, called by the Britons Cystennan Vendigaid, *i. e.* the blessed or welcome, and his own son Ambrosius, whose British name was Emrys or Emyr Llyddaw; along with these was a contingent of over 2000 men. This armament came to Britain, disembarking at Draeth Totneis in the estuary of the Stour and Avon, Christ Church Bay, Hampshire. This took place, more probably, some years earlier than the date usually stated. It was probably before the accession of Grallon, and that Salomon was the king to whom probably the appeal was made. Constantine was elected King of the Britons, and crowned by Guithelinus in London or Caerlleon on Usk; he was married to a British lady of Roman extraction. ("Ussher," vol. v., p. 89).

About the year A. D. 435, Constantine the Dux bel-lorum or Gulotic having defeated the Saxons and their allies, settled at a place called Gorneu, Cernyu, or Cornwall,² on the west bank of the River Wye, in what is

¹ *Aliases*—for Aldroen, Audroen; Alderonus, Deronus; Derochus, Daniel; Dremnus, Cybadan.—Daru., "Hist. de Bretagne," i., p. 69.

² Gorneu, Gerniw, &c., is Cornubia in the Book of Llanduff. It was a small territory in the Valley of Dour, west of

Herefordshire, adjoining Monmouth. The Armoric Cystennan Vendigaid settled here: some of his descendants were called Dukes of Cornwall. Cornuaille was an Armoric region. Cornwall, south of the Bristol Channel, was the most important of these places, yet its early his-

now Herefordshire. While engaged at the chase, he was murdered by a Pict A.D. 442, and was succeeded by his son Constans or Constantine, styled Vychan or Junior. His rival, Vortighern or Gwrtheyrn, a petty king of Gwrtheyrnion in Radnorshire, adjoining Ergyng and Euas, districts in the same locality, descended of a line of old British chieftains long connected with this district, under the semblance of friendship, became his adviser until he had matured his plans to succeed him as Governor of the Britons. At his instigation Constans was slain, about the year 446; and his brothers Emrys or Ambrosius Aurelius, and Uthyr, were banished from Britain, and were sent by Archbishop Guitholin to Aldroen, King of Armorica. Vortighern then became Governor or King of Britain; and to secure himself on a throne attained by such means, he determined to invoke the aid of the Saxons. Meanwhile Emrys and Uthyr, having returned to Britain, and assisted by the Romanized natives, began to oppose the usurper, who, while he reigned, as Nennius writes, "was oppressed by the fear of the Scots and Picts, and the dread of Ambrosius."

At this time, A.D. 446,¹ the Britons, distracted by factions at home and the enemy without, appeal in vain to the Patrician Ætius for assistance against the Scots and Picts. Ætius had quite enough to engage his attention in Gaul, and the Britons, bereft of hope sealed the doom of their independence by inviting to their assistance the Saxons to avert the depredations of their former oppressors. The sequel of this unfortunate policy is well

tory shows the pedigree of its reguli is irrecoverably lost ("Cambro B. Saints," p. 496, &c.).

¹ The date of the arrival of the Saxons in South Britain has been the subject of much discussion, owing to the inconsistent and discordant accounts of this event in the three versions of the history of Nennius. The dates 360, 374, 392, 425, 428, refer undoubtedly to their settlements in the East, of the region between the Roman Walls, whence they made the descent on Ireland, A.D. 434, the first Saxon depredation in Erin.—"Chron. Scot." In the first account

Nennius says: "After the departure of the Romans, the Britons were forty years in anxiety. Guorthigirn then reigned in Britain; and while he reigned he was oppressed by the fear of the Scots and Picts, the Roman power, and the dread of Ambrosius," &c. The Romans abandoned Britain A.D. 410; this brings us to 450, the period when Hengist really came. In the following century, Bede, the historian of the Anglo-Saxon people, gives the same account; and the date 448 or 449 as the invitation of the Saxons, owing to the refusal of Ætius, to whom the Britons applied in his third consulship, A.D. 446.

known, but the dates applied to it are disputed. The letter to Cælius, "ter consuli," belongs to A.D. 446, the year of his assuming for the third time that office: earlier dates are suggested by Mr. J. F. Skene, "Celtic Scotland," vol. i., p. 147, which, throwing back the reign of Vortighern to A.D. 388, puts all the other dates connected with this period out of joint, and in this instance turns confusion into chaos.

It is evident that Ambrosius, with a fatal policy, kept aloof from Vortighern. He does not appear to have opposed the enemy, and we find that under Vortighern and Vortimer the Britons were frequently defeated. At the battle of Aylsford, Catighern, son of Vortighern, fell by Horsa in 455; two years after, in 457, at Crayford, 4000 Britons were slain; and again with great carnage at Ebbefleet in 465; and in 472 another final and fatal overthrow is recorded. These dispiriting defeats led to a revulsion of feeling towards Ambrosius,¹ who appears to have united, as consul, Dux bellorum or Gulotic, both political parties against the common foe. After the death of Vortimer, who was poisoned in 468 by Rowenna, his father became again the head of his party, and reigned until A.D. 476, when he was attacked by Emrys or Ambrosius and his brother Uthyr, at Ergyng, on the River Wye. The castle was burned in the assault, and, according to one account, Vortighern perished in the flames. There are, however, other legendary notices of this event, which show that the latter years of this king are involved in much mystery. After the death of Vortighern, his son Pasgant went across the sea to the Saxons, to enlist their sympathy and assistance. Joining his standard, they sailed with him for Britain, to join their countrymen already settled north of the Tweed. Emrys having defeated them, Pasgant again left Britain to

¹ Very little is known of Aurelius Ambrosius or Emrys Wledig. A work written by Gildas "De Victoria Aurelii Ambrosii," quoted by Geoffrey of Monmouth, is not now known to exist. His kingdom comprised the western portions of Britain; he waged frequent wars with the Angles of Bernicia, which had been invaded by them after the year A.D. 360.

Ambrosius and his nephew Arthur were chiefly engaged against these intruders in Breinach and Strathclyde. The Saxons, a kindred race with the Jutes and Angles, gradually absorbed the Eastern regions under the sway of Guorthigirn or Vortegern (*vide* "Lappenberg's England," &c., i. p. xxx., and 49.

seek aid in Ireland. He sailed from that country with seven thousand men, and landed at Abbergleddau or Milford Haven, and began with his Irish allies to ravage the country. Emrys was ailing at Caer Went, Venta Silurium. Pasgant induced a Saxon named Eopa to assume the garb of a physician, and thus disguised, entering among the attendants of the king, administered a poisoned mixture which effected the death of Ambrosius, about the year 498 or 500.

UTHYR PENDRAGON.—On the death of Emrys, his brother Uthyr, surnamed Pendragon, succeeded. He is identified by some writer with a British king called in the Saxon chronicle Natanleod, who fell, A.D. 508, in a battle against Cerdic and his son Kenric, in which five thousand Britons were slain. Other authorities prolong his life to A.D. 517 ("Ussher," vol. I., p. 583). His death also is attributed to poison; for while investing the city of Verulam, a well, from which he was noticed to drink, was poisoned, it is said, by the Saxons. His wife was Eigr or Igraine, daughter of a king in North Britain named Amlawd Wledig, of whom there is no further record.

ARTHUR, one of the most celebrated of these ancient heroes, was born towards the close of the fifth century. His history has been so overlaid with fable, that it is not easy to distinguish fact from fiction. His parentage has been a matter of doubt and conjecture with some modern writers; the old historians, however, maintain that he was the son of Uthyr Pendragon, a fact sustained by collateral circumstances in his history. He has been confounded with Athrwys or Athruis, son of Mewrig ap Tewdryg, a prince of South Wales, a mistaken identity, as Professor Rees has shown, from a supposed similarity of names. Arthur was connected with South Wales by birth, and by family ties with the Silurian reguli; his grandfather Cystennyn having settled in Ergyng on the River Wye, and his paternal aunt Eurdyl having married Pepiaw ap Eyrb ap Erbyn, a regulus of Gwent, her son St. Dubritius was his cousin-german. There are three references to Arthur in the Lives of SS. Cadoc, Carronnog, and Patern, which

perhaps portray his character in its true aspect—not indeed a very favourable one when contrasted with the glowing eulogiums of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and other historians; it is probable, however, that there are exaggerations in these references, as later on we find him acting the part of a Christian hero. On the death of his father Uthyr, he succeeded as Gulotic or Dux bellorum, that is, commander of the native troops, an office assigned to him in that turbulent period, rather on account of his skill and valour in military tactics than his hereditary rank. The early period of his life is involved in much obscurity; and if 508 be the true date of the demise of Uthyr, there is then the space between that year and 513 for the various battles and expeditions against the Scots in Ireland, the Picts and Saxons in North Britain, in which Arthur was engaged. These accounts rest on a substratum of fact, but they are overlaid by most pretentious and exaggerated legends. However this may be, Hoel son of Budic or Dubric, King of Armorica in A.D. 513, returned to Bretaine, accompanied by his kinsman Arthur. He was born in Britain during the exile of his father Budic 478, 490, in which year he was recalled, when the usurper Eusebius died; Budic died A.D. 509. At this juncture, the Frisons had invaded Bretaine, and Howel, owing to the perturbed state of affairs, had to await a favourable time to recover his patrimony. The Frisons were defeated, and driven back by the victorious armies of Great Britain and Armorica under Arthur and Howel.

The Saxon and Pictish enemy, during the absence of Arthur, created fresh disturbances in the regions about the Roman Wall, Stirling and Dumbarton, which demanded his presence in Britain. Among the various bodies of Saxons which came after Hengest to Britain was one expedition led by Octa son of Hengest, and his nephew Ebissa; they came from the Orkneys in forty ships, and occupied the regions adjoining the Picts; against these Arthur fought on his arrival from Bretaine, whither he had gone in 513. He was accompanied on this occasion by Howel, who, having restored order in his own kingdom, came again to aid

his kinsmen in Britain against the Saxon enemy (Daru, "Histoire de Bretagne," i., p. 149). This was the campaign of the Twelve Battles of Arthur, the localities of which are amply described and identified by Mr. Skene in the "Four Ancient Books of Wales," vol. i., p. 52, *et seq.* Concluding this description, Mr. Skene thus writes, p. 58: "According to the view I have taken of the site of these battles, Arthur's course was first to advance through the Cymric country on the west, until he came to the glen where he encountered his opponents. He then invades the regions about the wall occupied by the Saxons in the Lennox, where he defeats them in four battles. He advances along the strath of the Carron, as far as Dunipace, where, on the Bonny, his fifth battle is fought; and from thence marches south, through Tweeddale or the Wood of Celyddon, fighting a battle by the way, until he comes to the valley of the Gala or Wedale, where he defeats the Saxons of the East Coast. He then proceeds to master four great fortresses—first *Kaerlium*, or Dumbarton; next Stirling, by defeating the enemy in the *Tratheu Tryweryd*, or Carse of Stirling; then *Mynydd Agned*, or Edinburgh, the great stronghold of the Picts, here called *Cathbregion*; and lastly, Boudon Hill, in the centre of the country between the strongholds."

Mr. Skene then states, on the authority of the *Bruts*, what in this instance he regards as a historic fact, that he gave the territories wrested from the Saxons to some of his followers—the sons of Cunedda Gulotic, expelled from these territories after A.D. 409; Urien, Llew and Arawn, sons of Cenfarch Oer ap Meirchion Gul ap Ceneu ap Coel, king of Godebog in Coillion, now Kyle in Ayrshire (*vide* Genealogy of the "Gwyr y Gwogled" in this series).

The chronology of these battles is fixed by the historian Gildas, who dates the battle of Boudon Hill (Mons Badonicus), in A.D. 516, three years after the return of Arthur from Armorica. An interval of twenty-one years between this and the fatal battle of Camelon gives ample space for exaggerated and romantic legends. After the termination of the wars in North Britain, there are

accounts of his doings in South Britain and in Wales, in the former country against the Saxons. One of his exploits in Wales was the slaying of Huail or Howel, eldest brother of Gildas or Aneurin, Arthur's own kinsman. This took place in North Wales *circa* A.D. 530; the stone on which Howel was decapitated by Arthur, called Maen Huail, Howel's stone, a rude block of limestone, is still extant near the town hall in Ruthin. It is impossible to trace chronologically all the doings of King Arthur, as they are not associated with fixed dates, except in the single instance of the battle of Boudon Hill, A.D. 516.

About this period, owing to the invasions of the Saxons and Picts, still pagans, there was a decay of morals and religion, and the exploits of Arthur were perhaps characterized as religious wars waged against impious and pagan foes. Arthur was, notwithstanding unfavourable reports elsewhere of him, a Christian hero: the legend connected with the battle in which he bore an image of our Blessed Lady on his shield, and a cross which he brought from Jerusalem, indicate his religious proclivities.

This gradual decay of religion commenced before the time of Arthur. It is alluded to by St. Patrick in his Epistle to Coroticus or Caradawg, son of Masguic Cloit ap Gorst Lledlum ap Ceneu ap Coel Godebog, regulus of Carrawg, Carrick in Ayrshire. St. Patrick thus describes the soldiers of this prince:—"With my own hand, I have written and composed these words, to be delivered to the soldiers of Coroticus. I say not to my fellow-citizens, nor to the fellow-citizens of the Roman Saints, but to the followers of demons, who, on account of their evil deeds, abide in death after the hostile rites of the barbarians: companions of the Scots and apostate Picts, desiring, as it were, to glut themselves with the blood of innocent Christians, multitudes of whom I have begotten in God and confirmed in Christ." The writer of the Life of St. Kentighern tells us that the Picts were in a great measure converted by St. Ninian; they relapsed into paganism, from which again, by the preaching of St. Kentighern, they were extricated (Four

Ancient Books of Wales," i., p. 62. Lothus or Llew, the grandfather of St. Kentighern, is called in his Life a half-pagan, semi-paganus; and Kentighern himself was expelled from his see at Glasgow in 545 by a tyrant named Morcant, an usurper in Strathclyde, though he was a descendant of Coel, and a kinsman of Coroticus, Genealogy of the "Gwyr y Gwogled." Against the pagan element which at first prevailed, a struggle was maintained by the old Roman and Christian populations of Strathclyde, which terminated in the triumph of the latter; Gwendoleu ap Ceidiaw ap Garthwys, &c., was the representative of the pagan faction. His opponent was Rhydderch Hael, or Roderic "the generous," son of Tudwal Tudglud, King of Ailclyde, the friend of St. Columba. Roderic, baptized in Ireland by the disciples of St. Patrick, was champion of the Christian party; and at the battle of Arthuret, near Carlisle, in A.D. 573, their opponents Gwendoleu and his brothers were slain. The consolidation of the western states between the northern and southern walls into the kingdom of Strathclyde under Roderic was the result of this victory. Ailclyde or the Rock of Dumbarton, the chief fortress of this territory, became the capital of the new kingdom.

The days of Arthur were filled up. An insurrection of the inhabitants of the conquered territories in North Britain, under Medrod, son of Llew or Lothus by Anna, Arthur's sister, brought the veteran warrior again into the battle-field. Here it was, in the year 537, at Camelon, on the banks of the River Carron, near Falkirk, that Arthur encountered Medrod with his army of Picts, Scots, and Saxons. Medrod fell by the sword of his uncle, and Arthur, who was mortally wounded by his nephew, perished on that fatal field.

Arthurian romance has removed these northern localities to southern sites; they find a grave for Arthur in the church of Glastonbury, where it is alleged that Henry II., when about to invade Wales, "invented" a discovery of his remains to disabuse the Welsh of the notion that Arthur, like another Enoch, did not die, but was to return again to this nether world to combat and

subdue the enemies of the Cymri. All this fantasy has been exploded, and the political value set on the alleged discovery has been dissipated by modern writers, especially by the learning and research of Mr. Skene, who has done good and lasting work in stabilitating on a permanent basis the British and Welsh history of the period after the Romans abandoned Britain.

After the death of Arthur, Cystennan Goronawg, the "crowned" descendant of Conan Meriadog, was elected Gulotic. He was opposed by the sons of Medrod and the Saxons; and, after retaining his office as general of the troops for about three years, was slain by a rival leader or Gulotic, Cynan Garwyn or Conanus Aurelius, son of Caddell Deyrnlug, the friend of St. German bishop of Man.

To pursue the history of the successive British kings or Gulotics of this period does not enter into the plan of the writer. It would involve very extended notices of all the personages named in the genealogies; in which dates and facts with references are given in connexion with each name to assist further research. Some of the more prominent and historic names, affording incidents connected with the general design of this work, will be alluded to, the descriptive portion of which is meant to be only of secondary importance to the Tables themselves.

Commencing with the descendants of Cystennyn Vendigaid, son of Salomon or Selyv, King of Armorica A.D. 421-434. His grandson Geraint ab Erbyn, admiral of the British fleet, and chief of Dyvniant, dubiously identified with Devonshire, fell in an engagement at Longborth, A.D. 530. His sons were seven in number: of these Caw Cai Caun or Conan was regulus of Strathelwyd, the valley of the river Clwyd in the modern Flintshire, North Wales. He appears to be identified in the Life of St. Cadoc, "Cambro-British Saints," p. 351, "Four Ancient Books of Wales," i., 173, with a more ancient hero Caw or Cawr Prydyn, who, according to the legend, was a king of Strathgryf in Renfrewshire, a century at least before the birth of St. Cadoc of Llan-carvan, who is to be distinguished from "St. Cadoc,

or Doccus, Abbot of the Britons," who died A.D. 473. This Life appears to have been recast in the pontificate of Alexander II., A.D. 1061–1073, too late to be of authority on this matter. Howel or Huail ap Caw¹ was slain by Arthur in Ruthin, in the vale of Clwyd, which connects Caw with this region.

ANEURIN—Surnamed Gildas, which means Cele De, or servant of God, a title of veneration given to some ancient and distinguished ecclesiastics, is for this reason erroneously identified with Gildas the historian, who was quite a different person. Aneurin, son of Caw ap Geraint, was born about the year 490, in the vale of Clwyd, his paternal patrimony. In early life he was at the battle of Cathreath, and afterwards retired to the monastery built by his brother Peirio on the island of Echni. An interesting reference to him while there is to be found in the Life of St. Oudoceus, "Liber Llandaff," p. 380. He was subsequently invited to Armagh in 565, to set in order some ecclesiastical matters in Ireland. The "Annales Cambriæ" at 565, correctly 566, record the "Navigatio Gildæ in Hiberniam"; it is said that he came at the request of Aimire, K.I., 566–569. He returned from Ireland before 570, and retired to Llancarvan, where he was treacherously slain by Eiddyn.

GALGOV or GALGO, son of Caw, was patron of Llanalgo, in the Hundred of Tyrcellyn in Anglesey, where a church and holy well, Finnon Galgo, perpetuate his memory. Nothing is known of his history as far as Cambrian authorities are concerned. Albert le Grand and Lobineau notice a recluse in the diocese of Quimper, Vouga a bishop, whose *obit* they date June 15, 585. As the letters *l* and *u* are frequently interchanged, as Audroen for Aldroen, there is some reason for identifying Galgo with the Armorican bishop and recluse Volga or Vouga.

CAFFO, a son of Caw, and brother of Galgo, was

¹ A rough block of limestone, called Maen Huail, or Howel's Stone, on which Arthur decapitated his adversary Howel

ap Caw, is still preserved in the street near the Town Hall of Ruthin.

titular of Llangaffo, beside Maldraeth Marsh, in the Hundred of Menai in the same island.

SAMSON¹ ap Caw ap Geraint was expelled from his church in Caer Ebrauc or York, by the Saxons, and withdrew, it is said, to Britany, where he became a regionary bishop, before 546, being the first of that name there; he is sometimes confounded with the 2nd Samson, first bishop of Dol, about A.D. 546-565.

PEULAN, or PAUL HEN "the senior," was Paul one of the disciples of St. Fiacc of Sletty Ireland, a scribe and a bishop, "Cambro-British Saints," p. 440. He was consecrated by St. German Bishop of Man, 447-474, and was founder of Tygwen ar Daf, the monastery of White-land Caermartenshire, where he taught "until he was a master" David, afterwards Bishop of Menevia. St. Paul became Abbot of Llancarvan and Caerworgorn, or Llanilltut Maur, over which St. Iltutus was Abbot on its restoration as a monastic school by Meirchion Gul, Prince of Glamorgan. The date of the death of Paul is not recorded.

PEIRIO ap Caw ap Geraint, sometimes Peiron, a disciple of St. Iltud, was abbot of an island near Caerworgorn, off the south coast in the Severn sea, Echni Peiro, now Flat Holmes. He was titular of a chapel in the Castle of Chepstow, and of Rhosbierio in Anglesey, and of St. Peter's Church or St. Pierre, in Monmouth, suggested by Mr. Kerslake, and of Piercefield on the Wye. Peirio was Abbot of Caerworgorn for a year before his death, which was caused by falling into a draw-well in the cloister of his monastery, about A.D. 540, "Lobineau," i., p. 216. St. Samson, son of Amon, subsequently Bishop of Dol in Brittany, succeeded him as abbot for four years.

EIGRAD, brother of St. Peirio, was also a disciple of St. Iltud, he is titular of Llaneigrad in Anglesey.

¹ Caer Ebrauc, the residence of Samson ap Caw, is usually identified with the city of York, of which the mythical Ebrauc, king of Britain, is supposed to have been the founder. (Geoffrey, lib. ii. cap. ii.) He was also the reputed founder of two other cities, known also as Caer

Ebrauc, Civitas Eboraci, Mynydd Agned, or Edinburgh and Dunbriton or Ailclyde. It is much more probable that Samson ap Caw was a bishop in either of the northern cities than in York. One of his sisters, Gwenvaen, was patroness of Rhoscollyn, in Anglesey.

MEILOG or MEILLOC ap Caw, a disciple of St. Cybi and fellow-pilgrim on the Island of Arran, which he left in company with his master, flying from the petty persecutions of Cruimthir Fintan. He settled in Anglesey at Llanveilog, situated on the Bay of Carnarvon. He is also titular of Llandyvaelog in the Hundred of Pencelly, and of another church of the same name in the Hundred of Merthyr Cynog, Brecknock, and of Llandeveylog in Caermarten; his natale was December 31, "Cambro-British Saints," p. 498. He was not improbably titular or patron of Kirkmaleu, in the Isle of Man, where he may have been a missionary after his return from Ireland. Saint Lupus is stated to be the patron of Kirkmaleu. A brief of Urban V., dated the 7th year of his pontificate, 1367, "Theiner Monumenta Vat.," p. 322, mentions the church of St. Lupus, supposed to be St. Lupus of Troyes, who does not appear to have had any connexion with the Church of Man. St. Mac Fael Mac Guil, or Machaldus, now Maughold, may be the true titular, and Lupus a translation of his name, Mac Fael, the wolf's son. The "British Martyrology" commemorates a St. Machelius, who may be perhaps identified with either Maelloc or Machaldus. A Bull of Eugene III., 1145-1153, mentions the town of St. Melius Villam Sci Melii.

CYNGAR ap Geraint ap Erbyn, was also at Arran with his nephew St. Cybi; his natale is the 13th of February. He is supposed to be the patron or titular of the church of Cungresbury in Somersetshire.

LESTYN ap Geraint or Justinian, patron of Llaniestyn in Anglesey, was assassinated by his servants on the Island of Bardsey, August 24, A.D. 529.

CADO or CATAW, ap Geraint, was a disciple of St. German of Man; his natale was September 21.

SELYV or SOLOMON ap Geraint, called in legendary stories "Solomon, Duke of Cornwall," and in "the Martyrology of Dunegal," p. 123, Samuel Ceinnisel, i.e. the low-headed, a remarkable personage. His son, by his first wife Gwen, daughter of Cynyr of Caergwach, son of Gwron ap Cunedda, Genealogy of the line of Cunedda, was CYBI or CUBIUS, patron of Holyhead, and

for a while a pilgrim with St. Enda on the Island of Arran, whence he had to fly from the annoyance and persecution of a fellow monk—Criumther Fintann, of Cill Airthir Fine, now Kilmore Artane, Dublin, “Martyrology of Dunegal,” July 13, “Loca Patriciana,” cap. x. He reached Holyhead in a miraculous manner, where he got a church site from Maelgun, King of Gwynedd, A.D. 540–565. He died there, November 8th, and his relics were enshrined in the church of Holyhead. The men of Dublin plundered the shrine of St. Cybi A.D. 1405, which they placed in the Church of the Holy Trinity or Christ Church. It was probably consigned to the flames with the other relics, and the staff of Jesus, by Archbishop Brown, in the year 1538. The second wife of Solomon was Deichter, daughter of Muiredach Muinderg or red neck, King of Ulster, A.D. 479. St. Sanctan and Matog the pilgrim, April 25, were sons of Deichter. Sanctan was a bishop and patron of Cilldaleis or Cillalesh, near Ravilly, Co. Carlow. St. Molaish or Dalaish, son of Dubhtach Mac Ua Lugair gave his name to this church. Bishop Sanctan was patron of other churches in Ireland, but especially one in Glenasmole in the Dublin mountains, now absurdly called St. Anne’s, by which the memory of St. Sanctan is effaced. The same may be said of Kirksantan in the Isle of Man, of which he was titular; near it is a headland now St. Anne’s Head. This goes far to show that Sanctan was a missionary bishop in that island. His natale was the 9th day of May, “Loca Patriciana,” cap. x. Haurilla, the third wife of Salomon, was daughter of Howel or Rioval, first King of Armorica, A.D., 513–545. Her son was MELGAN, whose natale occurs in the “Martyrology of Tallagh, October 26. “vii. Kal. Nasad. Beoani. Mel-lain tres Sancti de Britannia, et in una ecclesia sunt in h. Echach Uladh i Tamlachtain humail ic Loch Briccrenn”: he is perhaps identical with Melkinus or Melkin mentioned in “Ussher,” vol. v., pp. 37, 392, and “Bales Centuriæ,” i., cap. 57, where Melkin or Mellain is suggested to be the same as Mevinus; quite a different, though a somewhat later contemporary per-

sonage; Mawan Mevannus or Mevinus, son of Cynan Garwyn, ap Cadell Deyrnloog, abbot of Gael, in Bretagne, who died, June 21, A.D. 617, or his kinsman Mevinus, who gave in the beginning of the seventh century Berriw to St. Beino, uncle of St. Gwenfrewi or Winifred.

Reverting to the senior line of the Kings of Bretagne, Aldroen his aliases—Aldor, Audrien, Cybsdan, Deroc, Deron, Daniel Dremnus, etc.—Dar., "*Hist de Bretagne*," i. p. 69, son of Salomon, son of Erbyn, Urien or Urbin, son of Conan, was ancestor of a number of saints and ecclesiastics connected with Cambria, Bretany, and Ireland, through his son Emrys Lyddaw, Ambrosius of Letavia, whom he despatched to Britain with his uncle Constantine the Blessed. Aldroen was in other ways a link between the churches of Ireland and Armorica. His wife was daughter of Rhystydd or Restitutus the Longobard, so well known in Irish Hagiology as the husband of Liemania, one of St. Patrick's sisters, "*Trias Thaumaturga*," App. v., cap. iv., pp. 224, 231. St. German, son of Restitutus, was appointed by St. Patrick in 447 the first Bishop of the Isle of Man, on the occasion of his coming from Britain after meeting the great St. German of Auxerre. He visited the Isle of Man, and placed St. German there, consecrated by the Bishop of Auxerre and St. Patrick, as the first bishop of the newly-formed church, where he died, October 25, A.D. 474. This St. German was brother-in-law of Aldroen, King of Armorica, and probably nephew of the great St. German, whose father's name was Rusticus, as we learn from Eric of Auxerre, though Constantius, a contemporary biographer, does not give this name, the Cambrian form of which was Rhedyw and Rhystud, latinized Ridigius. The Hiberno-Latin are Restitutus and Rectitutus: it is not unreasonable to suggest that the Irish also under their forms intended to represent Rusticus, a brother perhaps of St. German of Auxerre, son of Rusticus and Germanilla. Restitutus or Rectitutus, the Longobard, absurdly styled Mac Ua Baird, an ignorant and stupid way of accounting for the latter name, must have married, about the year 373, Liemania; her son Secundinus died, 448,

aged 75 ?, a sister of St. Patrick the senior, which may explain his connexion with St. German of Auxerre, whose brother Restitutus, as is here suggested, was husband of St. Patrick's sister. Cambrian Hagiology always speaks of St. German of Man as nephew to St. German of Auxerre; we thus see how St. German was connected with the insular and Armorican Britons, which was the chief reason why he was especially selected to visit Britain A.D. 429, to combat the Pelagians in this year and again in 447. On his return to Gaul we find that the king of the Armorican Britons appealed to the Bishop of Auxerre, his wife's uncle, to proceed to Ravenna to obtain the pardon of Valentinian on account of their late revolt. Moreover, St. German, when he was elected in 418 Bishop of Auxerre, was actually "Dux" or Governor of the Armorican territories, and thus was brought into official contact with the Britons. These family ties and local connexions with the Britons eminently qualified St. German in two instances to be the saviour of the British Church by defeating the Pelagians, and in the second the advocate between the Armoricans and the Roman Emperor. Another coincidence, tending to support these surmises, is the preservation and repetition of the family names. Hywel Varcog, son of Emrys son of Aldroen, a knight in the service of Prince Arthur, was father of Rhystyd or Restitutus, one of the Bishops of Caerlleon on Usk; his natale was December 20th; his brothers were Sulien, September 1st, Abbot of Llancarvan, a disciple of Cadoc junior, Cristiolus Bishop of Menavia, November 3rd, and Derval Gadern, *i.e.* the strong, a soldier of Prince Arthur, who, after the battle of Camelon, A.D. 537, became a recluse and patron of Llanderval, near Bala in Monmouthshire. A curious account of his statue, transferred from Bala to London in May, 1538, and burned at Tyburn with a friar named Forest, is given in the "Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen."

ST. ILTUTUS, OR ILLTYD, surnamed Varcog, *i.e.*, the knight, son of Becanus of Letavia and Riengilda daughter of Aldroen, was a companion in arms with his kinsman Arthur. He was a married man, and at the advice of St. Cadoc junior, "Abbot of Llancarvan, he

became a cleric and his wife Trinihyd became a recluse in an oratory built amid the mountains, where she was constant in prayer, moderate in her discourse, and intent on every good work."—Life of St. Illtyd, "Cambro-British Saints," p. 482. Under the patronage of Meirchion, surnamed Gul or Vesanus, Abbot Illtyd restored the monastic school at Caerworgorn, near Caerlleon, which lay in ruins since its destruction by Niall of the Nine Hostages, King of Ireland, 379–405, who about the year 394 landed with an army on the coast of South Wales, to plunder and devastate the country. The Monastery and College of Caerworgorn was sacked and destroyed, its teachers dispersed, and Mawon, or Patricius, then a youth, carried with his sisters into Ireland as slaves. This college restored by St. Illtyd became the nursery of learning and sanctity in Britain. St. Illtyd returned to his native country Armorica, or Britannia Minor, then for the first time so called in the Council of Tours in 461. He survived his pupil St. Samson, Bishop of Dol, and died about 461, on the 7th day of November, at Dol, where he was interred. A part of his relics, the cranium, was preserved at Landebaeron, in the diocese of St. Brieuc, in A.D. 1683, and was officially authenticated in the same church September 25th, 1828. "Lobineau, Vies des Saintes," &c., i., p. 69.

Emrys Lyddau, son of Aldroen, was one of the knights who went with his uncle Constantine to Britain, where he died about A.D. 484. He was ancestor of a numerous family of saintly personages connected with Cambria and Ireland. His daughter Derwela, wife of Caradog ap Yner Gwent, was mother of St. Machutus Machud or Malo Bishop of Aleth and Patron of Kilmacud, a church near Dublin. St. Malo was born on Easter Sunday, A.D. 547, and baptized by St. Brendan, subsequently Bishop of Ardfert in Ireland. When of age, he was placed under the care of St. Brendan, then abbot of Llancarvan, in Glamorganshire, successor of Ellenius, who had succeeded St. Cadoc, the first abbot and founder of that monastic college, where he died, January 24th, A.D. 580. St. Malo, some time after

his ordination, was consecrated a regionary bishop at Castlewent, in Monmouthshire, and afterwards is said to have gone with his master St. Brendan on a voyage to discover some lonely island in the ocean, to lead an eremetical life. They arrived at an island at the mouth of the River Rancé, then inhabited by a hermit named Aron, who gave hospitality to the strangers, and induced St. Malo to reside there. Meanwhile St. Brendan, after journeying for seven years in Wales and Brittany, returned to Ireland, where he died Bishop of Clonfert, Ardfert, and other monasteries, May 16th, 576; St. Malo succeeding in converting the pagan inhabitants to Christianity, and became the first Bishop, about 576, of Aleth, the chief town of the country, subsequently called St. Malo, after its patron. The affluence of the church of Aleth excited the cupidity of Haeloc, Count of Nantes, son of Alan I., King of Britany. He razed one of the churches in the episcopal city, and became the persecutor of its bishop, though he eventually became his friend. St. Columbanus left Ireland A.D. 585, taking as companions twelve brethren from his monastery at Bangor, in Down. St. Malo spent some time at Luxeuil with St. Columban, learning the practice of his religious rule, and on his return to Bretagne he went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Martin at Tours. Meeting much opposition and persecution from his people, he fled with some followers to St. Leontius, Bishop of Saintes. He went back after a time to Aleth, absolved his subjects, and placed St. Tudwal, or Gurwal, his schoolmate and disciple of St. Brendan, his successor in the See of Aleth. Returning to the diocese of Santes, he stayed at Archembray, where he died of fever, the night of the 15th of November, A.D. 627. "Lobineau Vies de Saints de Bretagne," ii., pp. 44-71.

Gwendaff Hên,¹ whose wife was Gwenonwys, daughter of Meirig ap Tewdrig, King of Glamorgan, was one of the sons of Emrys of Letavia. Two of their sons are

¹ Gwendaff Hen, in the Armorican Genealogy annexed to this chapter, is printed by mistake in *italics*, as if it were

a female name, and the name of his wife *Gwenonwys* is misplaced.

numbered among the Cambrian saints. Mugant, or Meugan, a disciple of St. Illtyd's, a member of his community, and subsequently under St. Dubricius, at Caerlleon on Usk. In his old age he retired to Ynys Enlli or Bardsey, where he died. He is the titular of St. Moughan's in Monmouthshire and Llanveugan, in Breconshire, where the largest yew trees in Wales flourish in its ancient cemetery. Two poems, still extant, were written by Mugant, and the Hymn of St. Mugint of Futerna, or Whithern, in the "Books of Hymns," an Irish MS. of the ninth century, was probably of his composition, and shows that he was also connected with Candida casa, but at a period after the retirement to Cluain Conaire, or Cloncurry, in Kildare, of its abbot Monnine, or Nenio, son of Dubhtach mac ua Lugair, chief Druid of Leaghaire Mac Niell, K. I.

EWAN HEVYN or HOWYN,¹ the other son of Gwendaff Hên, graduated in the same Cambrian schools as his brother. He was also an ecclesiastic connected with Bardsey, and subsequently a bishop. Very little is known of his history, which can be only traced in the wide-spread veneration paid to his memory. St. Ewan's Church existed in the centre of the city of Bristol; it was lately pulled down by the civic authorities, to give room for the Council House built on its site. St. Ewan or Owan's Churches, in Gloucester and Hereford, were destroyed about the middle of the seventeenth century. A church of St. Ewan, now turned into a dwelling-house, still exists at Chepstow. Traces of this saint, under the name Uny or Euny and Ewinus, are found in Cornwall. St. Hewan's Rock, at an ancient ferry on the eastern side of the estuary of the Wye, is another monument of his memory. In the city of Dublin we find St. Audoen's Church, which, if not of a much earlier date, was like its neighbour, St. Werburgh's, erected by the Bristolian colony at

¹ St. Hevin, or Ewin, is titular of the church of Aberdaron, in Carnarvonshire. A cattle fair is held there annually on the

26th day of June, which is an ancient and established evidence of the patron day of this forgotten saint.

Dublin. Ewan or Owan, in cartular writings became Audoenus or Audoen, and thus the memory and cultus of the Cambro-British saint insensibly merged into that of the later and more known St. Audoenus, Archbishop of Rouen, who died August 24th, A.D. 683. Mr. Kerslake of Bristol has done good work in rescuing the memorials of one of the tutelary saints of that city from utter oblivion.

ST. SAMSON, son of Amon Ddu son of Emrys, a disciple of St. Illutus, was abbot of Caerworgorn, or Llan Itutmaur, after 540, "Cambro-British Saints," 296. He was ordained by St. Dubritius. He was first abbot of St. Peiros Monastery at Ynis Echni, in the Bristol Channel, elected after the death of Piero son of Caw of Strathcluyd, North Wales. While in this monastery some religious Scots, learned men, returning home from their pilgrimage to Rome, came for hospitality to St. Samson. He was so struck with their learning and virtue, that he determined to go to Ireland with them. He remained there but a short time, and the place where he resided must have been not far away from the sea-shore, "Liber Landaff," Life of St. Samson, p. 297. It was most probably at Balgryffin, between Dublin and Malahide, where a church dedicated to St. Samson formerly existed till it was pulled down to build Balgryffin House; the abandoned cemetery, with distinct traces of the old church, still remain, the only memorials of the celebrated Bishop of Dol. On his arrival at Ynis Echni, Umbrafael uncle of Samson who had become a monk, was sent as abbot to this monastery, in place of its late abbot, miraculously restored to health by St. Samson, on account of which the monks were reluctant to allow him to leave them. He got their consent to return only on condition of his promising to send one of his community to take his own place over them. Some time after his return St. Samson was consecrated bishop by St. Dubritius. About the year 546 or 547, accompanied by his kinsman and the deacon St. Magloire, he sailed for Armorica. Landing at the estuary of the River Le petit Gouyon, he cured a woman of leprosy, and her grateful husband Privatus

gave him a site for his monastery, which was subsequently called Dol, and until recently a bishopric. His name appears in the Benedictine Martyrology at July 28—"In Britannia minori depositio Sancti Samsonis Dolensis Episcopi qui Privati hospitis sui uxorem a lepra, filiamque ejus a dæmone vexatam optatæ sanitati restituit."

About the year 554 St. Teilo, of Llandaff, flying from the ravages of the Yellow Pestilence *Y Fad Velen*, came to Armorica, and was the guest of his kinsman St. Samson at Dol, until he was able to return to his own church in Wales. A year before the arrival of Samson in Armorica, Howel son of Budic the first, son of Aldroen king of Armorica, died. He was succeeded by his eldest son Howell the second, who was slain in 547 by his own brother Canao Conabert Conan, or Conomor, who, in the same year, slew another brother, Gueroc or Warroc. Budoc, Count of Vannes, father of St. Oudoceus, Bishop of Llandaff, and subsequently king of Armorica, was also slain by his unnatural brother, and Maccliau, Magliavus, or Maglovius, the youngest, owing to his having retired to a cloister, through the exertions of Felix, Bishop of Nantes, with difficulty escaped the same fate. Indual or Alan only son of Howel fled to Paris, to the court of Childebert, where he was detained, and Canao established his power through the provinces of Bretagne, "*Daru Hist de Bretagne*," vol. i., p. 157. To avenge the conduct of Childebert, in protecting his nephew, he gave refuge to Chramnus son of Childebert, who had revolted against his father. In the year 560, at the instance of St. Samson, Childebert sent two armies into Bretagne—one led by Indual,¹ accompanied by St. Samson. He thus recovered the Duchy of Rennes, defeating Comor, son of Canao; and the other army defeated near St. Malos Canao, who lost his throne and his life in this engagement. Chramnus when about to escape in a vessel lying at anchor was also captured, and by order

¹ The restoration of Indual to the throne of his father is described as in the text of the *Life of St. Samson*. The account in the *Life of his brother St. Leonair* says

of his unnatural father was, with his wife and children, shut up in a cabin which was set on fire, and all miserably perished amid the flames. Indual for some years retained Rennes; his uncle Maccliau left the cloister, took back his wife, and got himself consecrated bishop, and then aspired to the sovereignty of all Bretagne. Theodoric or Tewdric, nephew of Maccliau and son of Budic, surprised his uncle, and slew him with his son Jacob Count of Cornuaille in 577, thus avenging the death of his father and uncles. Indual then took the title of king Alan the Second, but his power did not extend beyond Rennes, his own patrimony. Canobert son of Canao was Count of Nantes; his brother Comor Count of Leon; Warroc, son of Maccliau, Count of Nantes, was slain in 596 by Childebert king of the Franks, "Daru," i., p. 167. Indual or Alan survived until 594, and left a numerous family. Of these, Doth-wall and Haeloc were Dukes of Nantes; Grallo Duke of Cornuaille, and Budoc Bishop of Dol next after in succession to St. Magloire successor to St. Samson; he died November 18th, A.D. 600. Howel, the eldest son, was King of Bretagne, and died 512. In the year 555 St. Samson went to Paris, when he made so favourable an impression on King Childebert, that he established him in the See of Dol as its first bishop, conferring on that See privileges and possessions which appertained to that church until its suppression, at the end of the eighteenth century. The legends of St. Samson and St. Magloire agree in the statement that Childebert was the founder of the See of Dol, "Lobineau Vies des Saintes de Bretagne," i., p. 233. In the year 557 a council was held

that he concealed Indual in his church, and sent him off by stealth to Paris. Canao came to slay him, and finding that he was gone, in his rage he struck the abbot a heavy blow. He then rode away, and his horse, participating the frenzy of its master, dashed down a precipice, and perished with its rider. Canao compelled Trufina, the protégée of St. Gildas of Ruis, widow of his brother Howel, to marry him. After a while he murdered her and her son Treuchmar. As often as he got tired of his wife, she met the fate of Trufina,

and then he sought another victim. The crimes of Canao have acquired for him an unenviable notoriety. He is the original Blue Beard of the early romances, which, with the equally old British story of Jack the Giant-killer, and others of the same period, have been relegated to the nursery and infant school, where for centuries they did good work in exercising the powers of imagination. A more utilitarian hard-and-fast generation may not act wisely in consigning these old-world stories to oblivion.

in Paris: St. Samson was present, and subscribed his name to the acts as "Ego Samson peccator Episcopus consensui et subscripsi." In the following year he returned to Dol, where he lived some time longer in the exercise of his episcopal duties. The Channel Islands were evangelized by his labours, and the Church of St. Samson in Guernsey records his presence and memory. Some pagan rites observed in these islands on New Year's Day were abolished through his exertions. Worn out with age and labours, and finding his end at hand, he designated St. Magloire his successor; having received from his hand the Holy Viaticum, he died at Dol, amid his brethren, on the 28th day of July, A.D. 565, at the age of eighty-five years.

The chief disciples of St. Samson were St. Magloire, his cousin-german and successor; St. Budoc, son of Induael or Alan the First, king of Bretagne, successor of St. Magloire; St. Similien Abbot of Taurac; SS. Ethbyn¹ and Gwenole Junior, both of Taurac and St. Mawon, Mevanus or Meen, son of Gynan Garwyn, ap Cadell Deyrnloog, abbot of Gael, who died June 21st, A.D. 617.

St. Samson was buried at Dol, and subsequently his relics were enshrined in that church, where they remained until the Norman invasion. During the reign of Lothaire, Salvator, Bishop of Aleth, translated them, with the bodies of many other saints, to Paris. A portion was left at Dol, which were transferred to a new shrine in 1579, over the high altar of the Cathedral of Dol, but they were destroyed in the Revolution of 1793. Another portion was preserved at Orleans. Those in Paris were kept in the Church of St. Magloire, but they have been trans-

¹ Ethbyn, a disciple of St. Samson, and by him ordained a deacon, became a monk in 554 under the Abbot Guenolé, Junior, at Taurac. In the year 560 this abbey was devastated by the Franks, who had conquered Maine up to the frontiers of Bretagne in 496. Ethbyn, after a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, fled to Ireland, where he dwelt for twenty years in a forest called Necth, somewhere in Leinster, and probably near Kildare, or perhaps Gallen "of the Britons," in the King's County. He died amid his brethren on the 19th of

October, about the year 613, at the age of eighty-three, and was buried before the altar in his oratory. The "Martyrology of Dunegal" gives his feast at October 19, "Ethbinus abbot" simply, as they appear to have had no idea of his history (V. "Lobineau Vies des Saints de Bretagne," vol. ii., p. 27). The "Benedictine Martyrology of Menard," October 19, has "In Hibernia Sancti Ethbini abbatis Nectensis discipuli Sancti Similiani." St. Similian's feast was the 16th day of June.



an Vendigaid, Constantine the Blessed or Welcome; sent on the in-
 of the Britons against the Saxons by his brother Aldroen before 429.
 died at Cerni, or Cornwall, Herefordshire; murdered at the chase by
circa 442.

Vide Ussher, "Brit.
 Ec. Ant."
 cap. xii., p. 426.

Endragon, Con- =
 he Britons, Dux
 um; poisoned A.D.
 Natanleod, sl. by
 ions, A.D. 508).

Ygraine, d. of
 Amlawd,
 K. in North
 Britain.

80 Constans, Cystennan
 Vichan, or Junior.
 K. B. 442; sl. at the
 instigation of Vorti-
 gherm, A.D. 447.

80 Eyrbyn, of = *Gwen*,
 Dyvnaint d. of
 in Armo- Cyngar.
 rica.

2, slew Hengist
 li, A.D. 489.
 nt." cap. xiii.,
 515.

82 IESTYN, K. of Llankestyn in
 Anglesey, or Justinian;
 sl. at Bardsey by his ser-
 vants, Aug. 24, 529.

81 Geraint, of Dyvnaint, sl. = *Erydd*,
 at Longborth, A.D. 530. dau. of
 Ysoyr, of Llanesgin, Iarl
 Monmouth. Ynial.

= 1. *Gwen*, dau.
 of Cyner of
 Caer Gwach.

2. *Dectir*, dau. of
 Muiredach
 Muinderg, K. of
 Ullad, A.D. 479.

3. *Haurilla*, dau. of
 Howel,
 K. of Armorica.

82 CADO, disciple of
 St. Garmon,
 Bishop of Man,
 Sept. 21.

1EN, of
 disci-
 Sletty,
 d.

83 CYBI, or CUBIUS,
 of Llangiby, or
 Holyhead,
 April 25, Nov. 8.

83 SANCTAN, Bp.
 of Kilsanctan,
 Co. Dublin,
 May 9.

83 MATOG
 the
 pilgrim,
 Apr. 25.

83 MELGAN, St. Melganus
 de Britania, Oct. 26.
 Cy. Melain, Bp. of Vannes,
 Jan. 6, 530.

80 Emrhys Wledig, or Ambrosius Aure-
 lius, K. B.; slew Vortigern, A.D.
 481; poisoned by Eopa, a Saxon,
 A.D. 500.

80 *Eurdill*. "C.-B. S." =
 312, Lib. land.
 pp. 314, 496.

= Pepian ap Yrbyn
 ap Caradog,
 K. of Eryng.

18. 81 ILTUTUS, or ILLTYD, Varcog,
 "the Knight"; left his wife
Trinthid; became a monk; d.
 Nov. 7, A.D. 560.
Vide "Cambro-Brit. S." p. 467.

Cynvin, K. of
 Eryng.
 "Lib. Llan."

81 DYVRIG, or DUBRITIUS,
 first Bishop of Llandaff;
 b. 437; d. Nov. 4, 512,
 or 522; æt. 85.

a, dau. of Meirig
 ap Tewdrig.
 Lib. Llandaf,"
 p. 297.

81 Gwydno.

MAELRHYS, came
 to Bardsey, A.D.
 of Llanvaelrhys,
 Jan. 1.

81 Teudor Mawr =

Canna, wife of Sadwrn ap Bica-
 nys; her son by Galgu Rieddog
 was ELIAN GEIMIAD.

Helen.

TYDECHO, Dec. 17,
 of Garthbibio.
Tegvedd.

82 TATHAN, or TA-
 THEUS,
 of Llandathan,
 Glamorgan.

82 SAMSON, Abbot of
 Caerworgorm, A.D.
 540. "C.-B. S." p.
 296; Bishop of Dol,
 546; d. *post* 565, æt.
 85, July 28.

82 Teithal = *Morivydd*,
 dau. of
 Graldeg.

Teydern.
 Tudwall.

Tewdor, v. 664.
 86 *Marchell* of Garth-
 madryn.

Gwenteirbron = Æneas Llyddau,
 of Letavia.

CADVAN, first Abbot of
 Bardsey.

81 UMBRAFAEL =
 became a
 monk in Ireland.
 "Lib. Land."
 p. 297.

Affrella,
 dau. of
 Meirig ap
 Tewdrig.

82 MAGLOIRE, Bp. of Dol;
 d. Oct. 24, A.D. 586, æt. 80.

Divnog.

TRINIO,
 of Llantrinio,
 Montgomery,
 A.D. 516.

UN, of Bardsey =

12 LYNAB, or LUNAPIUS, of Bardsey,
 Bishop, disciple of Dubritius.
 "Lib. Lan." 351 c. 409, 624.

LONIO LAWHIR,
 Llandinan,
 Montgomery.

81 PEDRWN = *Cogan*.
 a monk
 in Ireland. "C.-B. S."
 p. 503.

82 PADARN III., Bishop of Llanpadarn,
 538; came from Brittany, 524; died
 April 15, 559.

Et. of Cornuaille. "Daru. Hist.
 e Bretagne," i., p. 179.

lated before 1836 to the Church of St. Jaques du Haut Pas, in the same city, "Lobineau," i., p. 238. Modern Welsh writers believed that St. Samson was buried at Llantitmaur, St. Illutus' Church, at Caerworgorn. That may be true of Samson, son of Caw, who, according to another account, when driven from the north by the Saxons, retired not to Armorica, but more probably to the College of St. Illut, and there ended his troubled life.

The Genealogical Table of the Britons of Armorica shows brothers and a sister of St. Samson founders of churches in Wales; their cousin Cadvan, first abbot of Bardsey, whither he brought from Bretaine a swarm of monks and clerics after the year 516. It became a celebrated sanctuary of religion and learning in the sixth and seventh centuries—so much so that it was called the Rome of Britain. His first cousin Llewddad was its second abbot. His father Alan was also a monk in the same monastery, as was also his son Lynab, or Lunapius, subsequently a bishop, and patron of Llandinabo, in Herefordshire, "Lib Llan.," pp. 351, 409, 624, &c. Pedron, or Pedredin, an Armorican, whose wife's name was Gugan, following the example of many of his countrymen, left his home and family to dedicate himself to the service of God in Ireland, where he lived many years in a monastery. His son Padarn, some time after, in A.D. 524, came over to Britain with a colony of monks. With these were also his kinsman Tydecho, Corus, and Hitenlan; they also settled at Bardsey, off the coast of Cardiganshire. Padarn, with a large number of disciples, subsequently settled, A.D. 538, at Llanbadarn Maur, near Aberystwith, of which he was abbot. He soon after went over to Ireland to visit his father, and while there he effected a reconciliation between two reguli whose armies were about to engage in deadly strife. Padarn returned to his brethren in Wales; and soon again set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem with St. David and St. Teilo. After his return, about 545, Caradog Vreichbras, taking advantage of the disturbed state of the country, went on a military expedition to Armorica. It is alleged that Padarn accom-

panied him there, and Caradoc is stated to have placed him in the See of Vannes—a very irregular and improbable proceeding. Archbishop Ussher is responsible for this part of the history of St. Padarn, which is now believed to be without any real historic foundation. St. Padarn, or Paternus, was undoubtedly a bishop at Llanpadarnmaur, and died in that church on the 15th of April, A.D. 559. There were other ecclesiastics of the same name, and their history as usual has been to some extent confounded. The first was Patern¹ or Pern, under whose guidance St. Patrick Magonius was for some time after the death of St. Martin, in 402. St. Patern was placed by Conan Meriadog as the first bishop of the See of Vannes, which he made the seat of government when he became an independent ruler. Having attained the age of ninety years, he died at Vannes, April 16th, A.D. 448. Another Patern succeeded him; there is nothing known of his history, except that his consecration was the occasion of the Synod of Vannes held in 465 by St. Perpetuus Bishop of Tours. A contemporary of the Cambrian Paternus was another Paternus, Bishop of Avranches, consecrated in France by St. Germanus Bishop of Rouen, when in advanced age, about A.D. 547; he died in 550.

ST. MAGLOIRE, son of Umbrafael who ended his days in a monastery in Ireland, and Affrella, daughter of Meirig ap Tewdryg, king of Glamorganshire, was successor of his cousin St. Samson in the See of Dol. He preached the Gospel in the Island of Jersey, where he founded a monastery in which he died, in his eightieth

¹ Some Armorican ecclesiastics came to Ireland with St. Patrick in the early part of his career. One of these was Sizenius, or Sezin, called Sessin in the "Martyrology of Dunegal," August 31st his festival. He was born A.D. 402—much later, however—and at the age of twenty-five years he went to Rome. He came to Ireland subsequently, and was appointed a missionary in Hy Garrochon, now the east side of Wicklow. In 477 he returned with seventy disciples, it is said, to his native country, and founded the monas-

tery of Guic-Sezni there, about the year 529. "Lanigan," vol. i. cap. vii. "The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick," Hennessy's translation, p. 407, speaks of "St. Patrick's Franks," fifteen brothers and one sister. The names of these are given, and some of their churches in the north and west of Ireland are mentioned. Of these was Winnoc or Gwethenoc, son of Bragan, and founder of Landevenec. These were missionaries, chiefly under St. Patrick, Mac Calphiurn.

year, October 24, 586. One of his disciples St. Louth-eirn was born west of the Severn, his British name was Llewchairn¹ an abbot and bishop; his festival was January 11th. He was descended of an old Cambrian family, derived from Cunedda Wledig. His father Hugarvel son of Cyndrwn, regulus of Llystinwennan at Caer Einion Montgomery, probably shared the same fate as his brothers, Cynwraith slain by the Saxons of Mercia while defending the town of Tren in Shropshire, and Cyndellyn regulus of East Powys, the friend and protector of the exiled bard-king Llywarch Hên, whose friendship he records in a poem in the "Red Books of Hergest," xvi., printed in the "Four Ancient Books of Wales," ii. p. 279, &c. Cyndellyn was slain also at Tren in defence of his territories, and was interred in Bas Church, north of Shrewsbury, as is stated in the Marnawd of Llywarch Hên. Llewchaiarn, son of Hugarvel, became an ecclesiastic and a disciple of St. Magloire, whom he survived, and died in the island of Jersey. Three churches in Wales bear his name—Llanllewchaiarn on the Severn, and Llanmerewig in Montgomery, and Llanllewchaiarn in Carnarvon. These are the only records of his existence in Wales, while his name survives in Bretagne. His relics were conveyed to Paris in 965, through fear of their being ravaged by the Normans, by Salvator Bishop of Evranthes. His brothers were Cynhaiarn, a recluse on Ynys Cynhaiarn, off the coast of Carnarvon, and Aelhaiarn, titular of Llandhaiarn in Carnarvon and Guilsfield or Cegidva, in Montgomery; he was a bishop, and his festival was kept on the 1st day of November.

St. OUDOCEUS, Bishop of Landaff, a most remarkable

¹ Llewchaiarn has been erroneously identified with an Irish contemporary abbot of nearly the same name, but of different import. Lughtighern mac ua Trato, ancestor of the Trádraighe in Thuomond, now Traddery, an ecclesiastical deanery in the county of Clare, was patron of many churches in Ireland, and of Kilkeasy, in Ossory. His festival was

observed on the 28th of April in the Martyrologies of Paris and Dunegal, and his name appears in the English Litanies of the seventh century. He was a disciple of St. Rhuadan of Lorrha and of St. Columbanus in Bangor, and the friend of St. Lasrean of Leighlin and St. Ita, who died A.D. 669. ("Lobineau Vies du SS. de Bretagne," vol. i. p. lix. 348.)

personage of this period, born in Bretagne A.D. 538, was son of Budoc Count of Cornuaille and Arianwedd, daughter of Enleu ap Hydon ap Ceredig ap Cunedda. Budoc was the eldest son of Howel Rioval or Riothim, king of the Britons of Armorica, who died A.D. 545. He came to Wales about the year 530, where he married, and had two children born there—Ismael, subsequently the successor of St. David in the See of Menavia, and Teivy, murdered by Tyrtuc or Tudrog, at Penaly. In the year 537 Budoc returned to Brittany, where Oudoceus was born, and Tewdric, or Theodoric, Count of Cornuaille, who slew his uncle Macliau, or Magliovus, and his son Jacob in 577. Budoc was slain in 547 by his brother Canao, who aspired to the sovereignty of all the provinces of Bretagne. Oudoceus was dedicated to the Church at the request of his maternal uncle St. Teilo, Bishop of Llandaff, and some time after, returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he took his orphan nephew under his care. He subsequently became his successor in the See of Landaff, about A.D. 566, and died on the 2nd day of July, 612, or, according to another authority, A.D. 620.

LEONAIRE, brother of Budoc, was born in Great Britain A.D. 509, while his father was there with Prince Arthur. He was educated in Llaniltud Maur, under its restorer; his co-disciples were his brother Tugdual or Tudwal, SS. Paul Bishop of Leon, Magloire and Samson; he was there ordained priest, and subsequently bishop by St. Dubricius. He and his brother Tudwal went to Armorica; they landed at the River Rancé, at a place near St. Malos, called Pontual or Tudwal's bridge in memory of that event. Leonaire was in Paris at the Court of Childebert when Canao murdered his brothers. He subsequently returned, and died in his own monastery, July the 1st, A.D. 560.

(To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT the GENERAL QUARTERLY MEETING, held at the Royal Institution, Cork, on Wednesday, April 5th, 1882 :

O'DONOVAN, of Lissard, in the Chair ;

The following Member was elected :—

Rev. Edmund Barry, Youghal.

The Treasurer's Account for the year 1881 was submitted to the Meeting, audited as follows :

The Treasurer of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland in account with Cash for the year 1881.

CHARGE.

1881.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To balance in Treasurer's hands,	247	1	0
Dec. 31.	„ Annual subscriptions,	235	10	0
	„ Entrance fees of Fellows,	6	2	0
	„ Cash by sale of “Journal” and “Annual Volume,”	23	18	0
	„ One year's rent of Jerpoint Abbey,	1	0	0
	„ Donations and advertisements,	34	3	0
	„ Dividends on New Three per cent. Govern- ment Stock, less income tax,	11	2	4
		£558	16	4

DISCHARGE.

1881.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31. By postages of correspondence and book parcels,	9	16	8
„ Postages of "Journal,"	8	14	2
„ Printing &c., of "Journal," for April, July, and October, 1880,	54	17	7
„ Illustrations and engravings for "Journal,"	68	13	4
„ General printing and stationery,	12	12	6
„ Sundry expenses,	10	19	2
„ Books purchased,	6	18	6
„ Rent and insurance of Museum,	20	9	0
„ Caretaker of Jerpoint Abbey,	1	0	0
„ Collecting subscriptions,	23	3	8
„ Editing "Journal,"	25	0	0
„ Balance in Treasurer's hands,	316	11	9
	<hr/> £558 16 4		

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

1881.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31. New Three per cent. Government Stock invested in the names of the Trustees,	380	1	5

April 1st., 1882.—We have audited these Accounts and find them correct; balance in Treasurer's hands being Three Hundred and Sixteen Pounds Eleven Shillings and Nine Pence.

JOHN BLAIR BROWNE, } *Auditors.*
J. G. ROBERTSON, }

Alderman Day, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., contributed the following notices of Cork trade tokens and siege pieces, and of stones carved with representations of the human face.

"In Lindsay's *Coinage of Ireland*, pl. 7, No. 151, a siege piece is figured, showing a plain reverse; and in a stamp upon its obverse, within a beaded circle, the word 'CORKE,' having two palm branches beneath

and a crown above. This has hitherto been classed, on the authority of Mr. Lindsay, as a siege piece of the reign of Charles. But through the kindness of Captain Newenham of Maryborough House, Cork, I am enabled to exhibit eight Cork tokens, six of these struck with a stamp very similar to that in Lindsay, and three of the six almost identical with his siege piece. On one of these the stamp is blurred, and the object above the lettering might be mistaken for a crown; but on all the others the stamping is most clear, and instead of a crown there is a leopard's head. In closely comparing this circular stamping, the use of three distinct dies can be detected; and it is possible that another die, having a crown surmounting the word 'CORKE' was also in use, as the well-known accuracy of Mr. Lindsay has never been questioned.

"I shall now attempt to describe the tokens which I have numbered 1 to 8.

"Nos. 1 and 2 are trade tokens:—

"*Obverse*: 'William Ballard, his penny in Cork, 1677.'

"*Reverse*: The royal oak, in which is the king and three crowns, and beneath a horse and foot soldier.

"Nos. 3, 4, and 5, are also tokens of William Ballard, which are counterstruck with the siege piece stamp, and are all struck from the same die, viz., 'CORKE' between the leopard's head and palm branches. One of them is here engraved:—



"Nos 6, 7, and 8, might be classed with Mr. Lindsay's siege piece; the reverses in all are plain. The obverses are struck with the small circular stamp, but all three from different dies.



Siege pieces struck with "Corke" and leopard's head.

"In No. 6 the letters in the word 'Corke' are interlinked. In No. 7 the letters are distinct from each other, although of the same flowing character; and No. 8 is more rude, and instead of the leopard's head has a defaced mark that might be a crown or anything else. We learn from this little hoard that small change must have been so scarce in Cork, that the city authorities counterstruck William Ballard's trade tokens, and made them pass current within the city walls; and the question remains to be answered, Was the little city stamp used for money of necessity in the reign of King Charles, or did it first appear upon our local coinage in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, during the siege in which Cork withstood the forces of William III.,

A. D. 1689-90? The occurrence of the stamp on Ballard's tokens of 1677 would seem certainly to point to the later date. Possibly if the records of the town council, from 1648 to 1690, which are unhappily lost, were recovered, some minute of council would be found that would throw some light upon the subject; but without documentary evidence we can only allow the coins to tell their own story, and to draw our own inferences from them. The coin figured in Lindsay is fractured, and in this respect resembles five of those here described. This splitting of the coin was caused by its subjection to a double blow, the first, while it severed it from its parent block of metal, gave it increased density and hardness; and when the second blow came that gave it its legal stamp, the coin was fractured. This counterstamping of William Ballard's penny is a most interesting addition to the seventeenth century trade tokens of Cork.

"I have also, on behalf of our fellow member, William J. Gillespie, Esq., of Whitehall, in the County Dublin, the pleasure of exhibiting another trade token of the seventeenth century, which he ascribes to Cork:—

"The obverse: 'James Bratton,' in the field a harp.

"The reverse: 'Cork marchant 1st J. B.'

"This coin is in good condition, with the exception of the word 'Cork' which is much defaced; but with a magnifying glass the outline of the letters that make up the word can, I think, be deciphered. It has not before been noticed, and is unique.

"I have had more than once the privilege of examining Mr. Gillespie's cabinet of Irish coins, which is, I believe, the most complete private collection in the kingdom, and I am glad to know that he will soon publish a supplemental list of Irish trade tokens from it that have been hitherto unpublished.

"In the Catalogue of Stone Antiquities in the Royal Irish Academy are figured, at page 132, three inscribed altar stones. 'They were,' says Dr. Petrie, 'held in the highest veneration by the peasantry as having belonged to the founders of the churches, and were used for a variety of superstitious purposes, as the curing of diseases, taking oaths upon them, &c.'

"I have now much pleasure in exhibiting one that was found in the ruins of the ancient church of Rossory, near Enniskillen. It is a hard, close-grained, black, water-worn, oval boulder, weighing one pound four ounces, and flat upon its upper surface, on which is carved in low relief the outlines of a human face. The eyebrows, or superciliary ridges, are curved and well-defined; the nose is long and straight; and the lips are the most prominent feature of the face, as if for the purpose of being kissed by those who flocked to the church, whose patron saint was St. Fanchea; she had a famous nunnery at Rossory in the sixth century (*vide* O'Hanlon's *Irish Saints*). Colgan relates that St. Fanchea (A.A. SS. 1st January) was born at Rathmore, near Clogher, formerly a castle and residence of the princes of Orgiel. Her brother was Enda, or Aendus, of Arran, who came from there, and erected a mur or rath for his sister around her church, the greater part of which remains to the present time. It is more than probable that

the face on this stone was in some way identified by the peasantry with that of St. Fanchea, and is, so far as I have been able to ascertain, unique as an altar stone, among which objects I would venture to class it. On the North American continent stones of about the same size, carved to represent a human face, have been found in grave mounds, and are described by Dr. Abbott in his recent work on *Primitive Industry*¹, where he figures three from New Jersey, and one from the State of New York, the material being steatite of a dark-greenish colour, and the features representing those of the native Indian race. While some of these were worn as ornaments, others had a tribal value, and were venerated as 'great medicines.' They were taken into battle, and, if captured, their owners' hands would hang powerless until they were recovered or brought back (Abbott, p. 393). Doctor Jones, in his *Explorations of the Aboriginal Remains in Tennessee* (Washington, 1876), figures stones carved with outlines of the human face from grave mounds in Tennessee. And, through the courtesy of the trustees of the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, I am enabled to exhibit the cast of a carved head of stone from Gambier, Knox Co., Ohio, which in some measure illustrates the Rossory specimen; and a carved head from Mexico of a hard, mottled, greenstone, that came into my collection in 1864. The face on this is in bold relief; the eyebrows curve upwards, the nose is arched, and two V-shaped incised lines meet at the point of the nose and end in the eye sockets, which are hollow and empty. As in all really ancient Mexican representations of the human face, the forehead is extremely low; and it was not until after the Spanish Conquest that the high foreheads of the conquerors were copied. This is one of the tests by which to discover spurious objects, as terra cotta forgeries have been and are still made in quantities to supply the incautious collector of Mexican antiquities, and they invariably have this modern peculiarity. But to return to the object I am attempting to describe: the mouth is extended wide open, and the back of the stone is concave, with holes for suspension. This was worn upon the breast of the officiating priest, in the human sacrifices that formed so prominent a part in the Aztec religious worship. The stone bears a fine polish, and closely resembles jade in its rich green, only differing from it in its complete opaqueness. The hollow portions of the face have a deposit of red, that may possibly be old blood-marks; these would probably come away if carefully washed, but objects like this are often better if left untouched.

"These mementos from another continent, while they throw no light upon the use of our Rossory stone, yet strangely illustrate it, and form a connecting link of thought between the old stone-workers of Ireland and America. I have also brought, to further illustrate these, an irregular-shaped quartzite pebble, that has a natural excrescence upon one side, looking, when held in a certain position, like a woman holding a child in her arms. This came to me many years ago from Tristernagh Abbey, in the County Westmeath, where it was much venerated by the peasantry, who believed that it had fallen from heaven, and that it represented the Madonna with the Infant Saviour."

¹ Boston, 1881. London, Trübner & Co.

Mr. Cecil Woods said that, through the courtesy of J. J. Harris, Esq., he had lately, in company with Dr. Caulfield, an opportunity of making an examination and measurement of the only portion of the ancient town wall of Cork now in existence. It is situated to the rear of Mr. Harris's premises on the Grand Parade, by which it is bounded on the south, and by the police barrack in Tuckey-street on the north. From the nature of the masonry it may be a part of the early wall that encircled the city. Smith says, vol. i. p. 365, "The walls are said to be repaired by King John, but were originally built by the Danes, long before the arrival of the English." From the records of the kingdom we learn that July 8, 1218, the king, addressing the justiciary, said that, "he has been informed that it would tend to the security of the king and of Ireland if the city of Cork were fortified"; and issues a mandate that three years' farm of the city be paid to Thomas Fitz Anthony, the king's bailiff, for that purpose. On July 13, 1284, a grant was made to the bailiffs, burgesses, and other good men of Cork, for five years of custom, to be levied on merchandise, specified imports and exports, "to aid them in enclosing their vil of Cork." 1286, on the Receipt Roll William le Ware, citizen of Cork, pays £6 for license to break the walls of the city. In 1291 the Charter of Henry III. (1241-2) was confirmed by Edward I.: "The king grants them a custom called *cocquet*, for rebuilding their walls until they could travel a mile round their city in safety." From this time we have constant mention of tolls granted for the *murage* of the city. In 1548 the Mayor complains to the Deputy, "that the feerce water streams beateth down, now and then, our walls and town, which we do daily build." Thus matters continued until the siege of Cork in September, 1689-90, when they afforded the last refuge for a short time to the citizens, but their shattered condition after this event caused them to be gradually removed. The following is the exact measurement of the surviving fragment:—It is 3 feet thick, and inside there is a batter of 2 inches in 3 feet.

The portion exposed is about 6 feet long. The rubbish had to be removed from the base so as to see the nature of the masonry, which was of large stones, secured by the insertion of smaller ones in a very consolidated mortar. This operation was necessary from the fact that some time ago a few miscreants had endeavoured to destroy the wall, and before they were discovered had perpetrated much mischief. Mr. Wood's remarks were illustrated by a plan of the locality.

Mr. T. Broderick sent an account of a cave which he explored in the townland of Greenville, midway between Mount Bellew and Castleblakeny, Co. Galway.

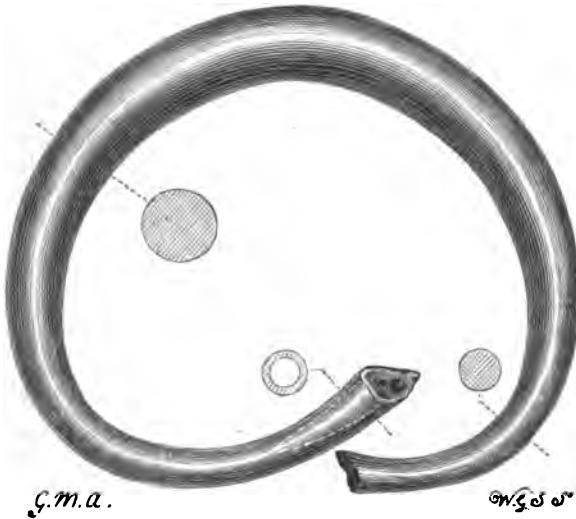
"In the summer of 1869 I explored a very remarkable cave in the townland of Greenville, midway between Mount Bellew and Castleblakeny, one and a-half miles from either place. It is situated nearly in the centre of the largest fort (Danish, so called) I ever saw. It is surrounded by two high ramparts of earth, with a deep ditch between; they are fully 14 feet high, sloping from the bottom, and must anciently have been far higher. The remains of a third rampart is seen, but it is now nearly level with the surrounding field. The fort is circular, and has an area of more than two acres, including the ramparts. Nearly in the centre is the mouth of the cave, to which you go down by three or four steps, and about which there are several large unchiseled slabs lying about, evidently the remains of some building over the mouth. The cave is made in the form of three sides of a square, each side about twenty-five yards long. When I entered the first side, I examined it closely; the walls are built of pretty large stones evenly laid, but without the slightest sign of mortar; but at the mouth there are two or three large red sandstones, so evenly laid that I believe they must have been chiseled. The cave is $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, 6 feet broad, and covered with very large unchiseled slabs closely laid, so that none of the earth-covering on the top can get down. At the end of the first side the wall is built across the floor about 3 feet high, and the passage very much narrowed going to the other side—so much so that it was with difficulty I could force myself through. The next side runs at right angles with this, and is built in the same way, and covered with the same description of large slabs; is the same length, height, and breadth. Then I came to the third and last side, which is again at right angles with side No. 2. The end of this side is built across by a low wall, and narrowed the same as No. 1; and there was the same difficulty in forcing myself through the small opening. This last side is the same length, height, and breadth as the other two: the floors of all are level, and covered with white gravel. I had a torch, but before I reached the end of the last side it burned out, and I had to use matches, which gave me but a very poor light: however, at the end of this last side,

I saw distinctly on the floor a slightly-raised little mound, very like a grave, and at the head of which was laid a round red sandstone, extremely like a sculptured head, but pockpitted and worn from age. I laid down the stone where it had been, and I have no doubt but it is there still. I intended to come afterwards and dig up this mound, but having to leave Mount Bellew shortly after for Dublin, I never had an opportunity. This cave was never before entered by any of the people about further than the end of the first side. I spoke to an old woman who lived near, and she told me that as long as she could remember no one ever went in further than the end of the 'first straight passage,' and said I was very foolish to venture further in. There is a deal of dread by the people in the locality of entering this cave at all."

Mr. George M. Atkinson sent the following notes on a Bronze ring found in Kist, Ballinluig, Co. Cork.

"The circumstances narrated by Mr. David Collins, p. 446, in the current volume of the 'Journal,' remind me that I have neglected to record a somewhat similar find. In the autumn of 1862 I was on a short visit to an old friend, Mr. Henry Seymour, then living at Ballinluig, and my attention being attracted by a bronze ring, he presented it to me, informing me that the managing man on the farm, not liking the position of a large stone by the side of a fence, from probable injury to the cattle that spring, set labourers to remove it; and in doing so they were much astonished to find the stone covered a small cavity, or kistvaen, containing three or four little cups, and a bronze ring which was placed in the middle. The manager, finding the people idling, smashed these vessels, but took the ring to Mr. Seymour, thinking it was gold. I took the opportunity next morning of questioning the finder, also went and examined the stone, and a few days after got him and a labourer to come and excavate the site for me, in the hope to find the fragments of the cinerary or sepulchral urns. We found a few pieces of common red earthenware, but soon after a small white clay pipe turned up, such as are called by the peasantry 'fairy pipes,' from their small size. The labourer dropped the spade. I saw it was useless to try to induce them then to go on, for fear of the 'good people,' so I had to give up the search. The property has changed owners: my friend emigrated to Australia, and died there. I have not since been in that locality. The precise spot of the find will be found on the Ordnance Map (sheet 98, Cork), townland of Ballinluig West, parish of Bally-Feard, near Kinsale, Co. Cork, at about forty yards from the public road, on the north side of the fence of the field containing the avenue to Ballinluig House. The stone was a rough mass, about two feet square, in form rudely pyramidal. The ring, or copc, is of bronze; the ends have been broken off. One end shows a hollow, as if it were cast with a core; as will be seen by the full size engraving opposite. It exactly resembles many of the gold objects (without the cup or button-like ends) preserved in the Museum

of the Royal Irish Academy. Its original shape must have been nearly circular. It is formed of a circular bar, thick in the middle, and tapering to the extremities. After being broken, the ends were closed and made to meet. Its weight is $3\frac{1}{2}$ oz. My questions and anxiety to get information put the farm people on the alert. I have two small stone balls of a spherical form, found at that time in the same field: one is formed from a millstone grit; the diameters are $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.; it weighs $11\frac{1}{2}$ oz. The other is smaller and not so well formed or rounded, but shows a similar peculiarity in having slightly-smoothed or flattened poles: the diameters are 2 in. and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.; it weighs $4\frac{1}{2}$ oz. These objects, if found in Switzerland, would be called corn-crushers, hammer stones; some call them stone cannon balls, also sling stones; but the peasant that gave me one called them stone bowls, 'that the gorsoons play with,' alluding to a game still common in the south of Ireland, consisting of a contest of strength and skill, by throwing leaden balls over a given distance. This field is called in the locality



Bronze Ring found in Kist, Ballinluig, Co. Cork.

the 'Camp Field,' from a tradition that when Tyrone marched with his forces from the north of Ireland, in 1601, to relieve the Spanish General, Don Juan de Aquila, and his invading army, then besieged in Kinsale by the army commanded by Lord Mountjoye, the Lord Deputy, and Sir George Carew, Lord President, he, 'Tyrone,' encamped on this field. Mr. Seymour, during alterations in Ballinluig House, found a stone

recording the date of its erection. I append a copy of the inscription:—

"JOHN ROCHE FITZPAT
RICK ESq^r & CLARA
HIS WIFE BVILT THIS
HOVSE IN THE YEAR
1687"

Mr. A. FitzGibbon presented to the Association, defraying all expenses, the following continuation and completion of the Notes to the "Pedigree of the White Knight," printed from the Russel MS., in the First Volume of the Fourth Series of the "Journal." A portion of the Notes were given with the Pedigree alluded to, but were suspended at page 640 of that Volume. The first part of the note which ends that page in the middle of a sentence is here reprinted, in order to make intelligible the continuation now given. The references at the head of each note are not to the pages of the current Volume of the Series, but to those of the First Volume, above alluded to.

Page 605, line 1.—"*Ordayned by his last will.*"

There is no trace of this will, if it was ever made. The Cotter MS. says that John's stepmother, the Countess of Desmond, based her son's claim to the title and estates of the White Knight "upon pretence that pursuant to a marge settlement with his (John's) father, her late husband, the White Knight's estate was to devolve upon Gibbon, her son, and not upon him." The account in this MS., although differing but slightly from the preceding relation, is still worth reproducing. It is as follows:—

"John, son of Maurice, by the daughter of O'Sulevan Bear, as the eldest son of his father, sought to possess himself of his inheritance as rightful heire, but was opposed by the Countess, his stepmother, upon pretence that pursuant to a marge settlement with his father, her late husband, the White Knight's estate was to devolve upon Gibbon, her son, and not upon him, and in this was so well supported by the son which she had by Thomas of Drogheda, her first husband, and who was then Earl of Desmond, that John was quite thrown out, so that without any certainty of maintenance he was compelled to wander about like a vagabond. Nay, such was the distress he was driven to, that the tenants who occupied his patrimony were strictly charged by the Earl of Desmond to give him no manner of entertainment; which, at his, and the entreaty of the Lord Barry, who was the brother of this Countess, and of others the nobility in their interest, had such effect that he was almost famished, and had nothing whereon to subsist but what he could procure by fishing and fowling, and such like diversions, in which he was usually accompanied by three or four able-bodied young fellows of his kindred or fosterers, who, in compassion of the miserable condition he was in, would by no means quit him. Grown weary of this manner of living, he at length resolved to go and make his supplication to his brother, then living at Mitchelstown, and, putting on a bold face, applied to him for a livelihood in his native country, or otherwise to give him somewhat to enable him to go and try his fortune

in parts beyond the seas; and, tho' his entreaties were made in the most lovely manner to that purpose, yet was not the brother's good nature moved in the least thereat to grant him a supply; on the contrary, he behaved in such an outrageous manner as to command him out of his sight immediately, and said he ought to be hanged. John was so greatly provoked at this ill treatment that he could not forbear making some bitter replies, which soe exasperated the other, that he made as if he would lay violent hands upon him. John thereon made off, as if he would avoyd strokes, and making all the haste he could, was pursued by Gibbon to a considerable distance from his house, which the young men seeing, who as before usually kept company, they all ran to his rescue, when, finding Gibbon, they put a rope about his neck, and dragged him therewith to an ashe, then growing in an ashe rowe on the south side of the town, was by John asked what his brother Gibbon would doe by him, were he in the power of his brother, as the brother was in his. To which Gibbon answered, that in truth if he were he should never afterwards be able to give him any trouble. Hereupon John, seeing that the other would still persist in ill nature, caused him to be immediately hanged, telling him such measure as he would give, such should he have and ought to receive. And having thus suddainly put his brother to death he gloried in the fact, and fearless of punishment, took horse and rode off immediately to the town of Youghall, where, meeting the Earl of Desmond, and making his complement to him, the Earl asked him for news, to which John replied he had no other to tell but this, says he, that I have this morning caused Gibbon, that ill-natured brother of yours, to be hanged. At which the Earl began to laugh, and, thinking the words were spoken in jest, sayd if you did soe, sure Jack you knew he was as much your own brother as mine; why then says the other, by G—d it is true; and, without holding a longer conference with the Earl, remounted his horse and went off to Dublin, and there surrendered himself to the Earl of Kildare, then Lord Justice, and laying his grievances before him from the beginning to the end, the matter was soe well managed in his favour, that John was acquitted of the murder of his brother and of all other indictments relating to that fact. And after all (as the author of the manuscript memoirs of this house says) he was married to the Lady Eleanor FitzGerald, daughter of that Earl, and that he was by him alsoe knighted. By this lady John had two sons, John and Thomas, and alsoe one daughter. Of Thomas, the younger son, are descended the FitzGibbons of Ballynlantry."

Ib. line 18.—"Mitchellstown."

The date of the erection of a castle by one of the White Knights at Mitchelstown is not now known. But it must have been some time in the fifteenth century. The castle, which was a square structure, was evidently a very strong one, for it stood many sieges; but in the civil wars of 1641-3, it was ruined and dismantled. Soon after this period, an imposing structure was built by the then Lord Kingston, on the site of the old castle, part of which was utilized in the construction of the new building. But when erecting the present splendid edifice, in 1823, the third Earl of Kingston ruthlessly demolished every trace as well of the White Knight's Castle, as of the more modern mansion erected on its site. He would also probably have destroyed, if he could, all recollection of the White Knights themselves, from whom, through the marriage of his ancestor with the niece of the last White Knight, he had derived an enormous property. But recollections of the White Knights (generally disagreeable recollections) live still in the neighbourhood of Mitchelstown. It is probable that the Irish population of the district regard the old White Knights as capable of the same degree of turpitude of which Edmond Fitz-John Oge (ob. 1608) was guilty, when he surrendered to the hands of his enemies, for a bribe of £1,000, his friend and kinsman, the Sagan Earl of Desmond.

When the first Lord Kingston acquired the estates of the White Knight, by his marriage with Katherine Fenton, niece and heiress of Maurice Oge FitzGibbon, the last White Knight, he must also have come into possession of a mass of family muniments which are not now forthcoming. Local tradition ascribes their disappearance, not to accident, but to design. Caroline, daughter of Richard FitzGerald, of Mount Ophaly, Co. Kildare, by Margaret, only daughter of the fourth and last Lord Kingston, married, in 1769, to unite the estates, as is said, her distant cousin, Robert Viscount Kingsborough, afterwards second Earl of Kingston. The local tradition one hundred years ago, as related by Mr. O'Brien of Mitchelstown, from the MS. of his grandfather, written eighty years since accounts in this wise for the disappearance of the family records of the White Knights.

"A dispute occurred between Caroline FitzGerald and her husband, Lord Kingsborough, in consequence of his destroying Kilcloughan graveyard (an old graveyard,

formerly existing in that portion of Mitchelstown demesne, called the 'New Orchard,' but now entirely levelled and obliterated, in which her ancestors were buried. Lord Kingsborough buried the most costly monuments (muniments?) and records of the White Knights and Kingston family *nine feet* under the surface; and since then, the place has been called the 'New Orchard,' leaving no trace of the ruins of the old church or burial ground." The records seem to have disappeared; and if disposed of in the way here described, a search for them now would probably prove of little avail.

Ib. line 41.—"*Rydes to Youghal to the Earle of Desmond.*"

The narrative leaves us in doubt as to which of the Earls of Desmond is here meant, as John FitzGibbon's stepmother, the Countess of Desmond, had four sons by Thomas, the eighth Earl, each of whom succeeded to the title. But as the transaction above referred to could not well have taken place before his stepbrother, Gibbon, was of age, which would be about 1487-8, the Earl meant was probably Maurice, the tenth Earl, who succeeded in December, 1487, and lived to 1520.

Ib. lines 48-9.—"*Arrived at Dublin with the Earle of Kildare (who was then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.)*"

This must have been Gerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, who succeeded to the title in 1477, and died in 1513, having filled the office of Lord Deputy several times during that period. The occasion on which the alleged visit was made, if made at all, was probably during his tenure of office in 1504: a date which would fairly agree with the order of events in the foregoing narrative, as far as they can be connected with dates.

Page 606, line 7.—"*Ellinor, daughter to the Earle of Kildare.*"

There seems no valid authority for this statement, which is also made by the writer of the Cotter MS. There were only two ladies named Ellinor, daughters of Earls of Kildare, contemporary with the John FitzGibbon above referred to, namely, Ellinor, daughter of Thomas, the seventh Earl of Kildare, and her niece, Ellinor, daughter of Gerald, the eighth Earl. But the first-named lady Ellinor was married to Henry M'Owen O'Neill, and died, as his wife, in the year 1497 ("Annals Four Mast."); and the second lady Ellinor, daughter of Gerald, the eighth Earl, the lady evidently meant in the foregoing statement, was married first to Donell M'Carthy Reagh, Chief of Muskerry (ob. 1531), and secondly, in 1537, to Calvagh O'Donnell, Chief of Tirconnel, who died in 1566. It seems very unlikely, therefore, that John could have been the husband of either of these ladies.

Ib. line 8.—"*And one daughter.*"

This must have been "Ellen, the White Knight's doctyr, wife unto John FitzGeret (of Dromans), son of 'Great Garret' of the Decies," referred to in the following depositions, preserved in the Archives of Lismore Castle.

"In the name of God, Amen, in the 36th year of our Sovereign Lord, King Henry the eight, and in the xxvii day of June, in presence of the Reverend Father in God, Nicholas Bishop of Lismore and Waterford, and of me Nicholas Killoghan, notary. Teyg m'Rory, gentleman, in the name and behalf of Sir Garret FitzJohn and his son Maurice [] the article following. The article is that the Countie of Deases was ne is accustomed to beare any gallowglasses ne buonybegg to any of the Erls of Desmond, and to prove the south and truth of this article aforesaid, the forenamed Teyg m'Rory presented before us these records following: Dave Curry of Ballycurryne, of the age of ^{vii} yerres, sworn on the Holy Evangelist, deposeth that Gret Geret and his son John father to this Geralt now being, ne their countries were never charged with gallowglasses ne buonybegg to any the Erls of Desmon, until such time as *Ellen the White Knights doctyr wife unto the said John FitzGeret* was taken and imprisoned by James Erle of Desmond, and for the treatyse of her redemption the contre graunted to beare the said gallowglasses for a season, the aforesaid Geralt then beyng present in the Poors' countrie; and when he was at large he withstode and repugned against the levying of the said gallowglasses as he doth yet unto this day, this he deposeth neither for lowe made dred ne hath.

"William McDawe of Ballynphoyll of the age of vxx yeris and above, likewise sworn and examined, deposed according to the foresaid David, and saith further that when Geralt was at large he suffered no galloglasses neither their attornies to have any shyfte or meate in that countrie. So that when the said James Erle came to be avenged thereof the foresaid Geralt with the assistance of the Erle of Ormond, Cormok Oge, Thomas of Desmon and divers others, besieged Dongarvan, toke and imprisoned the captaynes of the Earls galloglasses, taking the harnes and wepinns of more than fortie of them; at the which besieging the said Earl was drevin to take the see to Ioghilwarde (i.e. towards Youghal), and sum of his gentilmens willing to steale away were taken, of which Maurice of Desmond that now is was one, this he deposeth, &c.

"William O'Moribe of the age of nye iiii^{xx} yeris sworn, deposeth agreeing with the aforesaid William McDawe, and further saith that his father and great father sergeants to the Erles of Desmond in his lyvelod [] of contrie tolde him that they never saw any galloglasses of the Erle syft or received in this contrie.

"William McMorishe of the Grange of the age nye iiii^{xx} years, likewise sworne, deposeth that he knewe and remembered the tyme of the Erle of Desmon Maurice, James, Thomas and John, and during their dayes he never sawe galloglasses shyfte from any Erle unto this contrie except only by James is tyme when the said John FitzGerod's wyfe was taking by him and then exacted the said galloglasses to his rebuke and theirs, in which exaction repugnance was made to him by the foresaid Geralt when he was at large, and the deponent agreeth with the foresaid Willm McDawe in all other things.

And for verefyng of the premises the aforementioned Bishop have put hereunto his signet and the above named Notary his sign manual with the superscription of his name the yere and day forenamed.

Ib. line 9.—"The Family of Ballylondry."

This family must have died out in the male line, as in the year 1641, according to the "Book of Survey and Distribution" for the Co. Limerick, the lands of Ballinlondry (or Ballylanders) were in the occupation of Miles Magrath of Kilmaly, and Nicholas Haly, the latter of whom appears to have acquired his interest in the estate by marriage with the heiress of the Ballylander's family, or by conveyance from Maurice, the grandson of Edmond the White Knight who died 23rd April, 1608, and who was found (by Inquisition taken 23rd May, 1608,) to have been seized of Ballinlondry at the time of his death. Under the Act of Settlement, the lands were granted to William and John Reeves.

Ballinlondry (*Baile-in-Londrig*, "Landers-town," or "Loundres-town") seems to have derived its name from the Anglo-Norman family of De Loundres, De Laundres, or Landers (as the name is now written), several members of which held lands in Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary, and Cork. The name of the parish of Kilgarrylander, Co. Kerry, is written Garrinlondry (*Garradh-in-Londrig*, "Landers' garden"), in the "Book of Survey and Distribution" for Kerry.

Ib. line 21.—"The Countesse and her son." (See note to line 1, p. 605).

The Cotter MS. is not as correct as usual in its reference to the White Knight, John, whose unkindness is above related. "John, last mentioned," it says, "succeeded his father and grandfather, and was possessed of all the inheritance left by them. He proved very ill-natured to his uncles, so that, like John, his great grandfather, and the Countess of Desmond his mother, as before mentioned, he refused to give them either portion or maintenance, but would leave them to the wide world, and to shift for themselves, for he gave special charge to all his friends, tenants, and followers, not to give any of them a night's lodging, upon pain of his great displeasure, &c." But "John, his [alleged] great grandfather," was not the son of the Countess of Desmond (widow of Thomas, the eighth Earl), but her stepson; and it was her son, Gibbon, who is stated to have refused to give his half-brother, the right heir to the White Knight's estates, "any kind of maintenance." Vid. *supra*, p. 605.

Ib. line 39.—"Theyre cozen David Gibbon's house of Ballylondry."

The Cotter MS. calls David their kinsman. He was in all probability the son of

Thomas, second son of Sir John, the White Knight, mentioned (p. 606, line 7) as having had to wife Ellinor, daughter of the Earl of Kildare, and therefore uncle to the three brothers, John, Thomas, and Gibbon, who are above represented as at issue with their nephew, the young White Knight, John, and consequently grand-uncle to the latter. As before observed (note to line 9, p. 606), the family of Ballylondry seems to have become extinct in the male line.

Page 607, line 2.—“*And mett these gentlemen at Killilong on the way.*”

The Cotter MS. writes the name “Kilclony,” which is probably the more correct form. Kilcloney is in the parish of Templemolaga, barony of Condons and Clangibbon, Co. Cork, on the way from Ballylondry in the parish of Coshlea, Co. Limerick, to Old Castletown in the parish of Kildorrery, Co. Cork.

Ib. line 21.—“*Out of Connaught.*”

This should be “out of Coonagh,” in the Co. Limerick. (See next note.)

Page 608, line 12.—“*The Daughter of MacDegen of Connagh.*”

The Cotter MS. more correctly says “of M'Brien of Quonagh,” or Coonagh, a barony in the Co. Limerick. The family of O'Brien of Coonagh was a distinguished branch of the O'Brien stock, descended from Donogh, the youngest son of Brian Borumha, monarch of Ireland (slain at Clontarf, A. D. 1014). Dr. O'Donovan says “the chief of the sept of the O'Briens seated in this territory (*Ui-Cuanagh*, or Coonagh) took the name of MacBrien Cuanagh; and the chief of another sept of the same family, seated in the Glen of Aharlagh, at the foot of the Galty mountains, in the county of Tipperary, took the name of MacBrien Aharlagh; while a third branch, seated in the territory of Ara, in the north of the Co. Tipperary, took the appellation of Mac-I-Brien-Ara.” (“Four Mast,” A. D. 1381, note b). The ruins of the splendid mansion of MacBrien of Coonagh are still to be seen in the townland and parish of Castletown, in the barony of Coonagh.

Ib. line 14.—“*Slaine at Knockanemoughilly, near Camgieny.*”

The writer of the Cotter MS. states that Knockanemoughilly was near Caherdrinny, Co. Cork; and he was certainly correct. The place is now known as Knockanabohilly (“the Boys’ hill”), in the parish of Kilcrumper, barony of Condons and Clangibbon, to the south-east of Caherdrinny in the adjoining parish of Glanworth. The Cotter MS. says:—

“John FitzMaurice, thus unhappily slain by his uncle, was first married to the daughter of M'Brien of Quonagh, and by her had no issue; but after her decease had to his second wife Penelope Ryan, daughter of the Lord of Ownheymulryan, by whom he had issue one son, named Garrett, who was at Knockanabuhillee slain, near Caherdrinny, in the Co. Cork (and that in a conflict with one Captain Harvey), under the command of John, son of Edmond, the late White Knight, as has been taken notice of already in the body of these memoirs.”

The Garrett here referred to is the *Garrett MacShane*, mentioned in the account of this battle given in “*Pacata Hibernia*,” (ed. 1810, vol. i., p. 134), as having been slain in the encounter with Captain Roger Harvey, in Aug. 1600, and was the legitimate heir to the title and estates of the White Knight, usurped by John, the father of Edmond, the White Knight. John, son of Edmond, the leader in the fight, must have died soon after, as he pre-deceased his father (who died in 1608), without issue.

Ib. line 18.—“*At last John succeeded.*”

The writer of the Cotter MS. observes that John Oge, the White Knight, entered into the enjoyment of all the family estates, “some lands in Connillow excepted.” These were probably the lands alienated by his predecessor [father?], John, to James 15th Earl of Desmond, as appears by an Exchequer Inquisition taken at Kilmallock, 4th March, 34th Elizabeth. The inquisition does not give the date of the alienation; but this is supplied in an entry in one of the Carew MSS., which is as follows:—

"In 6 Edward VI., John FitzGibbon, the White Knight, and his kinsmen, granted to James, Earl of Desmond, all their lands in O'Gonill." Another entry reads, "In 4 Mary, John Oge FitzGibbon, and his sons David, Gilbert, and Thomas, released to said James all their lands in Conologhe, viz,—the Manors of Meane and Ballyline, the Short Castle at Askeaton, &c. &c. He also released all his right unto Ballinecurtye." (Carew "*Calendar of State Papers*," vol. 5, p. 398.)

The writer of the Cotter MS. thus speaks of John's character generally :—

"John, who slew his nephew as last-mentioned, having reconciled himself in process of time to the Earl of Desmond, and acquired his esteem, was at length, by his interest, acquitted of that charge against him of killing his nephew, and after all succeeded him as the next relation; and, as White Knight, was also admitted into the possession and quiet enjoyment of the estate of that family, some lands in Connillow excepted. He married the daughter of Patrick Condon, commonly called the lord of Condons, by whom he had issue Maurice, Edmund, and Ellen; he was during his whole life deemed to be a man of a very turbulent spirit, for he was every day at enmity with his neighbours: his life was a scene of disturbance and trouble; and he was a man of such a preposterous manner of thinking, that he behaved like a man who would bid defiance to the whole world, and as if he were resolved to run opposite to all mankind, yet notwithstanding he, after his reconciliation, bore a great hand with the house of Desmond in the Irish confederacy against Queen Elizabeth, but whether or no he entered into that affair out of gratitude to the Earl for the favours he did him, is hard to judge; but true it is he was so much addicted to contention and disturbance, it is not to be doubted but (to gratify his ambition and satisfy his appetite for revenge) he wd embrace all opportunities suitable to his resentments. He seemed, indeed, to be fond of sustaining the Romish Religion, for when in the reign of Q. Elizabeth, the clergy of that church were disturbed and persecuted, he gave sanction to many of them, but particularly to the Dominican friars, of whom those of the highest distinction amongst them came from all parts of the kingdom to him for his protection. Sometimes he would make his submission to the Queen, and be received into favour and then again would relapse. Yet upon a time when he was seemingly in peace with Her Matie he was commanded to be and appear in Dublin before the Lords Justices and Council, for divers misdemeanours there layd to his charge, and particularly for that he harboured his kinsman, one Maurice FitzGibbon, Romish Archbishop of Cashell, who at that time stood outlawed for that he, in opposition to Her Matie, with a skiane slew one [], who was by her appointed and preferred to that see as Protestant Bishopp thereof; upon the which he immediately took his kinsman the Bishopp into custody, and with a guard of 150 stout, able, and resolute men well armed, he set off for Dublin, and coming near that city was met by a party deputed by the Government to receive the prisoner, upon hearing that he was in custody and upon the road; who accordingly demanded him. To this the White Knight made answer that he came so far in obedience to the demands of the Governmt, and that he wd not quit his prisoner before he surrendered him into their hands under his own guard; of this notice was immediately dispatched to the Lord Justice, who thereupon desired that the Knight should be informed that it was not requisite to bring such a number of men as he had with him to town, but if he would deliver the prisoner to the guard sent to receive him, and accompany them himself with as many servants onely as wd be necessary to attend his own person, he wd by so doing render service very acceptable to Her Matie." But the Knight returned home in dudgeon, or perhaps fearing some act of treachery, "and within the space of a month after he returned departed this life."

Ib. line 19.—"*The noble Patrick Condon.*"

This was probably the Patrick Condon of Cloghleigh, who had a letter of Council for pardon and restoration to his lands in 1590, having been indicted and attainted at the suit of his mortal enemy, Lord Roche. ("Pat. Roll," 33rd Eliz.) He was dead in 1596, as appears from the "Pat. Roll" for that year. The Condons were generally in close alliance with their neighbours the White Knights, although both parties sometimes harried each others lands. By Inquisition taken at Mallow, 24th April, 3rd Jas. I., it was found that certain rents and duties were payable by the White Knights, Edmond and John Oge his father, to MacMaoge Condon (the husband of John Oge's sister?) out of the eight plowlands of Kiltimabins, in the barony of Condons and Clongibbon. But Condon's possessions, thus for a time restored, were subsequently granted by the Crown (Patent, 33 Eliz.) to Arthur Hyde, one of the Undertakers. David Condon, the son and heir of Patrick,

however, recovered the estate from the son of Hyde, in 1611; but it was all forfeited in 1641, and the Condons were all reduced to poverty. The family has become nearly extinguished in the male line, and the immense estate granted to, and recovered from Arthur Hyde, some 6,000 acres, is now subdivided among several proprietors.

Ib. lines 22-3.—“*That family of Dwyrre that now is.*”

The Cotter MS. says “the succeeding O'Dwyrers of Kilnemanagh.” The head of the O'Dwyrers of Kilnemanagh (Co. Tipperary) at the date of the writing of the foregoing relation, was Philip O'Dwyer of Dundrum, who forfeited both life and lands in the rebellion of 1641. A large part of his property was granted by Patent, in 1666, to Robert Mande, ancestor of the present Lord Hawarden. Local tradition states that Mande, who was an officer in Cromwell's army, was Philip O'Dwyer's executioner; and being of a kind-hearted disposition, felt such pity for the daughter of his victim, that he resolved, as far as he could, to console her for the loss of her father by offering to become her husband, which offer the lady accepted. The subsequent grant to her husband of such a large part of her father's estate as he received (about 1,300 Irish acres) was perhaps somewhat in the nature of restitution to Philip O'Dwyer's family.

The O'Dwyer above referred to is probably the same person alluded to in the following letter from John Butler of Ardmayle, to the Lord Deputy Sentleger, dated at Moyale (Mallow) 1st March, 1548:—

“Ryght hon'able lo'de my dutie p'misid pleasid the same to be atv'tesid that where as yor lo'ship haw unther yor lo'ship & hon'able consailles hands deliv'id me a comandment to be derectid to the White Knyght, that he shuld apere be fore yor hon'able comysions at Limbrike, which haw send for him at cev'all times gywen no respect nor wold cum before them at any time to make answer to swche thinge that I had to be layd to his charge for keping of my wyfe's goods acordyng yor lo'ship is comandment doth apere; but contrary to all goode orther of Godd's lawes as to the kings maleties lawes dothe kepe hir and my goods all soo and allso Odoyre and his wyffe haw now of late agreed to send a gode horse and iii^{xx} kine to the said Knyght for the mentenyng of him agenst my right; humbly desiring yor hon'able lo'ship to send to Mr. Powell that he may put him to sum orther agreable to the law or to take atressee upon him for his wrongfull detaynig, and to enform Odoyre which is yor lo'shipes pleon' to avoyde his yll demen' therein and this for the low of God and in the ryght way of justes. From Moyall the first day of March.

Yor lo'shipes dayly orator and c'vand,

John Buttler, gent., of Ardmayle.”

(“State Papers,” Ireland, Edw. VI., vol. i., No. 12).

Ib. lines 23-4.—“*Married Ellean Butler, daughter to the Lord of Cahir.*”

This must have been Thomas, created the first Baron of Cahir in 1543, who died in 1557. Sir Bernard Burke states (“Extinct Peerages,” p. 96) that he had two daughters, Joan and Eleanor, the latter of whom was “married, first to Sir John FitzGerald, Knt., brother to the Earl of Desmond, and secondly to Sir John Oge, Knt.” For “Sir John Oge, Knt.,” we should probably read “Maurice, son of Sir John Oge White Knt.” See note on line 26.

Ib., line 25.—“*Sir John FitzGerald, Lord of the Deases.*”

The pedigree of the “FitzGerald of Dromany, in ye county of Waterford, commonly called Lords of the Decies,” in the MS. of Mr. Thomas Russell, described in the Journal, 3rd series, p. 396, thus refers to this marriage, and the issue thereof:—

“Sr John FitzGerald, Knt, son to Garrett, the 8rd son of Sr Gerald Fz. John, Fz. Garrett of Desmond, by Elleanor Butler daughter of John Butler of Dereliskane in the county of Kilkenny, Esqr., who was his married wife, after the death of his s^d cosen german, Garrett Fz. James, and as next heyre to him, entered into the estate of the Decies, then hardly worth the name of an estate; not then yielding (as it is generally reported) sixty pounds per an., by reason of the destruction made thereof voluntarily or carelessly by his said cosen Garrett Fz. James. Sr John his father Garrett dyed before he came to be possessed of the sd. estate of the Decies, who left issue only this Sr John and one daughter named Margaret, wife to Thomas FitzGerald of Knockmoane in the county of Waterford.

"The *sq.* Sr John before he came to the estate was married to *Ellen Fz. Maurice Fz.-Gerald* daughter to Maurice Fz. John, the Whyte Knight, who being a careful, industrious, and provident woeman, treasured up much riches, by which the *sd.* estate was againe recovered, and in theyre days brought to about 1500^l_d yearly rent.

"This Sir John is described by persons yet living who have seene him, to have bin a little brown man with one eye only. Hee wholly applyed himselfe to the recovery of his Ancestor's estate by due prosecution of the law—and his wife applyed herselfe to the getting of mony to inable him see to doe, and to marry of his daughters, of which sexe he had eight; all whom in his lyfe tyme were worthily bestowed in marriage as followeth, &c. &c.

"Eleanor Fz. Maurice survived her husband, Sr John. Hee dyed at Dromanny May 24, 18 Jacob. An^o. 1620, and was buried in Youghill Church, &c. &c.

"Eleanor FitzMaurice the Relict of Sr John then removed to Templemicheall Castle, where she continued to the tyme of her death, and in the absence of her grandchild Garrett Fz. Gerald, then in England, these riches being in the Castle wth her, were all embezeled and conveyed away.

"After his death Garrett Fz. Gerald, son and heyre to ye *sd.* John Oge FitzGerald, being then a minor, and holding his estate in capite, by his guardian Sir Edward Villiards Knt., Lord President of Munster (elder brother by a former venture to the then George Duke of Buckingham) entered into his estate as tenant in taile. This guardian intrusted one Captaine Morgan with the Castle of Dromanny and the stewardship of the estate, and sent over the *sd.* minor Garrett for education into England, where he was bredd up till about the year 1630, in the Protestant religion, which he ever after adheared to, being the first heyre of this estate that became a Protestant. Sr Edward Villiards dyed and was buried in Youghill Church, after which his lady and relict sold the wardship by contract with the old lady Ellen FitzMaurice, of her grandchild Garrett, to herselfe, on which the *sd.* minor Garrett returned out of England, but before he gott into Ireland his sayd grandmother dyed in the Castle of Templemicheall.

"She is described to bee a fatt big woeman, goeing in a hatt and gold hatband, a silke gowne and mantle, with a fringe, her hayre bound up in a golden cawle, &c.

"Upon payment of 1,200^l_d for the *sd.* wardship and Garrett's returne out of England, he married the Lady Mabelle Digby daughter to Sir Robert Digby of Coleshill hall in Warwickshire, in England, Knt., &c. &c."

The "Communia Roll" for 1618 contains some curious particulars regarding the ancestry of Sir John FitzGerald, the husband of Ellen, the daughter of Maurice, son of John Oge FitzGibbon, White Knight. Sir John FitzGerald having been sued by the Crown for arrears of rent of certain lands in the County of Waterford, answers that Sir Gerald FitzGerald of Dromany (second son of James, 7th Earl of Desmond) died seized of the lands in question on August 16th, 1488; after whose death the possessions descended to his son and heir, John FitzGerald, who died at Dromany on December 18th, 1524, when his son and heir Gerald entered into possession of the premises. This Gerald died at Templemichael, Feb. 25th, 1553, and was succeeded by his son and heir Maurice [first] Viscount Decies. Maurice died at Dromany without lawful issue, 31st December, 1571, and was succeeded in the ownership of the lands by his brother and heir Sir James FitzGerald. Sir James died at Dungarvan, December 28th, 1580, and was succeeded by his son and heir Garrett, who died at Templemichael in October, 1598, without issue, when the possessions reverted to his cousin and heir Sir John FitzGerald, the son of his uncle Garrett, and husband of Ellen FitzGibbon, daughter of Maurice FitzJohn Oge (White Knight).

1b. line 26.—"Maurice . . . was slain at Clogher neare Lixnaw."

Clogher, in the parish of Kiltomy, barony of Clanmaurice, Co. Kerry. The "Four Masters" give, under the year 1568, a very animated description of the battle in which Maurice was slain, whom they merely designate as *Mac an ridire fua*, "the son of the White Knight." They make no mention of the obstacles above stated to have been placed in the ford by Fitzmaurice's allies, the O'Flahertys and O'Mallies, but describe the battle as having been valiantly fought on both sides, and ending in the disastrous rout of the Geraldine forces, notwithstanding their numerical superiority. The Cotter MS. has the following remarks on the subject:—

"Garret, Earl of Desmond, who was taken and beheaded by Morryarty his fosterer, having a falling out with the Lord of Kerry, commanded a party of his to make depredations upon his estate, who being apprized of the design, caused bodies of Learys [recte O'Flahertys?] and O'Malleys to make head against them, hired a considerable number, and making up all the forces he could, marched directly to oppose his enemies, and approaching a foard which he judged they must pass of necessity before he could cross hands with them, he there halted, and at night ordered [harrows] and pieces of timber to be thrown into that foard so as to be concealed under water; this had such effect, that the people of the Earl, not suspecting such a stratagem, and eager to fall upon the Kerry people, did very early in the morning plunge precipitately into the foard, and by reason of the stumbling blocks layd in their way gave the adverse party an opportunity of making great slaughter. In this conflict it was the misfortune of this Maurice to be the first that entered the foard, where, having a fall from his horse, he was slain by one of the Lord Kerry's men who ran him thro the body with a spear.

"This Maurice was married to Ellen Butler, daughter of a Lord Caher by whom he had issue one dau^r named Ellen also who was afterwards mar^d to John ^{fr.} Garret ^{fr.} Gerald called the Lord of Deases." ("Vid Gen: of the present Earl of Grandison," No. 7).

Ib. lines 35-6.—"*And with them brought a number of harrowes, and layed them in the foard all along.*"

This stratagem recalls Cæsar's account of the spikes, or stakes, placed by Camibellanus in the Thames: "*ripa autem erat acutis audibus præfixis munita, ejusdemque generis sub aqua defixæ sudes flumine tegebantur.*" ("De Bello Gall.," v. xviii.) These spikes are in the Irish version of Nennius called *beara taraind* ("iron spikes"), and *grana catha* ("grains of battle"). See Todd's "Irish Nennius," p. 60, note. In the Latin text of "Nennius" (Stephenson's ed.) the obstacles are called *sudes ferreas et semen bellicosum*, "Et ibi inierunt bellum, et multi ceciderunt de equis et militibus suis, quia supradictus proconsul posuerat *sudes ferreas et semen bellicosum*, id est Ceitilou, in Vada fluminis, quod discrimen magnum fuit militibus Romanorum, et ars invisibilis."

The Irish term *grana catha* i.e., as Dr. Todd observes (*loc. cit.*), merely a translation of the Latin *semen bellicosum*, the Irish translator regarding *semen* as signifying "grain." The use of "caltrops" would therefore seem to have been anciently practised by the British and Irish.

Page 609, lines 8-9.—"*One Maurice FitzGibbon, Archbishop of Cashel, his own Kingman.*"

Dr Maurice FitzGibbon, or Maurice Reagh, as he was called, was nearly connected by family with John Oge, the White Knight; but the exact degree of relationship is not disclosed in any of the documents hitherto brought to light. "He was appointed Archbishop of Cashel in consistory of the 4th June, 1561, and was one of those who laboured most strenuously to unite the Irish Chieftains against Queen Elizabeth. In 1569, he was appointed Representative of the Southern Confederates to the Court of Spain and the Vatican; and when setting out on this mission, in February, 1569, was escorted from Cashel to the sea-coast with solemn pomp by James FitzMaurice and the other leaders of the confederates. He endeavoured to return to Ireland in June, 1572; but, landing in Scotland, he was recognized and thrown into prison. He soon after effected his escape to Spain, and died at Oporto in 1578."¹

There is hardly any degree of enormity with which he was not charged by his enemies in Ireland. Ware thus refers to him: "James MacCaghwell was promoted by Queen Elizabeth to the Archbishopric of Cashel, by Letters Patent, dated 2nd Oct., 1567. . . . A little after this (says Hooker) he was wounded with a skene by Maurice Gibbon, by some called Maurice Reagh (whom the Pope had just before made titular Archbishop of Cashel),

¹ "Spicilegium Ossoriense." By Rt. Rev. Dr. Moran, Bishop of Ossory, First Series. Dublin, 1874, p. 59. Dr. Moran prints, for the first time, some important statements presented by Archbishop FitzGibbon to the King of Spain,

and the Pope, one of which, submitted to the King of Spain (16 Dec., 1570), contains a tremendous indictment against Thomas Stukeley, for misconduct of all sorts.

because he would not give up the administration of the province to him. Maurice, after this attempt, made his escape into Spain, and died in the city of Oporto about the year 1578." ("Works," by Harris, vol. I., p. 483.) But the selfish and cowardly Protestant Archbishop of Armagh actually accused Maurice Reagh of abducting his rival, as appears from his letter to Cecil, of 12th Nov., 1568. ("State Papers," Ireland, Q. Eliz., vol. 26).

T. Lancaster Archbishop of Armagh to Cecil.

"Great disquietnes is in Mounster by M^cCarty More otherwyse called the Earle of Clancarre.

Muche truble more wold insee ware it not that S^r Waram Saint leger and Mr. Grendfeld kepe [] at Corke, where they take swche order that the peace is kepet amongs the nobylte as the Lord Roche, the Viscount Barre, the Lord Coursay and others. For Connowght it semethe it is qwieat for my Lord of Clanrecard is here w^t my lord and shewethe hymselfe a good subiecte; many complaynts ther is of the poore people for wrongs done unto them, w^{ch} my lord takethe great care to redres. Also one Morish Rioghe M^cGibbon (who came from the Pope) hathe taken the Archebishops of Casshell traytorously owt of his owne howse, and cared into Spayne as some say, and he intends to supplie his place at Casshell. For my part I durst not go to Armach for feare of the lyke, yeat notwstanding sumwhat is done towards the church, for ther is a roffe cut for the chansell w^t shingells and all that apertayneth but as yet not browght home. And all is by the meanes of that wycked man Tyrio Lenocho, and his follovers; yet now that my good L. is come unto us I trust in God in the begynning of this next yere things shal be browght to passe and take place to the glory of God, the honor of the prince and the profet of the country."

Bishop FitzGibbon's movements seem to have been well watched by the Government as the following extracts from the State Papers show.

Sir Warhame Sentleger to Lord Deputy Sydney. 14 Feb., 1569.

"Myne humble duetie don unto yo^r L. It may please yowe to understand that uppon Sunday last beinge the 13 of this month a brother of S^r Dermot M^cTeigs called Cormucke came to me to Cork, havinge ben w^t the Erle of Clancarty, James FitzMoris, M^cDonoughe and the rest of the Irishry of ye Southwest p^ts at their p^{li}am't that they helde, from whome he understode the whole effect of their assembly, w^{ch} as he credably enfourmeth me was for ye suer fyrmyng of themselves to gith' to resist all yo^r L. good devices and w^t all to send messengers to the kynge of Spaigne for aid to helpe them in this their lawde enterpryce, and for a proof that they mynde suche mat' I am by ye said Cormock as also by oth' credably enfourmed, that these vile Traito^{rs} haue dispatched into Spaigne to be practicer^s in their villanye the Busshoppe of Rosse in Carbury, the Popest Traito^r in Ireland, and also the usurped Busshoppe of Calleshell, who those Traito^{rs} affore named used as thoughte he weare a god. And greate gosseppry past betwene hym and them w^{ch} is the greatest confirmacion of frendshippe that passeth betwene this Irishe people. These two divlishe prelats be by James FitzMoris conveyed into Kerry into the Erle of Desmonds liberties, where either they be shipped, or ells shall be, when they do dep'te this land, either they begon or the next wynde that serueth they go. This mischief is to be preuented in tyme. In my poore oppinion it were very requisit the Queenes Ma^{ty} were furthw^t advertised herof, and that her highnes moughte p^{ntly} w^t all the speede that may be send beth^r those well mynded gentlemen that intend to adventure their lyves and lyvings in these p^ts, w^{ch} don her Ma^{ty} shall not only be assured to have theise Traito^{rs} devices preuented, but w^t all enioy to herself good revenue and haue this cuntry thoroughly reformed, towards the w^{ch} as I doubte not but yo^r L. will be a furerer of this good offer, wherein her highnes shall stand in good suerty and receiue good benefit, you will wth expedition procure their comyng." &c. &c.

Maurice Viscount Desies to Lord Justice Fitzwilliam, 28 Mar., 1571.

"Certayne marchants of Yoghill weare at Burdeaxe wthin theies xliiii dayes, who spake theare wth one Maurice Reaghe pretended archbushopp of Casshell whiche told them y^t he

came from the kinge of Spayne to the Frenche kinge to have ayde of men to come into Ireland, and reported theare that the same was graunted unto him, and that he would come into Irelande wth a great navie of Frenchemen and Spanyards, wth the furst conveyent wynd and wether y^t would serve, and the marchants did see him rigginge of shippes and pressinge of men there for that purpose as they saye. So as they feare theare comyng to be at hande, if their wicked attempts be not spedely prevented w^{ch} I thought lyckwise expedient to aduertise yor honor of, to the intent some polletticke provision might be by yor hono^r devysed to prevent suche danger as is to be feared to growe of the same. The said pretended archbushopp was sent by the arch rebell James FitzMarice to the king of Spayne for ayde as is reported. And thus besechinge God to send yor hono^r prosperouse success in all yor proceedings I take my leave, from Waterford, the xxviii of Marche, 1571. Your hono^r most humble to comand.

MAURICE DRESSER.

The Dealings of Thomas Stuckle. ("State Papers," Ireland, Eliz., 2 May, 1571. Vol. 82.)

The fawling owt of Stuckle wth the Bushoppe of Cassell did rise upon this occasion that the bushoppe did hide 2 Irishmen w^{ch} weare fled from Stuckle, whereon Stuckle came to the bushopp and findinge his men in ye bushopp's chamber thretned the bushop. The Cardinal of Sequenza, Rugomes and Secretarye Cayas beganne to mislike of Stuckle for his evil behavior towards ye bushoppe w^{ch} leened his credit.

Th' examination of Rob'ts Wise m'chaunt of Waterford cond'ning corten newes oute of Spayne, 16 July, 1574.

"He saileth and deposeth that he was on the sixt of Julii in Bilboe and that as summe of the Spanishe soldio^{rs} told him, there were at St. Andree and Bilbowe of shippes and grates gallies newly made a hundreth and fiftie under the charge of one Pedro M'hendes an Asturian and that there weare as many moe shippes loked for to come thether vearly shortly from Spayne and Portingall.

Item by comon reporte he hard that Morishe Rieughe p'tended Archebushopp of Caisshell was at St Andrees redye to go wth the navie, and that Stukeley was a grates procurer of the settinge forthe of the shippes: Item that three Portingalls skilfull upon the coast of Ireland (as he hard comonly brewted) weare chief Pilottes for this navie. Item that Pedro M'hendes was determynd to go towards the Cowrte of Spayne on the xvth of this moneth and that upon his returne the shippes should streight sett forthe in their journey." &c. &c.

Page 609, lines 46-7.—"*Fell sick and dyed at Kilmallock, and was there buried in the Monastery of St. Dominick.*"

John Oge FitzGibbon, White Knight, died in 1589. It does not clearly appear from the documents hitherto published, or consulted, at what date he entered into the possession of the title and estates of the "White Knight." But it must have been after 1548, and before 1560. The White Knight in 1580 was Maurice Oge FitzGibbon. His son (Maurice) was White Knight in 1548. The White Knight of 1580 was John Oge's uncle. The ensuing extracts from official records in the Public Record Office throw some interesting light on the family history of the White Knights during the 16th century.

The following is from a Chancery Inquisition, taken at Mallow on the 24th April, 8th year of James I:—

"They (the Jurors) find that David Lo. Roche Viscount of Fermoy hath produced before them a release bearing date the 2nd day of the month of January, Anno Domini 1530, made by Morris FitzGibbon alias White Knight late deceased, to Morris Lo. Roche also deceased, of all the right &c. of him the said Morris FitzGibbon alias White Knight and his heirs, in the town or holdinge of Farry-Cushinagh and the land belonging to Mugneragh,

as by the same deed may appeare. Item, they find that the freeholde and possession of the said lands of Farri-Cushinagh, Monescribban and Garra-I-drolan, was in the said Morris Lo. Roche at and before the time of the making of the said release. Item they find that the father and grandfather of the said Edmond FitzGibbon alias White Knight, haue notwithstanding the said release made as aforesaid, before and after the said release received and had the said chief rent payable out of the lands . . . aforesaid, but by what right they know not."

This is further confirmed by the record of an Exchequer suit between the Crown and Lord Roche, Viscount Fermoy, in 1618, regarding the lands mentioned in the foregoing extract. From the record of the proceedings in the Exchequer suit we learn that the Lessor of 1580 was the uncle of John Oge, White Knight.

"Memorand' quod comp'tum [est] in magno rotulo de anno r' Jacobi decimo quinto quod exigunt' de D'no Roche Vicecom' Fermoy xliiii. vd. per ann' de firm' castr' de Farrhie in tenur' Rich'i Cashin, ac villi' de Garrandrolan adtunc in tenur' Vic' Fermoy p' ann' xla.; ac villi' de Montecrobane in tenur' p'd' Rich'i Cushin p' ann' xviii. ixd. de quibond' [] attingen' in toto ad vii. iii. vd., p'cell' terr' et poss' nup' Joh'is Oge fitz John Gibbon de Gerald' Albi Militis de alta prodicione attinct'. Que p'miss' deven'unt ad manus dom' regis rac'one attinct' p'dict' Johannis, sicut continetur in Offic' cl'ici Pipe et in al Offic' in Sc'e'lo. Et modo, scil't xx^{mo} die Novembr' hoc Termino venit hic prefatus D'nus Roche Vicecom' Fermoy, tenens p'miss' p' Rob'tum Bellingham attornat' suu' et petit audit' oneris p'dict' sup'ius specificat', et ei legit'. Quo l'co et audit' idem David d'nus Roch Vicecom' Fermoy querit' se color' on'is pred' gravit' vexat' fore et inquiet', et hoc minus iuste quia dicit quod diu antequ' p'dict' Joh'is Oge fitz John Gibbon de Gerald' attinct' fuit quidam Mauricius Roch Vicecom' Fermoy seisis' fuit in do'nico suo ut de feodo de p'dict' castr' terr' et tenement' de Farrhie, Garrandrolan [et Montecrobane in exon' acon' p'dict' specific'. Et sic seisis' existens, secundo die Januarii anno d'ni 1580, quidam Mauricius fitzGibbon, avunculus p'dict' Joh'is Oge, cujus heres idem Joh'is fuit, viz., filius et heres Joh'is FitzGibbon, fratr' et hered' p'dict' Mauric', p' factu' suu' sigilli' ipsius Mauric' FitzGibbon sigillat', Ourleque hic p'lat', cujus dat' est eisdem die et anno, per nomen Mauric' Albi Mil', remisit relaxavit et pro se et hered' suis quiet' clamavit p'd' Mauric' p' nomen D'ni Mauric' Roch, hered' et assign' suis, omne Jus clameu' et demaund' que idem Mauric' FitzGibbon tunc h'uit in villi' et tenem' de Farrhie. Et [] dicit quod p'd' terr' et tenement' de Farrhie Garrandrolan et Montecrobane tempore confect' onis relaxaco'is p'd' fuerant in [] de Farrhie in p'dict' carta relaxaco'is p'd' menc'onat'; Virtute cujus [] p'd' Mauricius d'nus Vic' Fermoy fuit seisis' de Tenem' p'd' et exon'at' de et ab omnibus reddit'. Et sic inde seisis' existens de tali statu suo obiit inde seisis'; post cujus mortem tenem' p'd' cum p'tinen' descendebant [David] D'no Vic' Fermoy ut fil' et hered' p'd' Mauric'; Virtute cujus p'dict' David in tenement' p'd' cum p'tinen' intravit et . . . sic inde seisis' existens de tali statu suo obiit inde seisis'; post cujus mortem tenement' p'd' cum p'tin' descendebant Mauricio D'no Vicecom' Fermoy ut fil' et hered' p'd' David; Virtute cujus p'd' Mauricius in tenement' cum p'tin' intravit . . . et sic inde seisis' existens de tali statu suo obiit inde seisis'. Post cujus mortem tenement' p'd' cum p'tin' descendebant p'd' David nunc D'no Vicecom' Fermoy; Virtute cujus idem David . . . in tenem' p'd' intravit et fuit et adhuc est inde seisis' in dominico suo ut de feodo . . .

"Et super hoc Venit Johannes Davis, Miles, Attornat' dict' d'ni [] nunc gen'al' qui pro eodem d'no Rege in hac parte sequit' [] in cur' ad eund' diem in p'pria p'ona sua et petit audit' p'd' script' relaxaco'is in p'd' pl'ito p'dict' d'ni Roche mencionat' et ei legit' in hec verba:—"Noverint universi p' p'sentes me Mauric' Milit' Alba' remissae relaxasse mera et pura mea Voluntate a me hered' et assign' meis omnino et imperp'm quiet' clamasse d'no Mauric' Roche sue Nac'on' princip' Capitan' hered' et assignat' suis omne Jus clameu' sive acc'one' et demand' que habeo h'bam vel habere quomodolibet poter' in futur' in Villi' sive tenement' de Farrhie-Cushenagh et in [] de Magueraghs p'tinen' rac'one Juris p' sup' dictu' d'ni Mauriciu' Roch pignor' infra script' terr' respect' constitut' et deput' intuitu quorund' bonor' Cattall' nomine dotis tam in equis quam in vaccis p' patrem antedict' Militis Albi p'recitat' Mauric' Roch. Ita quod nec ego aut p'fatus Mauricius Mil' [] nec hered' nec assign' mei nec aliquis alius nomine nostro aliq' [] Jus clameu' sive acc'onem in sup'dictis terr' exigat' vel ve [] pot'imus in futur'. Sed nos ab omni Juris et clamei exac' [] sumus exclus' imp'p'm. Et ego pred' Mauricius Miles her [] assign' meis p'fat' terr' ut p'dict' cum suis p'tinen' [] Mauric' Roch hered' et assign' suis contra omnes Warrantias."

abimus, et acquiescimus. In quorum omn' et singulor' p'missor' fidem et testimoniu' s[] meum p'sentibus duxi appennend' (sic.) Anno etat D'ni Mill'imo quingente [] tricesimo, die vero mensis Januarii secundo. Hisque testibus p'tunc p'sentibus, Converbio de Alto Sci' Patricii, Gerrald' [] Mauric', Simone Juvene, Dermittio nigror' oculor' Ma[], Will'mo Waylche, Thoma et Nicholao filiis fil' David [] Henesy et pluribus aliis utriusque patr', &c. &c."—(Vid. "Communia Roll," Exchequer, 1618).

His father John fitzMaurice fitzGibbon was, according to Carewe ("Calend. V.," p. 898), White Knight in 1552, when he and his kinsmen granted to James, fifteenth Earl of Desmond, the Manor of Meane and other lands in the barony of Connello and elsewhere, Co. Limerick.

The fact of this release is attested in an Exchequer Inquisition taken at Kilmallock, 14 Mar., 84th year of Elizabeth, as follows:—

"Qui Jurat sup' sacrament' suu' dicunt et presentant quod Mauricius fitzGibbon nup' de Michelston in com' Cork Armiger alias dictus the White Knight seiscitus fuit in dominio suo, ut de feodo taliato, viz:—Sibi et heredibus masculis de corpore suo procreatis, virtute doni ejusdem Willielmi Aclabardi Capellani diu antea antecessori ejusdem Mauricii facti, cujus heres de corpore suo legitime procreat' idem Mauricius fuit, de omn' et singulis maner' castellis vill' terr' tenement' redditus et serviciis de Mean cont' tres caruc' terr' cum pertinenc', Killyfyny, Rathcabell, Ballenestobred, Ballialane, Ballyvoroghowe [] in com' Limeric'; de una placeta seu street in Gareston; de uno molendino aquatico, una pistrina et un' [] ibidem, cum medietate unius carucat' terr' vocat' Farren-Tiggin, et tercia parte alterius carucat' vocat' Farren-tancklyn in eodem com'; de Ballynassy cont' un' carucat' terr' in com' p'd'. Et in et de officio Capitalis ballivi Comit'is Desmonie in et per totam Barron' de Conolagh. De curtato castello in Asketton; de placacone Salmon' in rivo Juxta Asketton vocat' the fyshynge of the leap in eod' com'. Ac etiam de x. ster' annualis redditus exeunt' de Willmston in Kenery in eod' com' Limeric'. De annali reddit' xvii. viii. ster' exeunt' de Ballenecarriggy in Kenery p'd'; de annali reddit' xvii. viii. ster' exeunt' de Ballengarren et Lismakean in Kenery p'dict'; de xvii. viii. ster. annualis redditus exeunt' de Drombeg in eod' com'; de annali redditu [] de Ballistine in com' p'det'. Et sic inde seiscitus existens obiit. Post ejus mortem omnia et singula maner' castella &c &c &c descend' Johanni fitz Moris alias dict' the White Knight ut consanguin' et heredi dicti Mauricii; quiquid' Johannes intererat in omnia et singula premissa, et sic de omnibus et singulis premissis seiscitus existens, feofavit de omnibus et singulis maner' castellis &c &c &c ceterisque omnibus et singulis premissis Jacobum nuper Comit'em Desmone, habend' sibi et heredibus suis imperpet' ad propria opus et usu' dict' Jacobi et heredi suor'; quiquid' Jacobus nuper comes Desmone Virtute feofamenti p'dict' seiscitus existens de omnibus et singulis premissis in dominio suo ut de feodo obiit inde seiscitus, post cujus mortem omnia et singula p'missa descend' Gerald' nuper comiti Desmone ut filio et heredi dicti Jacobi. Quiquid' Geraldus intrabat in omnia et singula premissa. Et sic inde seiscitus existens dictus Johannes Oge fitzGibbon alias dictus the White Knight (sic) attinctus fuit auctoritate p'lementi de [] prodicione, et postea vero dictus Geraldus nuper comes Desmone sic de omnibus et singulis p'miss' seiscitus existens attinctus quoque fuit de alta prodicione auctoritate [] p'liament', virtute quar' attinctur' omnia et singula maner' castella terr' &c &c &c ad dictam dominam Reginam venerunt et forisfact' fuer' pro prodic' p'dictis. Quequid' domina Regina p' l'ras suas patentes omnia et singula premissa Henrico Bilingaley et aliis concessat in feodo et in hereditate prout dicti Jur' audierunt.

"Dicunt preterea sup' sacrament' suu' p'dict' quod dictus Johannes Og fitzGibbon vocat' the White Knight tempore attinctur' sue p'dict' seiscitus fuit ut de Jura et feodo de annali redditu vi. 8d. ster' exeunt' de molendino vocat' James Mill iuxta Kilmalok de tercia parte unius molendini aquatici vocat' the White Knight's little Mill in com' Limeric' p'dict'; ac de Garrynewonagh cont' mediet' unius carucat' terr'; de Rathnavitagh cont' mediet' carucat' terr'; de Ballivowdane et Farren-in-Vollyn, parcell' de Ballynagrenagh et Jameston, cont' in toto tres carucat' terr'; de Ballyvilly cont' mediet' unius carucat' terr', de Cleighagh cont' mediet' carucat' terr'; de Ballinarrowny cont' mediet' carucat' terr', et Rathphillip cont' septimam partem unius carucat' terr'; de Killoanaine cont' unam carucat' terr' in com' Limeric' p'dict' &c &c.

"Item dicunt sup' sacrament' suu' p'dict' quod Mauricius Og fitzGibbon nup' vocat' the Whit Knight seiscitus fuit in dominio suo ut de feodo taliato, viz., sibi et heredibus masculis de corpore suo procreatis, in et de Ballinllyn cont' tres carucat' terr' cum pertinenc'.

Et sic inde seisisus existens in crastino Sancti Martini anno regni Regis Henrici octavi nuper regis Anglie et Hib'nie xxxv feofavit inde Philipum fz Edmond per charitam suam indentatam, habend' sibi et heredibus suis, reddend' inde anualit' eidem Mauricio et hered' suis 2s. ster', sub condicione quodocunque dictus Mauricius vel hered' sui solverent eid' Philippo vel hered' suis ducentes et Sexagint' fetosas vaccas vocat' Anglie incalfe kine tunc liceret eid' Mauricio et hered' suis in Ballinliny p'dict' reentrare et dictum Philipum et hered' suos inde expeller' et amovere.

"Item dicunt &c &c quod dictus Mauricius fz Gibbon alias the White Knight seisisus existens in dominico suo ut de feodo de Ballingwosig cont' un' caruc' terr' in com' Limeric' p'dict' dedit Ballingwosig p'dict' cum p'tinenc' in puram et p'petuam elemosinam converbo de Ardpatricke et successor' suis post statutum in manu' mortuus' non ponend'. Et quod comes Kildar' habuit inde capital' ut anual' redditus xls. ster' &c &c. Item dicunt &c &c quod dictus Mauricius fz Gibbon als dictus the White Knight seisisus fuit in dominico suo ut de feodo talliat', viz., sibi et hered' masculis de corpore suo p'creatis in et de una carucata terr' cum p'tinenc' vocata Croman in eod' com' Limeric' quequid' carucata de Croman olim fuit p'cella de Maner' de Mean p'dict'; et quod Mauricius fz Thomas Gerald heres maner' vel domini de Cleanlishe habet dictam caruc' terr' de Croman in mortgagio sed sub qua condicione ignorant. Sed dicunt quod dicta carucat' terr' de Croman non continetur in feofament' p'dicto fact' p' dictum Mauricium dicto Jacobo nuper Com' Desmon'.

"Item dicunt et presentant quod dictus Joh'es Og fz Gibbon als dictus Whit Knight nuper attinctus de alta prodicione tempore attinctur' sue p'dict' seisisus fuit in dominico suo ut de feodo in et de anuali redditu xxvi. viiid. ster' exeunt' de qualibet carucata terr' quatuor carucatar' de Cloghmolfy Et in et de anuali redditu xxvi. viiid. ster' exeunt' de Kilcome Et in et de anuali redditu xls. ster' exeunt' de quatuor carruc' terr' de Killfynthen cum p'tinenc' in eod' Com' Limeric'; quequid' redditus descendebat eid' Johanni Jur' hereditar' ab antecessoribus suis, viz., de Mauricio Og fz Gibbon ad Johannem fitz Morris, et de dicto Johanne ad dictum Johannem Og fitz Gibbon nuper attinctum.

"Dicunt quod dictus Johannes Og fitz Gibbon alias dictus the White Knight seisisus fuit in dominico suo ut de feodo de Curtrudiry alias the White Knight's Court prope Villam Killocie in eod' com' Limeric' cum uno molendino aquatico iuxta Castell' p'dict' &c &c &c."

The words printed in italics in the foregoing Inquisition, correctly copied from the original, having no connection with the context, it is plain that some clauses have been omitted from the official record of the inquiry. But the fullest details of the relationship between the two branches of the White Knight's family in the 16th century are given in an Exchequer Inquisition taken at Limerick on January 16th, 18th year of James I., which states as follows:—

"Qui Jurat' dicunt sup' sacram' suu' quod Will'us Acklavard Capellanus tempore vite sue seisisus fuit in d'nico suo ut de feodo de et in vill' et terr' de Ball [] cont' tres carucat' terr' cum suis p'tin' co'ter cognit' p' nomina de Lynystowne Killmore et Durlous cum suis p'tinen' in com' Limeric' p'dict'. Et quod p'fat' Will'us de omnibus et singul' p'miss' sic seisisus existens per chart' sua' in debita legis [forma] p'fect', dedit et concessit omnia et singula p'miss' cum suis p'tin' Mauricio fitz Gibbon milit' als the White Knight et heredibus masculis de corpore ipsius Mauricii []. Et quod virtute pred' concess' sic inde fact' p'fat' Mauricius seisit' fuit in d'nico suo ut de feodo talliat', viz., sibi et heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreat' de omnibus et singulis [] seisisit' existens obiit sic inde seisit'. Et quod post mortem p'fat' Mauricii fitz Gibbon, milit', omnia et singula p'miss' descendebant Mauricio Og fitz Gibbon de Michelston [] als the White Knight, filio et hered' p'fat' Mauricii fitz Gibbon milit'. Et quod p'fat' Mauritius Og fitz Gibbon fuit inde seisisit' in do'nico suo ut de feodo talliat', viz., sibi et heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreat' et procreand'.

"Et dicunt etiam Jurat' p'dict' sup' sacr' suu' p'dict' quod p'fat' Mauricius fitz Gibbon miles habuit exit de corpore suo legitime procreat' solumodo duos filios, viz., Mauricium Og fitz Gibbon p'd' et Johannem fitz Gibbon. Et quod p'fat' Johannes fitz Gibbon habuit filium et hered' suum Johannem Og fitz John fitz Gibbon alias the White Knight, postea attinct'. Et quod p'fat' Mauricius Oge fitz Gibbon habuit exit' de corpore suo procreat' Mauricium fitz Mauricii Oge fitz Gibbon filium et hered' suu'. Et quod omnia et singula p'miss' descendebant p'fat' Mauricio fitz Morishe Oge fitz Gibbon [] et hered' p'fat' Mauricii Oge fitz Gibbon. Et quod p'fat' Mauricius filius p'dict' Mauricii Oge

fitzGibbon fuit inde seiscitus in d'nico suo ut de feodo talliat', viz., sibi et heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreat'. Et quod p'fat' Mauricius fitzGibbon filius pred' Mauricii Oge fitzGibbon sic seiscitus existens in dominio suo ut de feodo talliat' [. . .] inde Philippum fitz Edmond fitz William M'David Nandagh de les Gibbons gener' et hered' suis imp'p'um; reddendo inde per annum duos solid' ster', sub hac condicione tamen, quod quodcumque p'fat' Mauricius [. . .] fitz Mauricii Oge pred' heredes vel assign' sui solverent p'fat' Philippo fitz Edmond fitz William M'David Nandagh, heredibus vel assignatis suis ducent' et sexagint' vaccas [. . .] in calfe cowes quod tunc bene liceret p'fat' Mauricio Oge filio Mauricio Oge heredibus vel assign' suis in omnia et singula premisa reintrare, et ead' [. . .] prout per Inquisitionem captam [. . .] Marcii Anno regni nup' regin' Elis' felicissime memorie tricesimo quarto in officio capital' rememoratoris scoccar' d'ni regis regni sui hibernie de recordo remanen' [. . .] captionis hujus inquisitionis in evidenc' osten' plenius liquet et apparet.

"Et quod postea predict' Mauricius filius p'dict' Mauricii Oge fitzGibbon als the White Knight obiit.

"Et ulterius dicunt Jurat' p'dict' quod p'fat' Philippus fitz Edmond fitz William M'David Nandagh de les Gibbons gener' virtute p'd' p'mencionat' feoffament' seiscitus fuit sub condicione p'mencionat'. Et quod p'fat' Philippus sic inde seiscitus existens obiit inde seiscitus. Et quod Thomas Gibbon fuit filius et heres p'fat' Philippi fitz Edmond; et mediate post mortem patris sui p'dict' p'fat' Thomas Gibbon intravit in omnia et singula p'miss' cum suis p'tinen' Et quod p'fat' Thomas Gibbon de omnibus et singulis p'miss' sic seiscit' existens obiit inde sic seiscitus. Et quod p'miss' descendebant Johanni Gibbon filio et heredi p'dict' Thome Gibbon, et quod p'fat' Johannes Gibbon fuit inde seiscitus in dominio suo ut de feodo sub condicione p'mencionat'. Et quod p'dict' Johannes modo superstes existit. Et dicunt Jurat' p'dict' nup' sacram' pred' quod p'fat' Johannes Gibbon filius Thome Gibbon de omnibus et singulis p'miss' seiscit' existens in d'nico suo ut de feodo sub condicione p'mencionat' per chartam suam feoffamenti geren' datum [. . .] die Junii Anno Domini 1619 dedit et concessit p'fat' Edmundo Gould heredib' et assign' suis imp'p'um vill' et terr' de Ballynllyn sub condicione quod quodcumque p'fat' Johannes filius Thome Gibbon hered' vel assignat' sui, vel eorum Attornat' in ea parte auctorizat' solver' p'dict' sum' £68 quod tunc bene licebit p'fat' Johanni Gibbon heredibus et assignat' in vill' et terr' de Ballynllyn p'd' reintrare et eadem p'miss' habere ut in pristino suo stat'.

"Et ulterius Jur' p'dict' dicunt sup' sac' suu' p'dict' quod immediate post morti (sic.) p'fat' Mauricii filii Mauricii Oge fitzGibbon, alias the White Knight, qui enfeoffavit p'miss' p'dict' p'fat' Philippo fitz Edmond fitz William M'David Nandagh, quod tot' Jus titul' et interesse condicione pred', et tot' Jus redemptionis terr' et ten'or' pred'; ac etiam interesse Jus et titul' ad et in stat' talliat' pred' in et de p'miss' pred' descendebant Johanni filio Mauricii fitz Morris Oge fitzGibbon, qui fuit filius et heres p'fat' Mauricii filii Mauricii Oge fitzGibbon als the White Knight. Et quod p'fat' Johannes filius Mauricii filii Mauricii oge sic habens interesse de et in pred' condicione et Jure redemptionis premisse, et de tal' stat' talliat' de et in premisse p'd', obiit absque aliquo exit' de corpore suo procreat'. Et quod radone obitus p'fat' Johannis fil' Morris fitz Morris oge absque exit' de corpore suo, pred' titul' Jus et interesse in p'd' condicione et Jure redemptionis, et stat' talliat' p'd' de et in terr' et tenem' p'd' [. . .] descendebant predict' Johanni Oge fitz John Milit' fitzGibbon, als vocat' the White Knight ut consanguineo et heredi p'fat' Johannis fitz Morris fitz Morris Oge, filii et heredi p'dict' Mauricii fitz Mauricii Oge fitzGibbon pred', viz., filio et heredi p'nominat' Johannis fitz Morris secund' fratris p'fat' Mauricii Oge fitz Morris patris p'd' Mauricii fitz Morris Oge qui mortgaviavit terr' p'dict' ut p'dict' est. Et dicunt quod p'fat' Johannes Oge fitz John Knight fitzGibbon als the White Knight habuit legitim' Jus et interesse in et ad p'd' titul' condicon' et Jure redemptionis et stat' talliat' de et in p'miss' que sic sibi descendebant ut predicatur. Et quod p'fat' Johannes habens tal' Jus et interesse de et in p'miss', primo die Aprilis anno regni nuper regine Elizabethhe undecimo intravit in apert' et actual' rebellion' contra pred' nuper reginam Elizabeth [. . .] in com' Limeric', et de alta predicone atinctus fuit virtute act' p'llament' fact' apud Dublin anno regni dict' nup' regine decimo tercio Et dicunt etiam Jur' pred' sup' sac' suu' pred' quod p'fat' Johannes Oge fitz John fitzGibbon alias the White Knight sic atinctus habuit exit' tres filios viz., Edmund, Gibbon et Thomam."

The relations of the White Knight with the Lord Roche, in 1543, are thus described in a letter from Senteleger to the king, dated 4th June, 1543.

"Further most gracious Lorde, where in this my laste journey, I, for dyverse causes, met with the Erie of Desmonde, to whome I had before wrytten for the redresse of many evill behaviours, commytted by the Lorde Roche and the White Knight, which be two that long have ben out of good order, and yet Englishmen, the one having destroyed the others country; the same Erie, according his bounden duty to your majestie, repayed to their sayde countries, and tooke them bothe, and brought them to me, to your Highness Castell of Caterlagh, where he delyvered them to me, to be poonyshed, as shal appertayne; and so I have layed them bothe in your Castell of Dublyn, where nowe they agree well together, and lye bothe in one bedde, that before could not agree in a country of forty myles in lengt betweene them, and under ther rule. I purpose they shall ther remayne till ther amytie be better conformed, and then, God willing, and your high pleasure so known, I entende to sende them home free, and apparail them lyke Englishmen; for now they be in ther saffren shurtes, and kernoghes cotes. I must of force so doo, or elles drive them to greate extremyte; for I thinke they bothe with all their ryches, wolde not bye themselves one apparail, and paye for ther bourdes in your saide castell for one quarter of a yeare; and yet I am sure ther landes, well orderid, wolde make them bothe greate lordes. I truste in God this shalbe to them sufficient warnyng from henceforth." ("State Papers," Hen. VIII., Vol. 8.)

John Oge was, however, White Knight in 1560 (and probably before that date), as in this year he had a pardon, under the name of John Oge, son of John Knight FitzGibbon, alias White Knight, of Ballywy-O'fahe in the Co. Tipperary, otherwise called John the White Knight of Michellstown, Co. Cork. ("Patent Roll," 8 Eliz.)

In 1567, he had a further pardon, in which were included his son Maurice (al. 1568) Gerald Gibbon ftsPhilip (alias Gerald Ballaf) of Liscarroll, Co. Cork; Gerald Gibbon ftsDavid of Knocklong, (the "Gerald ftsDavid, alias Mcetanriddery [or son of the Old Knight], who conveyed Knocklong to Maurice Hurly, as mentioned in App. I. to the account of the Sept of the Old Knight) and others. The pardon is in the following terms:—

Regina &c, omnibus ad quos &c. Sciatis quod nos &c, &c, &c, pardonavimus, remisimus, et relaxavimus ac per pntes pardonamus, remittimus et relaxamus Johanni Gibbon ftsJohn vocat' militi albo de Michelton in com' Corcke, Mauricio Gibbon filio ejusdem Johannis de eadem generoso, Geraldo Gibbon ftsPhilip alias Gerald Balefe de Lyskaroll in com' p'd', Thome O'Nellegan de eadem, horsemen; Geraldo Gibbon ftsDavid de Knocklong in com' Limerici generoso, Willielmo Lowes de Kilmallock, burgensi, David Gibbon ftsPhilip de Clonbryen, William Gibbon ftsPhilip de Balleany, Johanni ftsWilliam de Clenconoghor, de Ardpatrike, horsemen; Johanni Faunte de Ballederonty, Kernagh, et Dermicio OMolkiery als Dermyd Riegh de Athlakhagh in Com' Limerici p'd' husbandman, et eorum cuilibet per se &c &c &c &c, omnes et singulas prodiciones tam maiores quam minores personam nostram seu fabricacionem falsis monete non tangentes, ac omnia et singula murdr' homicid' et interfecciones, tam ex malicia precogitat' quam aliter quomodocumque, felonias, robor' furta, latrocinia, extorc', oppressiones, transgressiones, illicit' assemblac', riot', rout', Conventicula illicit', incesus' domorum blad' et garbarum seu eorum alicujus voluntar' vel non voluntar', rapt' mulierum, burglar', contempt', escapia', negligenc', ignoranc', falsitat', decept' indebit' verborum proclamaciones, equitaciones cum vexillis displicat', spoliac', depredac', ac omnia et singula alia malefact' crimina et offens' quacumque ac accessor' eorundem seu eorum alicujus, tam contra pacem et communem legem nostram, quam contra formam et effectum aliquorum statut' act' ordinacion' sive provis', per ipsoe Johannem, Mauricium, Geraldum, Johannem, Thomam, Geraldum, Willielmum, David' Willielmum, Johannem, Johannem et Dermicium, aut per ipsorum aliquem ante hunc presentem diem quotiescunque, quandocunque et qualitercunque fact' comiss' sive perpetrat' &c &c &c &c. Proviso semper quod hec nostra pardonatio sive concessio nullius sit roboris aut effect' nisi solu' his ex prenominat' person [] personaliter comparebunt et seipsoe submiserunt coram Comissionar' vel Justiciar' nostris q' pro tempore fuer' in Com' Limerici pred' infra sex menses proxim' sequentes post datum presentium et q' tunc erint sufficient' astrict' et obligat' unacum fide [] seor' convenien' ad has condiciones sequen', viz:—quod ipsi aservabunt pacem nostram et respondebunt et personaliter comparebunt in omnibus cessionibus infra dictam comitatum quotiescunque vocat' aut monit' fuer' ad satisfaciend' nostris subdit' eorum demanda' juxta equitatem et Justiciam. In cujus rei &c.

These pardons were in the usual form, for all offences committed, excepting offences against the Queen's person, and coining false money.

John Oge seems to have soon renewed his opposition to the Government, as appears by the following letter from Lo. Deputy Sydney to the Privy Council in England, dated Oct. 26, 1669 :

"From the Cahir I departed into the Whit Knights country, who of long time hath remainyed an owtelawe, and being by custome a follower of the house of Desmond was and ys now a principall confederat with James FitzMorice in this Rebellion. I therefore passed in effect through all his countrey burning all the corne that was gatherid and spoiling the rest, I rased one of his Castells, burnt and spoiled all his othr houses ; one onely wherein he had most truste, he warded and kept against me, w^{ch} I somoned and assaultid, and having no ordinance meet for batterie othr then to beat a spike or a batelment the soldior^s first man the bawne after a barbican or two and lastely burnt the iorn gates and wold have enterid but they in the Castell sett it on fyre entering them selves into a vault wherby whiles the fyre had matter wheroon to worke their cold no man with saftie enter. I caused therefore a stronge watche to be sett abowt the castell all that night, and the next day againe it was valiantly attemptid and enterid, the whole warde putt to the sword and thrown over the toppe of the Castell to the terror of all othr wherein I assure your L.L. as well the assailantes as the defendants showed great valency, the one by gredines of hono^r the othr compellid by necessitie and their owne desperat estates, and this moost to be mervellid at, that in this attempt I lost not one of my company. The next countrey unto this was the L. Roches who with the Viscount Barry and St Dermot McTeig mett me with a weake company excusing their disabilities being as they sayd compellid not onlie to suffer their followers to resorte to the Rebells, but also to purchase the saftie of their countreyes wth some [] and somes of money given to them. And with this fellowship I marched from thence to the Citle of Corcke. At my being their I hard that betwene that and Youghall the seneschall of Imokelly (being also a principall confurator wth James) did robbe and spoile all that countrey and had victualled his castell of Ballymarter being bound by his tenure to defend it against all men." &c. &c. &c.

It was probably during the visit of John Oge to Dublin, of which such a curious description is above given, that his old enemy Edward Butler made the foray into his country, reported in the following extract from a letter of Nicholas White to Cecil, under date of April 18th, 1669 :—

"Edward butler, whom I left wth my L. Deputy, is come upp into these parts contrary to my expectaton and is nowe agayn accompanied wth a trayne of 11^c men (as I am credibly enformed) and hathe spoyled the White Knight's cuntrey, and killed xxx of his people, by whate commission I knowe not, but I wishe this realme were more governed by lawe then by discretion, and that the to moche consyderacon whiche the govenor^s haibe of themselves in forbearing to toche the greates ons wth justice were left. Till then this lande will never prosper nor the crowne of Englande hold it w^{out} greates charge nor leave it w^{ost} greates daunger. It must be one that hathe as well zeale from heaven as power from the prince that shall do it good." ("State Papers," Ireland, Eliz., vol. 28, No. 6).

It was not out of consideration for the White Knight however, that the English officials deplored the violence of his enemies, for they had long entertained the resolution of laying hold of his vast estates, and parcelling them among themselves and their followers. The first step adopted in furtherance of this object was the passing of the Statute 17th Eliz., chap. 5, entitled "An Act for the Attaynder of such as shall be indicted of highe Treason or Petie Treason committed or to be committed from the first of Aprill, 1569, to the last of Aprill, 1571, if they shall not yield their boddies." Among the persons specially named in this act as guilty of the most terrible crimes against the State were James FitzMaurice, the Seneschal of Imokilly, and the *Whyte Knight*. Soon after the passing of this Act the White Knight yielded his body, not to the Government but to the earth ; and as the officers of the Crown could not legally confiscate his large possessions, the legislative machinery was put in motion, with the result desired by the vultures that hungered for the rich spoils which his attainer would place at their disposal.

On the 25th of June, 1570, the Lord Deputy Sydney wrote to the Privy Council of England. . . .

"And even as for this Lands of this Earle of Desmond so are all othr matters for Mounster quite out of all order till a President be there placed. And suerlie if any had come, when it was firste appointed or if one had ben placed when Mr. Gylbert departed, I dare boldelle saye y^t beside the quietnesse of the countrey, and th encrease of theise & suche othr

revenues to her Ma^{ty} use, there might have ben saved, that hath ben spent £2,000 besides the losse of many mens' lives that hath growen and is like to growe ere it be brought to that quietnesse again. And among oth^r things losse by lingring there is dead in this mome tyme the Whyte Knight, of whose landes I doubt howe any holde can be taken by lawe. Of this of Mounster I have speciallie written to her Ma^{ty} as matter mooste necessarie to be solicited for the quiet of this land and in like sorte have I done for money to be sent over, bothe w^{ch} I mooste humble desire yo^r LLs to sollicite as yo^r tender the honor of this state."

("State Papers," Ireland; Elizab., Vol. 80, No. 56).

In the same Vol. of "State Papers," No. 60, is a memorandum, under the date of 20th June, 1570, of "A Bill of the Acts rejoynted in Parliament, those enacted, and a Bill drawn to entitle the Queen to the lands of the White Knight." To which is added, "The Traytor the White Knight died during the tyme of his rebellion before the last session of the Parliament, and therefore ther is a byll for to intitule her Ma^{ty} to his lands and possessions without w^{ch} her Ma^{ty} cannot have that w^{ch} he have most justly deserved to forfayt."

The Bill here referred to was subsequently passed into "An Act for th' attainder of John fitz Gerald called in his lyff tyme the White Knight, otherwise called John Oge fitz John Knighte fitz Gibbons." It is enrolled on the "Patent Roll of Chancery," 10-13 Eliz., as one of the Acts passed by the Parliament holden on the 5th Decbr., 1570, and is worth printing if only to shew the disgusting affectation of religious earnestness employed in the Preamble. It is as follows:—

"Whereas the juste judgment of God hath cutt off from the bodie of this youre Ma^{ty}es comon Welthe that unnaturall unkinde & corrupte member named John fitz Gerald, called in his lyf tyme the White Knight, outhewise called John oge fitz John Knighte fitz gybbons, havinge ben soo haynouse an offender of youre Majestie & youre lawes as one of the principall & chiefeste actuall doers in this laste rebellion, as God moughte nott of his justies suffer hym to lyve to soo extreme daungier of this youre Ma^{ty} Realme & of all the goode members of the same; yett consideringe that his mooste traiterouse cruell & ingrate doings in his lyff weare soo pernicious & perillous an example, together with his contynuaunce in his false & trayterouse intents & purposes against youre highnes & the whole estate of youre Realme as the same doe require extreme correccion & ponyshment, to the terror & feare of all others, whiche his offences nether weare ne convenyentiye coulede have ben in his lyff tyme condignlie ponyshed & corrected. It may therefore please youre mooste excellent Ma^{ty} that it may be enacted and be yt enacted with youre highnes assente the lords sp^uall & temp^lall & the comⁿs in this p^{re}s^{en}t p^{ar}liam^{en}t assembled & by aut^hie of the same, that the saide John fitz Gerald called in his lyf tyme the White Knight, by whatsoever estate degree name surname or condicion he was called or knowen, for the saide traiterouse offences rebellious confederacies adherencies & dedes by him mooste disloyally comytted & p^{er}petrated shalbe by the aut^hie of this p^{re}s^{en}t p^{ar}liam^{en}t adjudged & attaincted from the furste daye of Aprill in the eleventh yere of youre Ma^{ty} Reigne traitor of highe treason. And that the same John fitz Gerald called in his lyff tyme the White Knight shall forfeit & lose to youre Ma^{ty} your heires & successors all suche Castells manors meases land^{es} ten^{ts} meadowes leases pastures woddes waters rents rev^{er}sons remainders services offices fees annuities uses possessions rights condicions comodities & all other hereditaments of what names natures or qualities so ev^{er} they be and also all suche goodes cattelle & debts whiche the same John fitz Gerald called in his lyff tyme the White Knight had enjoyed or was seised or possessed of the saide furste day of Aprill in the saide eleventh yere of youre Ma^{ty} Reigne or att any tyme sithens. And all suche rights titles estates intrants uses & possessions whiche he had the saide furste day of Aprill or att any tyme sithens of in or to the saide Castells manors & other the p^{re}misses & everie p^{ar}t & p^{ar}cell of them and that all suche castells manors meases land^{es} ten^{ts} meadowes leases pastures woods waters rents rev^{er}sons remainders services offices fees annuities uses possessions tithes rights intrants condicions comodities & all other hereditaments shalbe by the aut^hie aforesaide adjudged vested & demed to be in the actuall & reall possession of youre Ma^{ty} from the said furste day of Aprill in the saide eleventh yere of your reigne without any office or Inquisition thereof to be taken or founde accordinge to the comⁿ or statute lawes of this youre realme. Savings & be it enacted by aut^hie aforesaid to all & everie p^{er}son & p^{er}sons & bodies politique & corporate & there heires & assignes & successors & to every of them other then the saide John fitz Gerald called in his lyff tyme the Whyte Knight & his heires generall & speciall hereafter claymings the

p'fess or p'te of them as heirs or by any conveyance to be made by or from the said John Fitz Gerald called in his lyff tyme the White Knight & all & everie other p'son & p'sone claymynge by him or to his use or to the use of any his heires generall or spiall all such rights titles interests leases fees rents services rents charges rents socke & all other comodities profitts and hereditaments whatsoever that they or any of them had mighte couide or oughte to have had yf this p'sente Acte had nev' bene had no made. Provided always & be it further enacted by th' aut'itie aforesaide that this Acte shall nett extende to any lands ten'ts or hereditament with there appurten' that the wyffe of the said John Fitz Gerald called in his lyffe tyme the White Knight had in her owne righte in use possession remainder rev'cyon or otherwise in estate of inheritance or to any lands ten'ts or hereditaments with there appurten'ces that were ensured by any conveyance to his said wyffe or to any to her use before the said day of April but that she & her assignes & all & everie other p'son & p'sons seised to her use & uses shall have & enjoye the said lands ten'ts & hereditaments with ther appurten'ces so ensured & conveyed & that she & her heires gen'all & speciall & all & everie other p'son & p'sons seised to her & their use & uses shall have & enjoye the said lands ten'ts & hereditaments with there appurten' that she had in use possession remainder or other title in estate of inheritance accordinge to her & there title in & to the same as yf this Acte had nev' bene had no made any thinge in this Acte contrary to the contraire notwithstandinge.

The next proceeding taken respecting the immense property forfeited by the attainder of John Oge was to have it surveyed. This task was entrusted to one Robert Lythe, apparently the nominee of Burghley, to whom he reports the progress made in March, 1570:—

Robert Lythe to Lord Burghley, 24 March, 1570.

"Ryght honorable my humble deuty remembered may yt please you to be adv'tysed, that accordynge to your commandement, I have folowed the honorable lord deputye of her Majesties realme of Ireland for the perfectynge of a platte of the same, wherein the sayd lord deputye hath takyn suche order and care for the doynge theroff, &c. &c.

"I have begone the platte of Ireland to be mayd in length viii fote and a halfe, and in brade v fote and a halfe, to th' entent, by that largenesse, the most notable matt^r may be shewde therein, notwithstanding here ys no good payer in this land, to set yt so well forth as I wold have yt save onely to be done of myne owne hand, accordynge to those platte wyche you have alreadye scene of the landes of Mr. Marshall of Ireland, that ys the lordshippes of Coley, Ometh, Mowrne, and the Newry, and a platte of Syr Peter Carew his lands in Idrome, and nowe by my Lord Deputyes commandement two platte wheroff one comeyneth the herelome of Tomond the hother the Whyt knyghts landes and the landes of the knyghte of the Wallye, shewynge the boundes of the same lande, nothaiways I can not set yt forth by cause here is nothyng to doe yt w^t all, thus most humble I praye almyghty god kepe your honor in helthe and longe lyue w^t encrease of honor to your herte deyre, the 24th Marche 1570."

Page 610, line 5.—"*Ordained for the maintenance of his wife.*"

In the Act of Attainder of John Oge FitzGibbon, above printed, the right of his wife to possess such lands as she was entitled to, either by way of inheritance or of dowry, was protected by a special proviso. She seems to have been Ellinor, daughter of Sir John FitzThomas FitzGerald, styled by his partisans 13th Earl of Desmond (and whose son, Sir James FitzJohn, 14th Earl of Desmond, was the grandfather of James, the "Sugan Earl," subsequently betrayed by Edmond, the White Knight).

According to Bourke's "Extinct, &c., Peerages," Ellinor was twice married, firstly to Thomas Tobin, of Cumshingh (Co. Tipperary), and secondly to John Oge FitzGibbon. But it does not appear that she left any issue by either husband.

Dame Ellinor was alive in 1577, as may be inferred from a lease of certain portions of the forfeited lands of the White Knight, made in that year to James Roche, son to the Viscount Roche, the particulars of which are as follows:—

"Lease (under commission 6 Aug. xvii.) to James Roche gent. son to the [Viscount Roche], of the castle or manor of Oldcastelton, Co. Cork, lands in Castelton, Ballyremos, Balliphillipp, and Ardecone, Ballyveston, Kyldarrk, Kilmacullen, and Kyclonys, parcels of the said manor; the castle or manor of Michelston and the town of Kilcoghlan, with a

carve and a half of land, in the tenure of *dame Ellenor Fitz Desmonde* widow of John Oge FitzGibbone Gerralde attainted as part of her jointure—all parcels of the possessions of the said John Oge fitz John Gibbone attainted. To hold for 21 years, at a rent of £3. 18. 4., for the manor of Oldecastelton; and for the manor of Michelstowne during the life of *dame Ellenor* one grain of wheat, and afterwards 4s. 4d." 28 May xix. [Elizab.]. (Fiant No. 2674 (Reign of Elizab.), Public Record Office.)

Dame Ellinor, who appears, as already stated, to have left no issue by her marriage with John Oge FitzGibben, died in or immediately before the year 1579, as in a lease made to Edmond fitzJohn in that year, some of the lands included in the lease are stated to have come into the queen's hands "by the death of Ellenor fitzDesmonde late wife of said John Oge." (Vid. infra). In the year 1581 a lease in reversion was made to one Gerald Aylmer of several lands, forming part of the possessions of the attainted White Knight, including certain parcels "*late in the tenure of Ellenor fitzDesmonde, wife of John Oge Gibbon fitzGerrald attainted.*" (See Fiant, No. 3180; Elizab. Public Record Office.)

Page 610, line 6.—"*Edmond, his second son.*"

The eldest son of John Oge, Maurice (who was slain at Clogher, in Kerry, in 1568), having left no male issue, the title of White Knight devolved on his next brother, Edmond, who was of course reduced to poverty by the forfeiture of his father's possessions, under the Act of Attainder. But at his humble suit, the Crown, in 1576, gave Edmond a lease of a large portion of the forfeited lands for a term of years, much to the annoyance of the English officials in Ireland, by whom he was alternately petted and denounced.

This lease, dated 14 July, 18th year of Queen Elizabeth, conveyed to Edmond the manor or castle of Ballyboile, Co. Tipperary, the lands of Ballibole and Ballindomishere, same Co.; Ballienochan and the Scarte, Co. Cork; Pollardestowne near Brygowne, Kilglaase; 53s. 4d. sterling chief rent out of [John Fitzgerald's] lands in Ardenkeighte, 26s. 8d. out of William Fitz Thomas' lands in Brigowne, 44s. 5d. out of Rich. Cushin's lands in Farrehie; 40s. out of the Viscount of Fermoy's lands in G[arranderollan], 17s. 9d. out of Rich. Cushin's lands in Mowntecroban, Co. Cork; lands of Kerogarowe near Kilmalloke, and Raynewitawghe, Co. Limerick; 40s. out of Shane boye Roche's lands in Kilfynan; 13s. 4d. out of Gerald McRichard's lands in Ballindrantie, now in the tenure of Will. Keaghe; 13s. 4d. out of Gerald McThomas lands in Ballynakallie; 13s. 4d. out of John McShehie's lands in Downemone; 20s. out of Conohor roe O Hernan's lands in Ballenestellandon; 20s. out of Ballanescaddan; 26s. 8d. out of Peter Craghe's lands and other tenements in Ballingady; 40s. out of Fonteslands; 20s. out of Gerald McThomas lands in Ballinwrenye; 20s. out of Gybbon Dirrontes lands in Glanelare; 10s. out of Stephenston; 26s. 8d. out of Shane boie Roche's lands in Dirraghe; 13s. 4d. out of McShane boyes lands in Ballishanebole; £5. 6. 8. out of John Langan's lands and others of Ardepatricke in Cloughnodfoyle; 40s. out of Gerald McGibbon & Edm. McGibbon's lands in Ballylondrie; 26s. 8d. out of Rich. Foxe's lands in Ballinhowne; 13s. 4d. out of Shane boye Roche's lands in Ballenenowoe; 13s. 4d. out of Ballyneloyne; 33s. 4d. out of Donald O Heine and Thady O Heine's lands in Cahercline, Co. Limerick, (all the rents in sterling), possessions of John oge Fitz John Gibbon fitz Gerald called the White Knight lately attainted of high treason. To hold for 21 years, at a rent of £58. 16. 2½ Irish. Maintaining six horsemen of English nation. (See Fiant, No. 2523; Elizab. Public Record Office.)

In 1579, Edmond Fitzgibbon seems to have surrendered the foregoing lease, receiving in return a fresh grant, comprising the lands conveyed by the former grant and others which had in the meantime come into the hands of the Crown. The new lease, dated 12 August, 21st year of Queen Elizabeth, granted to "Edmond FitzGibbon," among others, the following lands, chiefries, and perquisites (some of which are included in the lease of 1576, as already remarked), viz.:—

The site of the manor or castle of Balliboye, Co. Tipperary, 4 ploughlands in Balliboye and Ballindomishere, same Co., the lands of Ballienochan and the Scarte, Co. Cork, Pollardeston near Brigowne, Kilglaase, in said Co., the site of the castle called the Newe Castell, Co. Tipperary, the lands of Clannaghonowe and Gurtyns to the said castle pertaining, the lands of Kilcharonogie, Dyrragharick, and Crinaghlan, Cowltellauhneggaran, and Ballichehan, Co. Tipperary, 13s. 4d. chief rent out of Shanraghan in the tenure of Rich.

Ketings, and the profits of the court of the said castle; the site of the castle or manor of Michellleston, Co. Cork, the town of Kilooghlan, one carew of land to the said castle belonging, same Co., the lands of Ballingreny and Jameston, Co. Limerick; 52s. 4d. sterling chief rent out of John Fitz Gerald's lands in the manor of Ardakeishe same Co., and other premises contained in the previous grant, possessions of John oge fitz John Gybbon fitz Gerald, otherwise the White Knight, attainted of high treason, and in the queens hands by the surrender of Edmund and by the death of Ellenor Fitz Desmonde late wife of said John oge. To hold for 21 years, at a rent of £71. 6. 2½. Maintaining seven English horsemen. Not to alien without license under the great seal, and not to charge coine and livery. (See Fiant, No. 2856; Elizab. Public Record Office.)

These leases were, in 1590, converted into a grant in tail male, at a certain rent, by a Queen's Letter, dated 9 Augt., 1590, of which the following is a copy:—

[The Queen to the Lord Deputy.]

"ELIZABETH, R.

"You shall understand that upon very credible information given unto us by most of our principal ministers and servants that have either governed or otherwise served us these many years in Ireland, of the faithful, painful, and dangerous services done unto us, specially in the late rebellion of James FitzMaurice and the late attainted Earl of Desmond, by Edmond FitzGybbon, usually called the White Knight, and in consideration also that his father's lands, to which he was inheritable, were by some hard construction of law, though justly, seized for us, and by us granted to his son, now called Edmond Gybbon, in lease for years: We are at this present time, upon his most humble suit and offer of service to the uttermost of his power in all loyalty, contented that he shall have him and the heirs male of his body, all such lands and chief rents whereof his father was seized or possessed, being escheated to us or that hereafter may be found to have escheated unto us by his father's attainder. To have to him and the heirs male of his body; reserving to us and our successors such rent as hath been already by any Inquisition found due for the same, or that upon survey shall be hereafter thought reasonable to be reserved, in a manner favourable for his better maintenance to live upon. And to hold the same of us and of our Crown by some portion of Knight's service, or by such other service as the same lands were held before his father's attainder. Wherefore we will and command you, our Deputy and our Chancellor, by the advice of our learned counsel, to cause a grant to be made in good form of law, under our Great Seal, to the said Edmond FitzGybbon, commonly called the White Knight, and the heirs male of his body, by such tenure and rent as afore is mentioned, of all the lands and rents with their appurtenances, that any wise did belong to his father, not already granted by us to any other in any state of inheritance. And further, upon surrender of his lease, he shall be acquitted of all arrerages of rent, if any be due by him, upon a former grant made to him at any time heretofore.

"And be it remembered that at the next Parliament he be restored in blood, whereunto we have consented."—*Morrin's Cal. Pat. Rolls.*

Page 610, lines 7-8.—"*Gone to travell beyond the seas, along with James FitzMaurice.*"

That Edmond the White Knight was on the Continent at the same time with James FitzMaurice is beyond doubt; but it is unlikely that he was abroad "in his father's lifetyme and also in y^e lifetyme of his elder brother Maurice," as stated in lines 6-7; for James FitzMaurice's departure to the Continent did not take place until 1575, whilst Edmond's brother Maurice was slain in 1568, and his father died in 1570. It is certain that Edmond was in Ireland in 1573, as appears by a letter from Patrick Sherlock, Sheriff of Tipperary, dated 17th January in that year, inclosed in a communication of the Lord Deputy to the Privy Council, dated 31st January, 1574:—

Patrick's Shurlock to Mr. FitzGerald.

"I hartelle comende me unto you, I see you are dalled withall by my L. of Desmonde, he was this last Tuesdaie with M^oBryan Arre and did meete with Th^e erle of Clanricard and his sonnes, with all the Brynes of Thomond (Th^e erle of Thomond and his brother onelle excepted) at the Busshoppes house of Kilallowe.

I just finished my Duke almost completed. And for
 a while as I was inspired of my living & for
 a year for each of the reports I intend to explain
 in my suggestions to living, & in some respect
 I have moved to report to our friends & members
 in force to our & the one to get my library
 & the one of the books & the one to be good to
 my & the one. and the books for in all for anything
 which I have done at I expect into Ireland. I have
 I have my. I have not yet. I. very just almost the
 good to the one's. from each of the of
 March 1894 YS I. is happy friend. I have

Y. Same lb. Bd. as to Enquire y³ p³ to writ³

The stay on the Continent of the White Knight could not have been very long, as may be learned from the following letter of Edmond and his confederates to the Earl of Desmond:—

[*Edmond . . . the White Knight to the Earl of Desmond*]. *Mitchelstown,*
15th July, 1575.

"My dewtie premised unto yo^r honorable L. whereas we Edmonde McRidery, the Seneschall, and John FitzUllick came nowe of late to this o^r naturall country of Ireland leaving o^r Mr. James FitzMorris in Fraunce being in good helthe and like to come into the Q^{ue} Ma^{tie} favor by the petition of the king of Fraunce. Because we do heare comonly that the commissioners and you thought otherwise of us then as wee did intended to bring to passe in o^r trayvell wee desire yo^r to shew us protected by yo^r and by the commissioners that wee may presente o^r selvs and appere before yo^r there to shewe further of o^r mynde.

"Thus I end from Balyavistiall this xvth of July, 1575.

"Yo^r assured subjects EDMOND McRYDERT, the
Seneschall, and JOHN FITZULLICK."

"To the right trusty and my very
good L. Gerrott Therle of
Desmonde this be delyvered."

Page 610, lines 12-13.—"Memorable acts for the Crown of England.

The first, or nearly the first, of these "memorable acts," was the slaughter by Edmond the White Knight, in 1581, of a large number of Desmond's followers, some of whom were of his own kindred, as reported by Sir Henry Wallop to Secretary Walsingham, in a letter dated from Dublin, 17th July, 1581:—

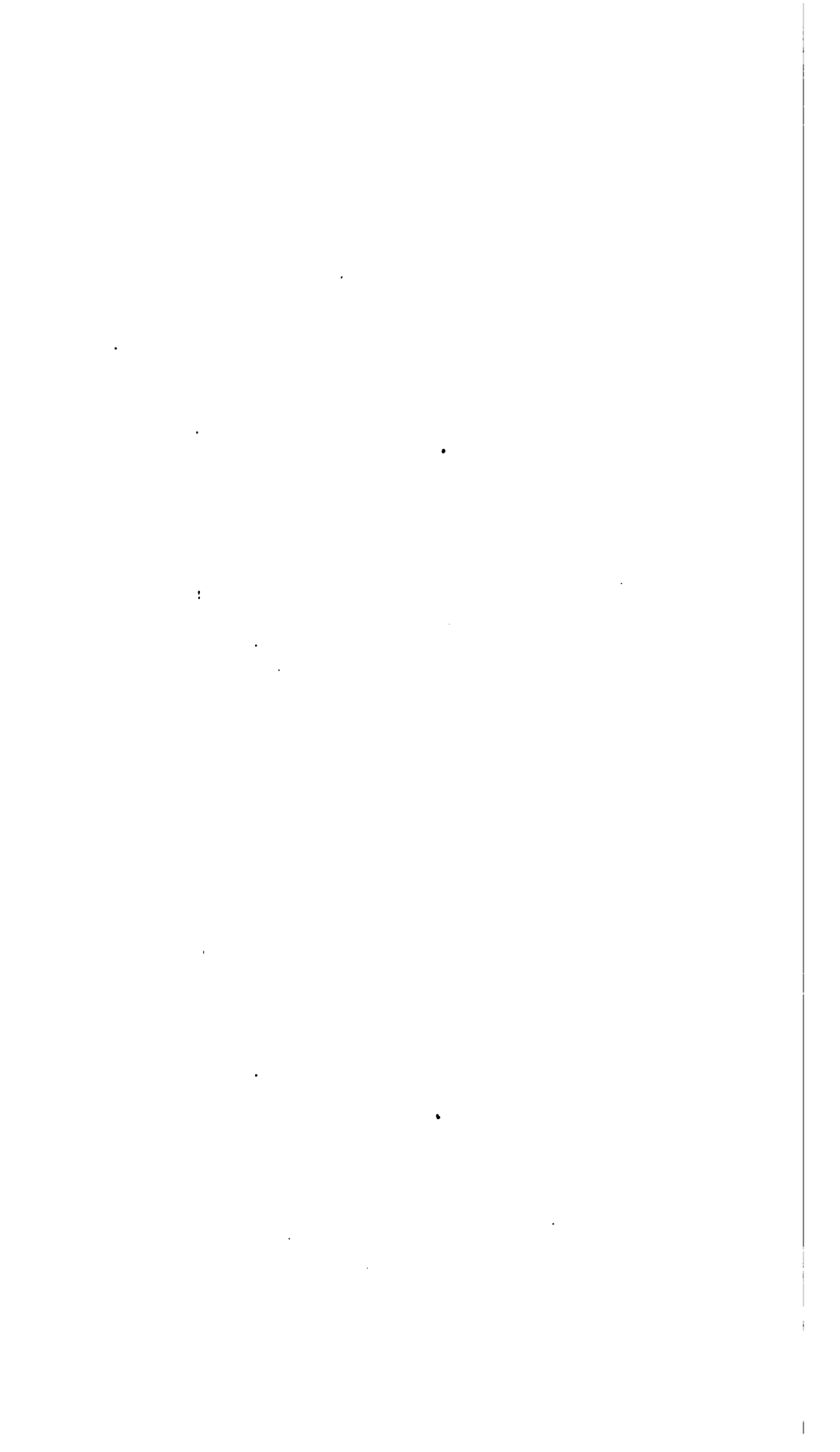
Sir H. Wallop to Sec^y Walsyngham.

"The illde hereoff one Edmonde McRothery sone to the Whyte Knyght in Monster beyng before charged by Sr George Bowser and others, that he laye in place to do good servyce and was abell wth his followers to do y^e, and that y^e was grete shame he dyd yt not by that eggyng kylld 48 off desmondos men of warre whereof liii or v Garaldynes, yf these be not servyces to be taken in good part in this cuntrye where ca^t warres ys but lyke foxe huntynge, for that our enemyes fye from us to th' wood's and wyl at no tyme foyght wth us but upon grete advantage I knowe not when any thinge shall happen that maye be thought acceptabell, but yf we haue not p^{re}sent monye yt wyl be worse ere yt be better. I haue borrowed off Mr Polyscoe men and other marchants to be repayed in Inglande abowe £2,000 and nowe knowe not where to haue x£ more, sence her Matie must paye yt in the ende, there ys small pollyce to detayne yt where yt should be most good." . . .

In a previous letter of the 10th July, 1581, Wallop inclosed to Sec^y Walsyngham a "schedule of the principal among 30 rebels slain at Drumfennin, by Edmond McRoderie, the White Knight." The schedule apparently refers to the slaughter reported in the letter of the 17th July, 1581, though the numbers as given in both documents do not correspond, the "30 rebels" of the "schedule" being swelled to "43" in the letter of 17th July. But it is most likely that the first six names in the "schedule," who were all of the sept of McThomas (FitzGerald) of Pallis, in Limerick, faithful kinsmen and adherents of the Earl of Desmond, represent "the liii or v Garaldynes" of Wallop's letter. The schedule is as follows:—

"McThomas, called Ric^d, a leader.
Shane McThomas, his brother, a leader.
Edmond McThomas, his brother, a leader.
Morris FitzJohn, of Knocknoes, a leader.
Richard FitzJohn, his brother, a leader.
Thomas FitzJohn, their brother, a leader.

I may not, Sir, but grant this barren is un-
fitted how little matter so ever otherwise I have
now too much. Continue I expect to you & care
of him, a double commentary done before is not
to him you, yr nature for is ~~it~~, yr indelible
for his desert. With yr firm conviction of his
good with by obtaining his amendment take or rather
myself may ~~be~~ I think, I would not myself
his stage there long for it not further
him. I am I suppose too like my mother's
mother is human. I H. S. S.



✓

Autograph of the White Knight

I am right glad to hear
of your good life and of
your good health and of
your good work

Address on Envelope of Letter
(From the Original in the Public Record Office, London.)

F. G. Nicholson Esq. 32, Brown Street, London. W.

Dermond O'sean, a horseman.
 Owen McRory McShyble a leader of galliglas.
 Donoghe Oboyella, galliglas.
 Shane ne-gartle McGilla Martin, galliglas.
 Donoghe McShane y Connowe.
 Tho. McDavid Rourie, galliglas,
 and xx mor."

Drumfinnin, where the slaughter is stated to have been committed, is the old name of the high ridge which extends from Castlelyons, in the Co. Cork, to Ringogonagh on Dun-garvan Bay, Co. Waterford, and divides the Barony of Decies Within *Drum* from that of Decies Without *Drum*, in the latter county.

Edmond's zeal for the "Crown of England" did not last long, however, if we may believe the wary and unscrupulous Sir Warham Senteleger, who, writing from Cork, to Lord Burghley, under date of May 25, 1582, says:—

"My humbel dutie donne unto yo^r lordships, shippinge nowe departinge hence for England I hould it my parte too enforce yo^r honore what hath happened in this estate sence the writinge of my laste letters.

&c.

&c.

&c.

There is latelie fallen into rebellion the barron of Likesnawe, who before his goeing out sought meanes under pretence of friendshipe trecherlie to murder all the soulders in Kerry, but as god would miste of his porpose killing but Capitaine Achame and a sixteen or twantie of soulders more, the reste retyering themselves unto the Abbey of Adarte [Ardfert], to w^{ch} place the governoure is gonne for the releese.

"Edmond McRudderye sonne to the White Knight who ever sence this rebellion hath bynne dandelled wth is now also fallen into rebellion and joynd his forces wth the traittours th^e earle of Desmond and for his better conformation to the said earle hath taken his child born in the woddess to be fostered as we are hear informed."

"The traittours in Desmond in the earle of Clencara contrie increase dailelie in straight expectinge the arryvall of foren poore, the traittours the barron of likesnawe is come wth all his cattell and force into Desmond." &c. &c.

Nevertheless, in the month of January following, we find Edmond affecting great satisfaction at the killing of Sir John of Desmond, his kinsman and former confederate, the manner of which is thus related in a letter to the Earl of Ormond:—

Edmond Gybbon, the White Knight, to the Earl of Ormond, 5 January, 1582.

"Right honorable and my verye goode L. my bounden dutye allwaies remembered unto yo^r honnor Pleaseth yo^r Lp. to be advertised that thancks be unto god, upon a wenydays last the trayto^r John of Desmonde Patrik Condon & James McShane f^rGerrothe, having in ther companie but one horseman more, goinge to myte David Barrye upon the borders of Castellians, Capitaine Zoutche laye in ambush^{es} * before them and found them unhorsed as we here saye uppon cavalles and chased at them and as god is plesure was the traytour John is behedded and James f^rJohn taken prisoners & the two more escaped, so committing yo^r Lp. to god I end from Visteltowne [Mitchelstown], the 5th January, 1582.

"Yo^r honno^rs to commande in whate he may

"EDD. GYBSON."

Page 610, lines 23-5.—"*His adversaries would say that the White Knight was worthy as namely old Sir Edward Fitz-Harris*

Sir Edward FitzHarris's opinion of Edmond, the White Knight, was anything but favourable, at least before the latter had ingratiated himself with the English party by his

* *Ambush.* The "Four Masters," in their account of the killing of Sir John of Desmond, state that the meeting of his small party with the large force of Captain Zoutche was accidental, that "neither of them was in search of

the other." But the statements of O'Daly, Hooker, and Cox, on the subject support the accuracy of the White Knight's account above given.

treacherous betrayal of the Sagan Earl of Desmond. The eulogist of Edmond, who quotes FitzHarris's good opinion of him, could not have seen the contents of the letter of which the following is a copy :—

Edward FitzHarris to Lord Burghley, 16 Aug., 1597.

"Humbly vouchsafeth yo^r honno^r to be advertised by yo^r sup^t Edward Fitzharris that one Morice FitzGibbon sone to the Whit knight of Mounster who lately preferred peticion unto yo^r Ip. is bound by recognizance for suspicion of misdemeano^r wherewth he is accused to be forthcomynge before the L. president upon certayne dayes warninge, and doubting to resceave his triall therupon hath therfore repaired hither unknown to the said L. presid^t thereby thinkinge (as yo^r sup^t is enformed) to procure pardon for himself as also for his father who likewise incurred the danger of lawe & for his better successe suggesteth a shew of Service wher in truth the principall traitors of the said province are his owne nephewes in law whom he releued as is supposed; yet to collo^r the same kild som of the men wher he might as well have commanded ther leade^rs heads, wherof the L. president is not ignorant. May yt therfore please yo^r honno^r the premises to consider & the suspicion had of the Whit knight his loyalty who now denieth to appere wthout proteccion being notwthstanding sheriff of that county of Corek & in tyme past accompanied Jamis Fitz Morice into France to procure an invasion of her highnes realme of Ireland, for w^{ch} as far many other heynous offences hath bene eftson pardoned yt in regard therof yo^r honorable lertres (if enny be granted) may be directed to the L. presid^t of Mounster who chiefe knoweth the man his behavio^r & the offences by him lately comytted or otherwise som synyster and covert course may be wrought for the speedie granting of his pardon wth the rest of his demands before the L. president be acquainted therewth to the suppression of justice & the encouragm^t of other offenders. And yo^r sup^t craving pardon for his boldnes as also not to be discovered for his duty herein shall incessantlie pray your honno^rs health in all happynes.

"Yo^r honno^rs to be commanded,
"EDWARD FITZHARRIS."

Page 610, lines 11-12, *ab inf.*—"As for killing James, the stout and stately Bastard of Lord Roch."

The White Knights were constantly at war with the Lords Roche, their near neighbours. In fact, it may be said that the only bond of union between them was the hereditary opposition of both families to the English Government. Whenever the followers or retainers of the two parties met, except in alliance against the common foe, there was sure to be a bloody encounter between them.

The "stout and stately Bastard of Lord Roch," whom Edmond slew, seems to have been the person described in Burke's "Extinct Irish Peerage" among the progeny of "David Roche, Viscount Roche and Fermoy," as "a son killed by the rebels in the Queen's wars." His name, as above mentioned, was James. His brother, the Lord Roche (or Maurice de Rupe et Fermoy), in a letter to the English Privy Council, dated from Castletown [Roche], 3 May, 1684, thus inveighs against the slayer of his brother, whom bastardy, if real, he takes care to hide :—

"Right honorable my bounden dutie to yo^r goode lordeshippes premised, yo^r l^rs whiche I recevede of late doethe manifeste yo^r goode affections towards me, berechinge youe so alwaies to continue; and whearas I am geven to understand that the Lorde Barry, Edmounde M^cGibbon, Patrickes Condon and the Seneshall of Imokillye doe entende to repaire thither, I thoughte good to signifie unto youre honno^res that the said lorde Barry burnede and spoylede my countrey when he was in open Rebellion and is sincece my mortall enemy; and also the said Edmounde Fitz Gibbon was synce the bygynninge of the rebellion of James Fitz Morrice aydinge and assistinge the said James, & wente wth him to Spayne as well manteyninge these laste traitoures, his eldest sonn doethe yett w^{rite} in Spayne upon the said James is son, and bessees the same he murderede my brother James Roche a loyall subject to hir Maiestie & divers others of my men although the said James Roche in his life tyme faithfullye hathe done diuers goode services against the rebelle as Sr John Parrott the L. Deputie and others the governors of this Realme can testifie, in respects wherof the said James Roche is sonn by l^rs patents paste under the lorde seale

heane had a lease for certaine yeares of olde Casteltowne and of Michelstowne and yett his son was therof dispossessed by some sinister meanes procurede by the said Edmonde frendes, the said Seneschall wth the said Edmondnes men, and by his procurmente, as also by the ayde and asistance of Patricke Condon, the traitor murtherede and kylled my bretherin and men, robbed spoylede and wasted my countrys wherof I humblye beseeche yo^r honnou^r to haue consideracion and that the les fauours they may have, fearinge it woulde be an encouragement to any others to attempte the like, Also I humblye beseeche that they nor any of them may haue any graunte that shal be prejudiciall to me or to any of myne, to thende that they may perceave great difference to be betwene the loyal & those that des^{er}ved hir highnes displeasure, nott doubtinge but youre honno^r will have considera- cion of this my reasonable petition, & will satisfie myne expectancie herein, thus I humblye take my leave the 8 of May 1584.

"Yo^r honororable lordahippes to comande

M. DE RUPPE & FERMOY."

In the foregoing letter Lord Roche and Fermoy carefully avoids all reference to the murder by himself and friends, some years before, of Gibbon FitzGibbon, the brother of the White Knight Edmond. For this murder Lord Roche had a pardon in 1564, in the fol- lowing terms:—

"H. SYDNEY. Fiant l're d'ne Regine paten' in debita forma tenore verbor' sequen'. Regina &c, omnibus ad quos &c, Saltem. Sciatis quod nos &c, &c, &c, pardonavimus, Remisimus et relaxavimus, ac per presentes pardnamus remittimus et relaxamus Mauricio Roche filio et heredi D'ni Roche, Joh'i fitz Edmond Roche de Ballehyndeny, Jacobo fitz Maurice Roche de Croghe, Gilleduffe Shynan de Downerrail, Johanni Busher de Castle- towne, Jacobo Roche alias MacHenry de Corraghmachenry in com' Cork, gent', et eorum cuilibet per se quibuscumque aliis nominibus cognominibus sive addie' nomin' cognom' villarum locorum offic' sive artiu' censeantur, vel nuper seu aliquo tempore censebantur, vel eorum alter' censeatur vel nuper seu aliquo tempore censebatur, Omnes et singulas prodiciones tam majores quam minores (personam nostram vel fabricationem false monete non tangent'); Ac omnes et singulas insurrecciones confederac' contra regiam majestatem nostram aut contra regiam majestatem quorumcumque antecessor' nostr' nuper regu' Anglie et Hibernie sive eorum alicujus sive consiliar' nostros aut consiliar' alicujus antecessor' nostror' predict', per ipsos, Mauriciu' Joh'em Jacobum Gilleduff Joh'em Jacobum aut eorum aliquem ante hunc p'sentem diem fact' commiss' sive perpetrat', incend' domo' blad' et garbar' seu eor' alicujus voluntar' vel non voluntar', murthera homicid' et interfeciones, tam ex malicia precogitat' quam aliter quomodocumque. Et precipue mortem homicid' et interfecionem Gibbonis mac Shane mac-I-reddery de Clanegibbons quem predict' Mauricius Roche fil' et heres D'ni Roche interfecit ut dic'. Ac omnes et singul' invasiones insid' insult' illicit' spoliac' depredac' illic' confederac' per ipsos Mauriciu' Johannem Jacobum Gilleduff Johannem Jacobum, et per eorum aliquem, aut per procurac' suas nullo modo ante hunc presentem diem quocumque et qualitercumque fact' commiss' omis' sive perpetrat'. Ac omnia et singula indictament' condemnac' Judicia penas mortis et executiones eorundem seu eorum alicujus, racione seu occasione p'missorum seu eorum alicujus

"Deliberat' fuit in conc' Hib'nie decimo die Aprilis Anno Regni Regine nostre Eliza- beth octavo ad exequend'." (*Fiant*, No. 698, Eliz., Public Record Office.)

It does not appear to be correct, as stated in the foregoing letter, that the son of the James Roche slain by the White Knight had a grant of lands from the Crown. There is no record of any such grant in the Chancery or Exchequer departments. The only James Roche who had a lease* of some of the White Knight's lands was the person slain by Edmond FitzGibbon, under the circumstances related in the preceding narrative, p. 611.

For this homicide of James Roche, the White Knight had a pardon from the Crown, which is described in the original "*Fiant*" directing the grant to him, as "A pardon for Edmond FitzGibbons for the death of James Roche Negelagh and all those that were

**Lease*. The particulars of this lease have been already briefly given (*supra*, p. 658), but a fuller note is here printed from the Auditor-General's Entry Book, chiefly because the condition of the

castle of Old-Castletown at the time of the grant is specially referred to. According to the Auditor-General, the lease comprised:—

"The scite adcircuite ambite and precinct of the

alone in his company, together with a pardon of other felonies committed at that time upon the parties aforesaid." The pardon was in the following terms:—

"*Fiant I're domine regine patent' in debitis formis tenor' verbor' sequent'.* Regine &c., Omnibus ad quos &c., Salutem. Sciatis quod nos de gra' n'ra speciali ac ex certa sci'a et mero motu n'ris, ac pro fine quinq' librarum mense Hibernic' nobis in manus n're ante sigillac' p'ntis' per subscript' cui hec n'ra concessio fact' est solus'; de success' p'dicti et fidel' consiliari' n'ri Arthur' Grey Baron' Grey de Wilton, p'dicti ordinis n'ri garteri milit' ac Deputat' n'ri gen'al' regn' n'ri Hib'nie, ac de adveniment' et consensu' consili' n'ri ejusd' regni n'ri pardonavimus remissionem et relaxavimus ac per p'tes pardonamus remissionem et relaxamus Edmundo Fitz John Fitzgibbon de Michelston in Corn' Cork gen'os quocun'que alio nomine cognominis sive addic' nominis cognominis vill' loc' offic' sive com' censuatur vocatur sive appellatur, seu super unquam sive aliquo tempore censuatur vocabatur sive appellabatur, felon' interfect' et murch' Jacobi Roche Negelagh et om' alior' subdit' n'rorum (quocun'que nomine censuatur vocabatur sive appellabatur seu cor' aliquis censuatur vocabatur sive appellabatur) eo tempore quando p'dict' Jacobus p'dict' Edmunda' et servient' suos interfect' fuit. Necnon omnia alia felon' et robor' p' p'dict' Edmunda' sup' p'dict' Jacobum vel aliquem alium qui tunc interfect' fuer' fact' comes sive p'petrat'. Ac omnia et singula indictament' condemnac' indic' penas mortis et membr' et excec' eor'd' seu cor' alicuius rac'one p'missor' seu cor' alicuius habend' vel exsequend'. Ita tamen &c. Aliquo statuto &c. Provisse semp' quod hec n'ra concessio sine pardone' nullius sit robor' aut effect' nisi p'dict' Edmunda' p'sonaliter comparuer' et se ipsum submisit coram comissionar' n'ris vel custod' pacis n're qui pro tempore fuer' assignat' in Com' Cork p'dict' infra quatuor menses p'x' sequent' post dat' p'ntis', et quod tunc erit sufficient' strict' et obligat' unacum fideiussor' convenien' ad pl'tam et voluntat' p'dict' comissionar' n'ror' vel custod' pacis n're ad has condicio'es sequent'; viz:—quod ipse observabit pacem n'ram et respondebit, et p'sonaliter comparuerit in o'ibus session' in dict' com' tenend' quocun'que vocat' aut monit' fuer' ad satisfaciend' o'ibus et sing'is n'ris subdit' de eor' demand' iuxta' equitat' et iusticiam. In cujus rei &c. Teste &c." (See Fiant, No. 2907; Reign of Q. Eliz. Public Record Office; delivered into Chancery on 17th January, in the 23rd year of Elizabeth.)

Regarding the causes of hostility between the Roches and the White Knight, the writer of the Cotter MS. has the following observations:—

"In the West he had to deal with the Lord Roach, who made several incursions into his country, but was frequently met with considerable loss: there goes a story which relates to their debates, as it is short I will recite it here, and as it will entertain the reader I hope it will not be thought impertinent:—

Castell or Mannor of Oldcasteltowne¹ in the countie of Corke, containinge half one acre of land with the appurtenances, within the which there is one halle, three chambers, and three sellers enclosed with stone wallis; 40 acres arrable lande and 20 acres of pasture with the appurtenances in the towne of Casteltowne; 30 acres arrable lande and 50 acres of underwood, with theare appurtenances, in the towne and fieldes of Balliresmon, Balliphilipp and Ardaka in 'the said countie; 40 acre. of arrable lande and 20 acres of pasture and more with theare appurtenances in the townes and fieldes of Balliveston, Kildarhe and Kilmacullene in the said countie; 40 acres arrable lande and 80 acres pasture or wood or underwood and bogge with theare ap-

purtenances in the towne and fieldes of Kilcine in the said countie of Corke, parcell of the aforesaid Mannor or Castell of Oldcasteltowne.

"And also the Castell or Mannor of Micheltowne and the towne of Kilcoghane in the said countie, with one carve and a half of lande: the same appertaininge and belonginge, now in the tenure or occupation of Dame Ellenor the Desmond late wife unto John Oge Fitzgibbon Garrauld attainted, as parcell of the jointure—all which are parcell of the possessions of the said John Oge Fitzgibbon attainted, and now in her majesties possession and disposition. (Auditor-General's Entry Book of Patents, Vol. 19, Elizat., Public Record Office.)

¹ Oldcasteltown. Though described above as a small structure, it was able to stand a stout siege in the time of Lord Deputy Sidney (1569 f). Writing to Sir Francis Walsingham, under date of March 1, 1583, an account of his "Services in Ireland." Sir Henry Sidney says:—

"I went to the principal castle of the White Knight's country, called the Old or the New Castle, I know not whether, and summoned the ward by sound of trumpet, who answered 'they held that castle of none but of God, James Fitz Mores, and the White Knight; and unless one

of them would come (or send St. Peter or St. Paul) they would never render it.' Finally, after an obstinate resistance, I won the castle, and delivered it to James Roch, son of the Viscount Roch, and sundry other castles and lands to Sir Theobald Butler, withheld from him by the White Knight." (Carew Papers.)

From the foregoing it would appear that Lord Deputy Sidney had ousted the White Knight from his possessions, in favour of the hereditary foe—a curious way of promoting peace in Munster!

"This Lord Roche on a certain time was making preparations to enter the White Kn^t country; and once for all of the disappointment he there met with before, to make himself amends on this occasion, a heavy fellow of his attempted to mount the horse that was to carry him two or three times, but could not get into the saddle, and was observed by a man in company, before retained by the Kn^t for a long time, who remarking the man's inactivity cried out for leave, saying aloud, 'it may be well judged he never before served the knight, and if he had it may be rather expected he would prefer the farther side than that where he was mounting,' meaning that the people would see him vault over him rather than behave as he did. The Lord Roche hearing this remark, could not but reply to him for it, and told him very peevishly withal, that he would hurry to the farther side of Clangibbon and drive the country; and that he would not leave any of the White Kn^t tenants a four footed beast [] flew again very insolently, w^{ch} enraged the Lord so much, that almost quite out of temper if such behavior [] from a contempt to him, to which the other wittily replied 'not but from that w^{ch} he would entertain against the man would he suffer his Lordship to execute what he proposed.'"

At this period, however, Edmond FitzGibbon seems to have incurred the high displeasure* of the English officials in Ireland, the chief of which, Sir Henry Wallop, thus writes of him to Secretary Walsingham, under date of June 3, 1584:—

"Right honorable, As in my last Lettres I mentioned unto yo^r hono^r that certeyne of thys country were nowe gone over to become suytors for the dischargd of greates arrerages of rent depending upon them and also to have remittall of forfeitures of leases and releas of rents, All w^{ch} will be preiudiciall to her Ma^{tie} and yf they obteyne yt wylbe bestowed on persons unworthy in my opinion to receave yt. So now to th' end yo^r Ho. may crosse those suyt (yf so yt shall seeme goode unto you by the discourse of thys my Lettre and soche notes as are herewth sent, yt may be easily done) I have practically named the persons and what each mans suyte and desyer tendeth unto.

"The names of those that by themselves and theyre fryendes wyl preesse to have Arrerage of Rents forgiven them, the certeyne somes whereof are mentioned in a Schedull herewth sent, is Edmond Fitzgibbon otherwys called the Whyte Knyght and — Shurlock late deceased.

"Thys Edmond Fitz Gibbon hys father was a Trayto^r and for hys Treasons atteynted, whereby hys Land escheated to her Ma^{tie}, Yet soche favo^r used to thys man hys sonne, as a lease was graunted hym of all hys fathe^rs lands and countrey for so small a rent as amounteth not to the xxth parte of the yearly valewe thereof; w^{ch} rent notwthstanding he hath not payed as appeareth by the sayd schedule, and ever since lyveth most loosely and in soche sort as he hath had severall pardons in forme^r tyme (as I am informed), and since the last Rebellion of James Fitz Moryce he hath ben sometymes in and sometymes owt in Rebellion: But allwayes when he was in, dyd more harme in the relieving and helpyng Desmond and hys followers then wth hys forces he was hable to annoy here Ma^{tie} forces and her subjects: He had Desmound oftentimes in hys countrey in soche sorte as he myght have eyther kylled hym or taken hym, and (as I have by sondery credible persons ben informed) he wittingly and wyllingly relieved Desmound in hys countrey wthin three or fower monethes before hys death, though he had promysed and assured my Lord of Ormound, that he would doe greates servyce upon hym. In all the tyme of these late warres hys countrey was full of cattleye both of the Rebells and hys owne; where all other men that were neare unto hym and pretended or shewed any subiection, had theyre countreyes utterly spoyled. All w^{ch} beyng trewe, I leave to yo^r hono^rs goode consideration, what favor thys man deserveth: But for myne owne parte I thyncke hym as arraunt a Traytor as any is in thys Land. Unless yt be [] or Si^r George Bowser (who for some causes may seeme to favo^r hym) I am assured yf yo^r Ho. enquier of all Capteynes

* *Displeasure.* His conduct for some time previous excited much suspicion in the minds of the authorities. In the Carew Collection of State Papers, under date of March, 1582, it is stated in some "Observations of the Earl of Ormond's government during his being L. General in the province of Munster, and the success of the same," that "The Earl of Desmond being proclaimed traitor, the government of Munster was committed to Ormond as Lord General," and that "he discharged Edmond Mc Ruddy, son and heir to the White Knight, being by Theobald Roche, the Lord Roche's second son, accused of

sundry treasons in the presence of the Lord General."

Sir Nicholas Malby, writing to the Earl of Leicester, 28 May, 1582, says:—

"The Earl of Desmond is very strong. The Lord Fitzmorice, of Kerry, hath broken all his castles, and hath joined with him. A bruit also is spread that the *White Knight* is revolted, but not certainly known. His son is in Spain, which breedeth suspicion that if he be out the rebels expect foreign aid, for so they give it out still." (*Carew Papers.*)

or Serviteurs that have served in Mounster they wyll geve no better reports of hym then I wryte. I am farther geven to understand that sayte shall be made to have hym restored to hys land agayne: yf Trayto^r shall have none other punishment, who is yt in this countrye that wyll not hereafter be a Traytor.

Lest Walsyngham might unwittingly favour the White Knight Edmond, the same writer communicates to Burghley, three days after, the substance of his letter to Walsyngham:—

Lord Justice Wallop to Burghley, 6 June, 1584.

"Right honorable, Understanding that there are at this present diverse of this country repayed into England to make sayte for the discharge of arrerages of rents depending upon them, I have thought yt my dutie in Schedules^e here wth sent to advertyse yo^r Lp

* The following is a copy of the schedule referred to in the preceding letter, as far as regards the White Knight, and his questionable friend, Patrick Sherlock. (See the latter's letter to Ormond, *supra*):—

"Edmond Fitz John Oge Gibbon Fitz Gerald farmer, to the manor of Ballyboy and diverse other lands parcell of the White Knights lands in the counties of Tipperarie, Corke, and Limericke oweth for the rent and arr. therof behind for div. yeris endinge at Easter anno XXVI. Reg. Elis. amounteth to the some of

liiii. liiii. xviii. vi.

Therescutors of Patrick Sherlock gent deceased farmer of the lands and possessions belonging to the Abbey of St Katherens by Waterford in the county of Waterford owe for the arrerage therof beinge yet in arrear

A brief list, contained in the Carew MSS. (Vol. 617, p. 7, dated 19 June, 1584), of the "Extent of the lands and possessions of several traitors attainted in the county Cork, with the names of those who were slain, executed or died in rebellion" (and whose possessions were therefore regarded as forfeited to the Crown), gives a pitiful picture of the cruel severity practised by the myrmidons of the English Government of the time in Munster, whose thirst for the blood of Desmond's followers was only equalled by their greed for the possessions of that unfortunate nobleman's friends and supporters. The list comprises—

John of Desmond, executed at Cork.
James FitzMorris of Coshbride, slain in rebellion.

Thomas ne-Skarty [FitzGibbon], died in rebellion, without heirs.

The heirs of John Moyell, died in rebellion.

Shane O'Mollowe, executed at Cork.

John Figgotte, executed at Cork.

Philip Roche fits Edmond, executed at Cork.
Cormack Downe [McCarthy], executed at Cork.

Maurice fits Edmonde, slain in rebellion.

Dorrynnet McMahonnde, executed at Cork.

James fits John, slain in rebellion.

Mahown McMorrogho, executed at Clonmel.

Thomas Oge McThomas FitzGerald, slain in rebellion.

Richard Reagh Barrett, executed at Cork.

Richard fits Pierce Condon, executed at Cork.

David en-orig [FitzGibbon], died in rebellion.

David Oge McDavid O'Gallagher, died in rebellion.

Patrick Condon (living in 1584, but twice attainted).

In the same Carew Collection (Vol. 617, pp. 56-58) are several lists of Desmond's friends, including prominent members of the FitzGibbon sept, who were involved in the fate of the un-

fortunate Earl, and whose names are worth committing to print. The lists were prepared at Cork, 7 November, 1584, and promise to give

"The names of such as by verdict of the Grand Jurie were attainted of treason at or before the Rebellion of Gerald Fitz James &c of Desmond in the county of Corke, and what lands the said traitors were seized of when they entered into rebellion." Among the names are those of

William FitzRichard FitzGibbon, who was seized of a portion of land in Correnavegh.

Edmond Fitz Richard Fitz Gibbon was seized of Cornevegh, Kilballelement, Ballidonell, 2 pl. la., &c. &c.

Morrisse Fitz William Fitz David Fitz Gibbon was seized of Ballinretra in com. Waterford, cont. halfe a pl. la. and of one other halfe pl. la. called Kilnebrogha wch was mortgaged before his treason, &c. &c.

Maurice Oge McMaurice Fitz Gibbon was seized of Kilwhinge contayninge one pl. la.

Gerald [FitzGibbon] M^ey Ruderie slayne in rebellion.

William Keaghe Mc y Rudderie.

(What lands these traitors were seized of ignoramus).

Gerald Fitz Edmond McGibbon of Ballinlosday in com. Limerick.

John Fitz Thomas &c. &c.

("What lands these traitors were seized of ignoramus"), &c. &c.

Gibbon Ro McShane Oge [FitzGibbon] of the great wood, slayne in rebellion, and then seized of a part of the great wood, &c. &c.

David Gibbon, alias David Encorrig, Lo. of the great wood wthin the counties of Corke and Limericke died protected and seized of divers great parcells of land in the said great wood where he had 2 castles and sundrie townes vid.

Castle ny kille contayninge six pl. lands, Lands and Rents in connolaghe, Shanedrom a churche in the great wood, Ardaghe one quarter of land, Nygarron one quart^r of land, Ballinmiran $\frac{1}{2}$ pl. la., Coulinaghe $\frac{1}{2}$ pl. la., Killvalayne, Wallicy, Faddane $\frac{1}{2}$ pl. la., Ballintredinaghe di pl. la., the parke of Cwellean $\frac{1}{2}$ pl. la., Ballisallaghe $\frac{1}{2}$ pl. la., the moyette of Balligranan, Balliany in com. Limericke, Raghin, Ballimacorry, Balhbrowne, Farre Wateria one quart^r of land, Ballinokan, Kilbraghen, Kil-downodarin, Drommany, Kilcoolman, Kiltivine, Corraghglasse, Killooneleaghe, Ballincubart, Corraghe, Clonbrowne, Killmagawraghe, Balinekelle, Garringleine, Shanedrom, Corragbeg. Bolland and divers other rents and services, lands and tenements with there appurtenances. And also those that had or made any clayme to any of the premises by custome or otherwise were likewise in rebellion, so as the whole lands are cleerlye coheated to her Matie, &c. &c. &c.

of theyre names and also of theyre severall arrerages to the end thereby yo^r Lp may eyther further or hynder theyre saytes, as to yo^rself shall seeme best : yelding yo^r Lp myne opinion to be, there hath ben no soche desert in any of them as may in reason drawe her Ma^{tie} to geve awayes so greates somes as they owe unto her.

"Edmond Fitz Gibbon.

"Fyrst for Edmond Fitz Gibbon otherwyse called y^e Whyte Knyght, hys father beyng a notorious Traytor, and thereof atteynted, whereby hys Landes and cuntry escheated to her Ma^{tie}, soche favo^r was shewed unto hym as he had the same agayne be Lease at a lesse rent then the xxth part thereof is worth; w^{ch} notwthstandinge he hath not payed as by the Dockett of hys arrerage appeareth. He hath lyved allwayes very loosely, and was beyond Seas a practyse^r wth James Fitz Morice : And since thys last rebellien of James Fitz Morice, he was sometymes in, and sometymes out; but beyng in, he allwayes served Desmoundes and hys followers turnes better then when he was owt, in releeving them and keeping theyre cattayle, and hath often had Desmound hymself wth very small force in hys cuntry. For myne owne opinion of hym, he is as evell and as dayngerous a man, as fewe are in Ireland; and so I thyncke wyl the most parte of Capteyns and serviteures that have served in that Provence saye yf they be asked."

In these letters Wallop makes no reference to the great provocations given to the White Knight by the officials of the Queen in Munster, and their hiring allies, who seem to have continually laboured for the extinction of the blood and name of the Clan FitzGibbon. Even Ormond, to whom the White Knight addressed himself in 1575, entreating protection for his wife during his own absence on the continent, writes thus in 1588 to the Privy Council:—

The Earl of Ormond to the Privy Council, Cork, 23 April, 1588.

"Most honnoable and my veray good Ll. having recevid from Lymbrick certaine advertiments broght thether by one Nangle a marchaunt of the same lately com from Lisbonne in portingall, I thought hit my dutie to send them herenclosed to you to be considred of, as to yo^r Ll. shall seme fitt, and wthall to lett you understand som parte of the service done sinc my last lettres sent to you the Vth of this moneth. There was killed in the borders of the countye of Tipperary a kynes man of the White Knights called Gerot McEdmond McGibbon, who was a notorious traito^r, there was also a spye slayne that came from the traitors to geve intelligence to them. One kellaghane McTeig a brother to S^r Cormok McTeig, hath slayne of late a notorious traito^r of the geraldines, being called lord of the great wodd* with his son, his wife and 7 of his men wherin he hath done veray good servie. Yesterday also my L. barryes men rescued a praye from the deane of Brohill's sonnes (being gentlemen of the Geraldines) killed 3 of them, wth a capten of Gallowglas of the Mac Shihyes & 4 moe of there men, whose heads they broght hether unto me wth a p^risoner then taken. Capten barkeley wth his company of footemen is gone into Desmond to ayde therle of Clancarty against therle of Desmond, and yesterday I sent S^r Cormok Mac Teig and S^r William Standley wth his footmen to prosecute him also; myself do meane to move (god willing) to campe wth my horsmen beyonde the great water hoping, if the traitors com back over the mountaine, to mete wth them, So for avoiding yo^r Ll. farther trouble at this tyme I humbly take my leave and comitt you to the blessed guiding of god."

The discontent of the White Knight Edmond seems, about this period, to have been very great, and his proceedings appear to have been closely watched by the Lord Deputy and his agents, who regarded with apprehension the result of the negotiations which Edmond was strongly suspected of carrying on with his sympathisers in Spain and Italy. Under date of August 4, 1585, we find Sir Henry Wallop writing from Dublin to Burghley, on the subject of these negotiations, in the following terms:—

"Right honorable and my verie good Lo: Being by the Lo: deputie at his late departure in journey northwardes, lefte in loynte comission wth the Lo: Chancelo^r for the gouvem^t of the Pale. I thought it my duetie in bresfe to give yo^r Lo: a tast of such

* Lord of the great wodd. This was doubtless the famous David en Coraig (as the name was written by the English agents), who was Lord

of the "Great Wood" (now known as Kilmore, part of the barony of Orrery and Kilmore, Co. Cork). See last page.

advertisements as more at lardge by o^r Joynte lre unto S^r Francis Walsinghame we have wth this present dispatch certefied . . .

"By lre owt of Mounster I am enformed that dyners of the late pryncipall Rebells there, are noated to be very inquisityve of late, and contynually listeninge for the arryall o^r Spanyards; and wthin these fewe daies here happened to come to o^r handes a lre sent owt of Spaine to Edmond Fitz Gibbon the White Knight, wth albeit seeme to be writen in a plaine stile, yet in o^r opinion it seemed very suspicious, a coppie whereof we have thought good to send to S^r Fran. Walsinghame to be considered of there as yo^r LL. shall see cause, and in the meane tyme have ginen direction that Ed. Fitz Gibbon be apprehended and forthcominge when he shal be called for. This being the sume of o^r present advertise-ments and state of things here I cease further to trouble yo^r Lo: at this present, and so wth humble remembrance of my duetie, betake yo^r Lo: to the tultion of the Allmightie."

There is reason to suppose that soon after the date of the preceding letter the Govern-ment placed Edmund under strict supervision, if not in actual confinement. Certain it is that he was in Dublin early in the following year, for Lord Deputy Perrott, writing to Walsingham on the 11th of February, 1585-6, says:—

"The White Knight's son is by my direction newly arrived out of Spain, as his father told me yesterday, and I have sent for him hither."

It does not actually appear from this statement that the White Knight was staying in Dublin Castle on the occasion, but it may be reasonably inferred that he was, and rather as a prisoner or hostage than a guest, although the author of the foregoing tract asserts that after his services against Sorley Boy MacDonnell (in 1584) the White Knight was "mightily recommended to Her Majesty by his letters of favor, not only for this remarkable service, but for his other good and loyal services." (Vid. *supra*, p. 618.)

The presence of the White Knight in Dublin Castle was probably designed by the Lord Deputy to procure the return of his son from the Lowlands. It does not appear from the State Papers when the White Knight was apprehended, or how long he was detained in Dublin Castle; but he was probably enlarged soon after the return of his son, to be again arrested when it suited the purpose of the Government agents.

On March 8, 1587, we find Thomas Norreys writing to Burghley, from Cork:—

"According to a former direction from your honour and the rest of Her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, I am now in hand to take into safe keeping the White Knight,[†] the Seneschal of Imokilly, Patrick Condon, Patrick FitzMaurice, and some other of their sort. Their subtilty is such, as it will be very hard for me at one time to have them together, notwithstanding I hope so to Compass it, as shall stand with your honours good liking."

The plot thus inaugurated was soon carried out, as appears from the following letter:—

Sir John Perrot to the Privy Council, May 1, 1587, Dublin.

"Upon the receipt of your Lordship's letters for the apprehending of the protectees and doubtful persons in Munster, I have stayed the White Knight, and have likewise here all the rest your Lordships required, which Knight I have here in safe custody within the Castle, for divers respects, especially because his son is with the traitor Sir William Stanley.[†]

* Among the principal Munster chieftains at this period (1586), the names of three Geraldine knights are mentioned in a "Draft report of certain commissioners showing the Lords and Chieftains of Munster and Connaught, as also a note of those noblemen, knights, and gentlemen dwelling within the precincts of Munster."

"The Knight of Kerry called John McRuddery (Fitzgerald). Comitatu Limerick, West.—Edmund FitzDavyde (Fitzgerald), called the Knight of the Valley. Comitatu Cork, Middle Munster.—Edmund FitzRuddery (Fitzgibbon or McGibbon, Fitzgerald), Knight, called the White Knight, alive, Middle Munster. (See a letter of his 1375 March 10, inclosure in a letter of March 20, in which he signs himself 'Edmund Knight.') And among the names of the gentlemen and

freeholders of the county of Limerick, who are not in rebellion, the Commissioners specify as residing in the barony of Coashlee:—"Edmund McGibbon (qu. the White Knight?)—John Boy Rooche—Thomas Hurly—John McShikie—Cousager Roe O'Hernan—Gerot McShane Ruddy (i.e., 'Gerald son of the Old Knight'), and Shane O'Longan."

+ Sir William Stanley. The Rev. George Hill in his "Macdonnells of Antrim," p. 170, says of Sir William Stanley:—

"Stanley was knighted by Sir William Dray, lord justice of Ireland, in the year 1578. On the close of the war with Sorley Boy, (Feby. 1584-5) he was placed in command of 1,000 men sent to serve in Holland, and appointed Governor of the town of Deventer, in the Netherlands, which town, with its garrison of 1,200 men, changed

I have sent your Lordships here inclosed a letter, which he hath written, to the said Sir William (if it may be) to draw his son over. The bearer hereof may likewise be made an apt instrument (if it please your Lordships to use him) to entice from Sir William many of the Irishmen that are now with him, the like whereof myself would use my credit to perform if I might understand Her Majesty's and your Lordship's pleasures." (*State Papers, Ireland; Elizab., Vol. 129.*)

Among the persons whose interests would be affected by the decision of the Government on the points here raised, were the following proprietors of "Lands in Munster allotted to the Western undertakers, claimed by the Irishry," in the County of Cork. (The decision of the Privy Council on each claim is given within brackets):—

"Claimed by the Seneschall and tenants. Imokilly containeth with the chargeable lands near three seignories. ('*Forborn*.' Direction to be given to Sir Wm. Fytzwylliams to deal with the Seneschall.) *The word 'Forborn' is in Burghley's hand.*

"Claimed by the Lord Roche. Carringlymleery with Dryver, containeth near about one seignoria. (Referred to the Commissioners.)

"Claimed by Patrick Condon. The Condon's country; containeth near about three seignories. (The like direction to Sir William Fytzwylliams as in the case of the Seneschal.)

"Used by the White Knight, having some of the castles only in lease. The White Knight's country, being about a seignory and half,* forfeit to her Majesty and waste. (The Commissioners to deal with the White Knight by composition.)

"Sum total, 16 seignories.

"So there is not left to the Western Undertakers free, without claim, not above three seignories, except those allotted to Sir Walter Rawley.

"INSTRUCTIONS.

"To understand what is meant to be done with these lands of the Seneschal, the Condon, and the White Knight.

"What their pleasure is touching the other lands claimed.

"(Signed) John Popham, Thomas Hannam, Edward Rogers, John Cowper, Roger Warre, Amys Baufyld, Vane Becher, Michael Sidenham, Ed. Roade, Ed. Sands, Arthur Hyde, Hugh Worth, Richard Hippealey, Roger Keat, Hugh Cuff, Philip Cuff, John Robinson." (Copy.) (*State Papers, Ireland, Eliz., Vol. 180.*)

sides in the war, going over under Stanley's command from the English service to that of the Spaniards. English historians represent Stanley as being bribed to act thus, but it is more likely that, having become a Roman Catholic, he felt dissatisfied with the English service. A rumour was spread in Ireland that he was soon to return at the head of an invading Spanish force."

Sir William Stanley had a grant in reversion, in 1583, of the office of Master of the Ordnance in Ireland; but having been attainted and outlawed in June, 1586, the office was granted to Sir George Carew. See Morrin's *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Vol. II., pp. 155, 168, 255.

During the confinement of the White Knight on this occasion, the "Gentlemen Undertakers for the peopling of the Province of Munster" were busy with the project of confiscating his estates, with those of other victims. Under the date of July 12, 1587, the State Papers contain:—

"A note of certain articles, the answer whereof the gentlemen undertakers for the peopling of the Province of Munster, in Ireland, do most humbly crave from the Council in England that it may be presently sent over to the Lord Deputy, for that at this instant they stand sundry ways discomforted to proceed in the action. Imprimis, whether the Desmond's lands, called the chargeable lands, are the Queen's, and to be divided among the undertakers or not; if they be that then notice be given to the Lord Deputy thereof.

"Item, whether the lands of Condon, the White Knight, and the Seneschal, shall be distributed

and apportioned among the undertakers and their associates or not; if yea, then the Lord Deputy have knowledge thereof, and warrant for the delivery of the possession thereof, the which said lands, if they be not to be divided and distributed among the undertakers with their associates and all their tenants must forthwith, of necessity, return into England (notwithstanding they are most desirous and ready in this service), for want of their lands promised, having bestowed exceeding charge in travail to their great loss and hindrance.

"Item, they desire to know what shall be done with the lands of those who have their pardon for their lives, not having their lands granted under Her Majesty's Great Seal.

"Item, whereas it is granted in Her Majesty's letters patents, that the complaints of the Irish shall be heard by Commissioners, and determined by them, their humble petition and request is, that if any Irish shall make challenge to any lands, whereof her Majesty is seized by office of record, that they may seek their remedy in the Exchequer at Dublin, as her subjects do in England in like causes." (*State Papers, Ireland, Elizab., Vol. 130.*)

* *A seignory and half.* This can only refer to the portion of the White Knight's country under the rule of Edmund FitzJohn FitzGibbon in 1587, as the territory possessed by his ancestors embraced at least four seignories of 10,000 acres each.

On the subject of these claims, as well as on the wretched state to which Munster had been reduced by wars and intestine broils, Sir Edward Phytton writes to Burghley, from Kilmallock, under date of 30 July, 1587 :—

"A general claim is laid to the lands appointed for the undertakers. The country generally wasted, but yet not a pile in any place, but full of the poorest creatures that ever I saw, so lean for want of food as wonderful, and yet so idle as they will not work, because they are descended either of kerne, horseman, or gallowglass, all three the very subversion of this land. Sermon not once in seven years. The churchmen collect their tithes with most rigour, and neither give food temporal or spiritual. James FitzMaurice's wife has sent a messenger to her son in Spain. The White Knight's son hath sent word to his mother that they shall have liberty shortly. McGibbon's son, whom they call the White Knight, is with Sir Wm. Stanley." (*State Papers, Ireland, Elizab., Vol. 130.*)

The Lord Deputy thought that a transference of the White Knight and his friends from an Irish to an English prison would be attended with some benefit to the State, and therefore proposed to send them to England, in September, 1587, as appears from the following :—

"Memorandum of matters to be proposed in Council for the Lord Deputy of Ireland." "Ormond's freedoms. The Lord Deputy's motion for the sending over into England the seneschal of Imokilly and the White Knight prisoners in the castle of Dublin." (*State Papers, Ireland, Eliz., Vol. 131.*)

The subject remained for some time under the consideration of the Council, as appears from a memorandum (under date of Nov. 14, 1587) of an "Answer to Sir William Fitzwilliam's petitions from Mr. Secretary Walsingham and Sir Edward Waterhouse to the following effect, viz. :—

"Letters presently to be written to stay the pledges and also to answer Sir John Perrot's motion for the sending hither of the White Knight, the Seneschal (of Imokilly, Patrick) Condon, and others."

The suitors for the lands which but for the attainder of his father would have been Edmond's by right of inheritance, were numerous. Many succeeded in their suits, receiving parcels here and there of "the White Knight's country," much to the disgust of Edmond, who naturally regarded the grantees with the most hostile feelings, and tried to cast them, whenever he could, from what he considered as of right his own.

Sir Theobald Butler, Baron of Cahir (created so in 1588), writes to the Queen, under date of July 13, 1585, complaining that an annuity of £15 a year incident to his title had been withheld from him for 31 years, requests "that it may please yo^r highness to direct yo^r moeste gracious lettres unto the L. Deputy & Vice Threasurer of Ireland for paym^t thereof. And where also," he continues, "the lands and possessions of the late White Knight are escheated to yo^r ma^ty & remayne in yo^r hands by his attainder, that it may please yo^r highness in consideration of the said S^r Theobald's service done & hereafter to be done to yo^r highness to graunt unto him & to the heires males of his boddy so much of the lands & possessions of the said late White Knight in the Barrony of O'Phate in the Com['] of Tipperary & elsewhere in the said Com['] as shall amounte to the yerly value of the said £15, according yo^r highness survey; and upon yo^r highness graunt of the said lands unto him discharged of rent, yo^r said subject will surrender to yo^r highness moeste gracious hands the said fee of creacion of £15 per annum, and will give unto yo^r highness by way of abatement of the said arrerages for a fyne one hundred pounds sterlinge

"And lastely where yo^r Ma^ty by yo^r gracious lettres haue heretofore written unto yo^r Deputy of Ireland for delivering unto him the possession of the Barrony of Cahairkilles in the com['] of Limericke and of the lands of Ballyboy in the com['] of Tipperary, according to the tenor of Severall orders taken by yo^r highness Comissioners in the province of Munster in that behalf, So it is that the possession of the lands of Ballyboy are likewise kept from him by Edmond FitzGibbon (comonly called) the White Knight, supposinge that there was an office found therof for yo^r Ma^ty after the attainder of the said Edmond's father w^{ch} was longe time after the orders past by the said Comissioners for yo^r subject upon examynacion of his title. Moeste humbly praieing yo^r highness to send yo^r gracious lettres unto yo^r highness Deputy of the realme, willing him to cause the possession of the said Ballyboy to be delivered unto yo^r said subject upon sight of the said orders and of his title notwithstanding any office found therof."

But Lord Cahir's application was rather unreasonable, considering that Ballyboy had been leased by the Crown to the White Knight Edmond in 1576, as above shown.

Notwithstanding the great services done by Edmond to the officers of Elizabeth in

Munster, some of them, regardless of these services, for which they even took credit, kept on representing him to the government of the Queen as the vilest of traitors. Among the most active of these was the astute Sir Warham St. Leger, ancestor of the Doneraile family, who doubtless wished to share in the distribution of the rich spoil that would fall into the hands of the Crown by the destruction of the White Knight and his friends, to be parcelled out to the detestable crew of Munster officials, whose hunger for the lands of Desmond and his confederates was insatiable. Nothing would satisfy them, apparently, but the extirpation of the entire landed proprietors of the southern province, and the division of its broad acres among themselves. The "pacific" policy, which was most in vogue with St. Leger and his accomplices in Munster in 1588, is well illustrated by the following letter:—

Sir Warham St. Leger to Lord Burghley, 7 Dec., 1588. (State Papers, Ireland, Eliz.)

"To cut of foraine attempts and the daunger that maie growe to the disturbance of this Realme, the Seneschall, Patricke Fitzmorris, and Patricke Condone, nowe captvyves in the said Castell of Dublin, woulde be made shorter by the heades if they may be brought within compasse of lawe; and if the White Knights and his sonn in lawe Donogh Mac Cormack kept them companie they were well rydd out of this commonwealt; and yf they cannot be brought within compasse of lawe, whereby they maie have their iuste desertes then woulde they be commytted to some safe prysons in Englande; for assuredley yf they remaine where they are, they will, at one tyme or other breake pryson, for the wch, yf they doe, they will cause the Queene to spende £100,000. They will never be goode excepte they were to be made againe newe, being perjured wretches, some of them having twyce forsworne themselves before me uppon the Testamente, and therefore yt were a good sacryfice to God to rydd them out of this worlde, where they will never do good. We have nowe sente from hence to Dublyn to the L. Chancellor (by dyrection from the L. Deputie) Florence Mac Cartie, whos contemptuously hath marryed the Earle of Clanker's onelle daughter, to answer that his doinges. It were good for this Government yf he were, for his contempte, keepte a prysoner duringe this daungerous tyme, he beinge a person that the mailecontentes of this provynce greatlie bende themselves unto, and the onlie man, in their conceiptes, lykeli againe to set up the House of the Garaldynes of which he is dyscended by his Mother, whos was daughter to Morrys of Desmonde, unkill to the late wicked Earle of Desmonde, by which parentage, together with his own, beinge dyscended out of one of the chiefe of the house of the Clankerties, he is like to be a person of great power, yf he be not prevented and his ambitious dealers cutt shorte, &c. &c. &c. &c."

The hint given in the foregoing letter, regarding the decapitation of the White Knight and his son-in-law (Donogh MacCarthy), appears not to have been received with favour by the English Government. It is plain, however, that both were at this time safely lodged in the Castle of Dublin. The circumstances attending their arrest have been ignored by the writer of the preceding narrative. Their arrest must have taken place a short time before the 1st of April, 1587, on which day the Lord Deputy (Perrott) writes to the Earl of Leicester (from Dublin Castle):—"I have in this castle the White Knight, the Seneschal, Patrick Condon, and Donogh mac Cormock, and have caused to be apprehended M^oAwley and Thomas Oge of the Island [of Kerry?]." (*Carow Papers.*) Writing to the Privy Council on the 1st of May following, the Lord Deputy Reports that he had "the White Knight in safe custody within the Castle," where he and his son-in-law remained until the beginning of the year 1589, when they were enlarged on very heavy recognizances, as appears from the following communication:—

The Lord Deputy and Council, Dublin, to the Privy Council, Jan. 6, 1589.
(*"Domestic State Papers," Ireland, Elizab.*)

"It may please yo^r LLps. having receaved a Letter from yo^r LLps. datid the 2 of September last, signifyinge her Ma^{ty} pleasure for th'enlarging of Edmond FitzGibbon and Donogh McCormock Cartie upon their bonds. Th'accomplishm^t whereof (in respect of the present troubles there) we thought meete for some small tyme to deferr as formerly by Letters unto yo^r LLps. in that behaulfe we have signified. And beinge nowe earnestly sued unto by the saide prisoners for the effectinge of yo^r LLps. saied Letters; and further having had conference wth the Vicep^rsident S^r Thomas Norris touchting his opinion of them, who cannot enforce us of any matter to charge them ther wthall other then it hath

pleased yo^r LLps heretofore to take knowledge of, we have thought good in regarde of her Ma^{ty} aide pleasure upon their ioynte and severall recognizaunces of £2000 a peece taken before the Lo. Chancell^r to her Ma^{ty} use for their Loyall and dutifull demeanors towards her Ma^{ty} and this state, to enlarge them, the rather for that besides the Bonds of o^r very good LLs. Th^e erlles of Ormond and Thomond, the parties themselves wth good suerties (as the Vicep^resident declareth) stande formerly bounde in that Province to the like effect. And thus wth o^r most humble duties we comitt yo^r LLs to God. At the Castell of Dublin the 6 of January 1588 (9).

"Yo^r LLps ever humbly to commande

"W. FITZWILLIAM"

Endorsed, "Edmond FitzGibbon and Donogh McCormock
Cartie sett at libertie upon bond taken of them for their good
behaviour towards the state."

The White Knight and his son-in-law, Donogh MacCarthy, could scarcely have been out of the prison of Dublin Castle, when the hypocritical St. Leger was again intriguing for their further detention (or re-arrest and imprisonment, for he was not aware of their enlargement), again suggesting that they should be sent for safe keeping into England, lest they should "break prison" in Dublin. This time he writes to the Queen herself, who must have smiled at the rogue's statement that, in recommending the measure proposed, he was actuated by no malicious feeling or improper motive; for she probably knew St. Leger well:—

Sir Warham St. Leger to Queen Elizabeth, Jan. 10, 1589. (Cork).

"My dutie in moste humble wise don unto yo^r Ma^{ty}. The goverments of this your Province of Mounster beinge laide on me (in the absence of yo^r highnes vicepresidents, whoe is employed by Yo^r L. Deputie in the Northern service) I holde it my parte and dutie to advertise yo^r Ma^{ty}, howe the estate thereof standeth; the which (thanks be to God and your highnes prudent dyrections) is in as universall a quyet as the cyvilstate Provinces in yo^r Realme of Inglande, and soe noe doubt will contynue, yf forraigne invasyon be not the ympedyments, The preventinge whereof (although it be to your Ma^{ty} a thousande tymes better knowen then I am able to conceive, yet presumynge of yo^r gracious and favorable construction) I will make bolde to ymparte unto yo^r highnes my poore oppynion howe a greate parte of the daunger of forraigne invasion maie be prevented. Wherein yf I take upon me to be more busye then yo^r Ma^{ty} shall well allowe I humbly crave pardon, protestinge to God I doe it not for anie mallice I beare to anie bodie nor yet for desier of anie mans blood; but onlie for the zeall and dutie I beare to yo^r Ma^{ty} and this yo^r highnes realme and the comen weall of the same; beinge now (through yo^r Ma^{ty} gracions gyfte) a poore member thereof. To cutt of the hope of forraigne Invadors is to foresee that such as be wicked members in this Provynce be apprehended & made suer and those that be now captives in yo^r castell at Doblyn alsoe safelie kepte and chiefie the Seneschall of Immokilly, Patrick Fitz Morris, and Patrick Condona, whoe be thre verely wicked men; suche as will never be good, excepte they were to be made anewe. And therefore (yf they maie be brought within compasse of lawe) it were a good sacryfice to god and a benefyt to this Realme, yf they were cutt shorte by their heades. Not offendinge (in this my wryteinge) yf the White Knight^e and Donnogh Mac Cormacke his sonn in lawe kept them companie, it were a happie turne for this Province. These be verely dangerous persons; And yf they cannot be brought within compasse of lawe to have their iuste desertes, then were it good they were sente for into Inglande and there to remayne in safe ymprisoument, tyll this dangerous tyme were passed over. For assuredlie (yf they remaine where they are) they will escape at one tyme or other, which yf they doe they will cause your highnes to spende a hundred thousande poundes and daunger this realme. It were alsoe good that Florence Mac Cartie who I have latelie sente (by dyrection from yo^r L. Deputie) to the L. Chancell^r to answer to his contemptuous mariadge of the Earle of Clankerties daughter, were sente

* In some other notes supposed to be written by Sir William Herbert, in July, 1588, "for Her Majesty to consider of," he states regarding the "Seneschal (of Imokilly), Patrick Condon, Patrick Fitzmaurice, and the White Knight," that "these are all suspected to be very dangerous

persons, and nearer to be seen unto than others, the most of them having been principal actors in the last rebellion." But it is strange that the writer should not have known that they were at the time in custody.

for into Inglande there to remayne in safe keepinge tyll a quyeter worlde, and that the yonge Ladie which he haith marryed be devorced from him (as I thinke by lawe she maie) and she marryed to some Inglish husbande upon whom it shall please yo^r highnes like to dyspose her. It were alsoo good that the L. Rotche were sent for, &c. &c. &c. &c." ("Dom. State Papers," Ireland, Elizab.)

The apprehensions of an immediate foreign invasion of Ireland, entertained at this time by the English officials in Munster, seem to have rested on no reliable foundation. The unfortunate fate of the invading party which entered Smerwick Harbour, to the west of Dingle, in 1580, was still too fresh in the mind of the disaffected Irish of Munster and their continental sympathisers, to render a repetition of the attempt at this period at all probable. The projects against England on foot in the Lowlands and in Spain at the time are fully described in a document in the Public Record Office, London, dated July 28, 1588, entitled—"A Discourse of Morris Fitz Gerald the White Knights sones of the State of the Lowe Contreies, and what is intended by the k. of Spaigne and the D. of Parma touchinge England and France &c.

"Firste, He saith that he went over out of Ireland as a page to S^r William Stanley wth whom he contynued untill abouts viii monethes since, what tyme upon the departure of diverse of the Irishe from him (who went to the service in France) he alsoo lefte him, Sir William beinge very angry wth his departure and inquisitive to knowe whither he purposed his iorney, who answered that he would eyther to France or to Spaigne.

"Since wth time he saith he hath remained in the D. court at Brissille wth one Mr John Lacy ande Irishe man untill aboute xiii daies past.

"He saith that cominge to the D. court he found ther the L. Pagett and his brother M^r Throgmorton and his brother M^r Harry Poole (who saith he ought to be kinge of England) and one Mr Morgan (who is suspected to be a spy for the Q. Ma^{tie}). Alsoo S^r Thomas Markinfeild (a knight of the order of Jerusalem) all well intreted by the Duke. He sayth that he sawe the Earle of Westmorland in Antwerpe wher he hath his diet wth the D. of Postrana but is very bare and poore.

"That the D. of Parma aboute Witsontide went to the Spawe beinge in all mens estimation about him well and in good health, but since he is ther growen to a great swellinge and very infirme wth the dropsey, having sent for all his counsell thither to him, with whom (it is said) he is concludinge wth the States to gett the Townes of Holland and Zeland yielded upp into his hands upon composicon. That the Spaniards are in seage of a towne wherin Sr Marten Skinke is.

"That the D. aboute 7 or 8 daies past dispatched 8000 souldi^{ers} of Attmingues and Wallones into France under the leadinge of Count Egemount in aide of the leaguers.

"That it is ane undouted speche amongest the Spaniards that the k. intendeth to make the Duke of Savoy (who hath marryed his daughter), kinge of France, and that the sd Duke is nowe beseging a towne of the French kinges.

"That the Pope hath excommunicated the French k. and that the Spaniards doe make a sure accompt to conquer him.

"That the k. of Spaigne hath great preparacions in Italy for a newe invasion of England, and that he hath ther many men in readines together with diverse great shippes buildinge for that purpose.

"That he hath also ii armies in Spaigne preparinge likewise for that cause, and that many of the D. best souldi^{ers} are lately gone, and dayly are goeing thither for the orderinge and leadinge of those men and to be their officers.

"That Mr William Stanley hath bin dealt wth to discover the aptest course and fittest places for the invasion of England and Irland w^{ch} he hath also sett downe in writing to the D., containyng liii or v sheets of paper w^{ch} this examinant sawe wth one William Cordes, S^r Willms secretary, who shewed it him, and that their purpose is to get some haven to lodge their shippes in.

"That ther was a Frenchman one Mores a tayler sent over hither wth letters from the L. Paget and Sr William Stanley to some in England (but he knoweth not whom) to further the purpose of the invasion, w^{ch} Frenchman was here taken (as he hard) and beinge after set at libertie retourned backe and is now Sr William Stanleys butler.

"That there are now in England one Overingehart and Ancient, and one Roger Ashton who were all favored by S^r William Stanley, but specially Ashton. That ther are comonly with him Doctor Worthington, M^r Greene, M^r Darbisheer (who is his stewarde), M^r Worth and a Jesuit called father Holt (one of his counsell^{ers}, being all Englishmen) and one M^r Nycholas ane Irishe man, all priests and Jesuits. Alsoo that ther is a very often

recourse of letters between Sr William Stanley and Cardinall Allen. And that he shal be made a Duke by the said Cardinalls meanes.

"That the k. of Spaigne had the D. of Parma in very high displeasure for faytlinge his fleet the last yeare in the intendment against England, and that he would have hanged him for that cause had it not bin for his good services in the Lowe Countries.

"That ther is great muteny and mialike amongst the D. souldiors, especyally betweene the Spaniards and Italians. And that the Spaniards will yeeld no longer to be lead by aine Italians.

"That ther were diverse Invectives written by the Spanishe souldiors in vile reproche of the D. w^{ch} beinge throwen into his chamber were by himself found and read.

"That the Irishe men that are gone from Sr William Stanley into France and the rest that contynue wth him would all very willingly retorne home or into England yf they might stand assured of her Ma^{ty} favour and mercy."

It would seem that Maurice Fitzgibbon, the author of the foregoing "Discourse," had made at least two trips to the Continent—one in attendance on the so-called "Traitor," James FitzMaurice, and the second in attendance on Sir William Stanley. It is probable that Maurice FitzGibbon accompanied his father to France in 1575, along with the Seneschall of Imokilly and the other friends of the "Traitor" who shared his exile (or participated in his mission to the Continent, as the English officials would have it). At all events, Maurice was abroad in 1582 (according to the letter of Sir Nicholas Malby above printed, p. 667, note), and in 1584, as appears from the statement in Viscount Roche's letter to the Privy Council, dated 8rd May in that year, (*supra* p. 664). He is alleged to have returned in the year following, at the instance of the Lord Deputy Perrott, who writes to Walsingham, under date of 11 Feb., 1585-6, that "The White Knight's son is by my direction newly arrived out of Spain, as his father told me yesterday, and I have sent for him hither." (*State Papers, Ireland Elizab., Vol. 122.*)

Page 610, line 9 ab inf.—"*Patents of Old Castletowns.*"

The grant to James Roche, of Old Castletown and other lands, under a commission dated 6 August, 1577, was only a lease for 21 years. (See page 658, *supra*.) The statement in the text, viz., that Roche had procured, "by bribery, letters Patent of Oldcastletown and other lands of the White Knights," is supported by the evidence of the "Fiant" above referred to (*ib.*); and it seems very certain, from the remarkable harmony between most of his statements and the contents of public documents adduced in their support (*vid. supra*) that the writer of the original narrative was well acquainted with the history of the White Knights.

It was probably the experience acquired by Maurice FitzGibbon in his previous travels through France, Italy, and Spain, that led to his being one of the staff appointed to accompany Sir William Stanley to the Lowlands, where the latter is accused of having fallen away from his allegiance to his sovereign.

In 1590, the Lord Deputy, Sir William FitzWilliams, writing to Burghley (under date of June 23), respecting the White Knight, says:—"Yo^r Lo. requireth mine opinion of the White Knight. He is a man to me unknown, and I trust yo^r Lo. will better allowe I saie so, then that I shold advertise uncertenlie of oth^r mens reporta. (*State Papers, Ireland, Elizab.*)

In the following year, however, he had a further grant of some of his father's possessions. This grant included the following denominations, viz.:—

"The lands of Balliremon, Ballyphillip [Ballinisti], Killaderrye and Kilmacullen, Kilcloney [possessions of John Oge] Fitz John Gibbon de Gerra'd' White Knight attainted, in the co. Cork, belonging to the manor of Oldecastletone; Ballienoghan and the Scarce: Pollardestowne near Brigowne; Killiglassie; chief rents out of the manor of Ardsath, in the tenure of John Fitz Gerralde Esq.; Brigowne, in the tenure of William Fitz Thomas; Farrehis, in the tenure of Richard Cusahan; Garrandrolane, in the tenure of Viscount Fermoy; Mountecrubbin, in the tenure of Richard Cusahan (all in the Co. Cork); also the lands of Ballinegreney, Jamestown, Karrowgarrowe near Kilmallock, and Rathewitagh; and chief rents out of Kilfynan, in the tenure of Shane boye Roche; the Castle of Ballindromite, late in the tenure of Gerald McRicharde; Ballinskally, in the tenure of Gerald McThomas; Downemowne, in the tenure of John McShehie; Ballenvestelladon, in the tenure of Conohor roe O'Hernan; Ballenakaddan, Ballingaddie, in the tenure of Peter

Creagh; Founte's lande, in the tenure of [] Founte; Ballinwrenye, in the tenure of Gerald M^cThomas; Glanlare, in the tenure of Gibbons Dirronte; Stephenstown; Dirragh, in the tenure of Shane boye Roche; Ballieshaneby, in the tenure of [M^cShane] boye; Cloghenodfoile, in the tenure of John Laughan and others, clerk of Ardpatricke; Ballinlondry, in the tenure of Gerald McGibbon and [Edmond McGibbon]; Ballinebow, in the tenure of Richard Fox of Limerick; Ballenanonowe, in the tenure of Shane boye Roche; Ballincrone Cahireline—all belonging to the late White Knight in the Co. Limerick. Also, part of the Castle of Balliboye which extended to the towns of Balliboye and Ballindamaber, Co. Tipperary; the lands of Kilharrownaghe, Dirragharrick, Skianaughdan, Coultellagh, Neggarame and Balliechane; a chief rent out of Shanraughan, in the tenure of Richard Keating, with the perquisites of the court there (Co. Tipperary). Also the site of the Castle of Court Ruddery near the town of Kilmallock, surrounded with a stone wall, the Court being ruinous, the land belonging to it, a water mill and a third part of another upon the river of Kilmallock, Co. Limerick—all possessions of the late John Oge fitz John Gibbon de Gerald' the White Knight attained. To hold in tail male in capite." (See Fiant, No. 6334, dated 15 Dec., 88d of Elizab.)

It is very probable, however, that the favour thus shown to Edmond was at the expense of other members of the White Knight's relations, and more especially at the expense of the "Old Knight's" sept. Thus, by a Chancery inquisition taken at Kilmallock on the 28rd of May, 1608, it was found that Maurice FitzGibbon, the son of Edmond (White Knight) was seized of Ballinlondry and Oallan, but that David FitzGerald [FitzGibbon] had entered upon the lands a year before Maurice's death in 1608, and claimed them as his "right and inheritance," although one Thomas FitzGibbon had previously held them by conveyance from the said Maurice. It is also added that Thomas FitzGibbon and Gerald fitz Philip [FitzGibbon] had likewise claimed the same lands within a year before the death of Maurice.

By the same Inquisition it was found that Edmond FitzGibbon, White Knight, was seized of Derrantstown, *alias* Ballideronte and Carraneuonagh, which Gibbon Fitz Maurice [*alias* Mac an tsen-Ridder] claimed as his *right and inheritance*, although Edmond had conveyed part of them to David Meagh of Kilmallock, by deed dated 4 April, 1694. It was further found by the Jurors that the lands of Ballinscalla, Stephenstown, and Martins-town, and other denominations of which Edmond was likewise seized, were claimed as their right and inheritance by Ellen and Maria FitzGerald, notwithstanding that Edmond had previously conveyed them to others. These three last denominations were in the possession of Gibbon [fitz Maurice] FitzGibbon in 1641; and the way in which they came into his hands is explained in a Chancery Inquisition taken at Kilmallock on the 20th of August, 1611, as follows:—

"The said Jurors doe finde that the severall lands hereafter following were granted by Letters Patents from the late Queene Elizabeth unto Richard Fitton and Alexander Fitton, viz., the Castell and landes of Ballygibbon and Ardynygallynagh; the town and landes of Ballinskely; the town and landes of Ballynwariny; the town and landes of Cash []; the town and landes of Ballincurry; the town and landes of Ellaneboy which were in the possession of John Baggot; the town and landes of Buoly; the town and landes of Ballystephen; the town and landes of Ballynehenshy; the town and landes of Grangepaden; the town and landes of Race []; the town and landes of Ardpatrik; the town and landes of Ballinvisteally [] and Glaunahagilsh; the castle town and landes of Cloghetackie. The said Richard Fitton and Alexander Fitton have granted all the aforesaid castles towns and landes unto Thomas Butler [] and Walter Boorcke of Derrantstown. The said Thomas and Walter have conveyed all the premises unto Edmund FitzGibbon *alias* the White Knight and Morris FitzDavid of Derrantstown in fee farme. Afterwards the said Edmond FitzGibbon and Morris FitzDavid divided the premises into equal moities by conveyances made from the one to the other. The said Edmund fitzGibbon being seized of his moitie hath granted half of the landes of Balli [] parcell of the same, containing by estimation 250 acres of lande unto Ullick Browne in fee farme. All the rest of the moitie descended unto the heyre of the said Edmund fitzGibbon deceased. Whereof the said Edmond [] the landes of Ballinskely containing by estimation 200 acres of land unto David Hurly for the terme of 13 yeares from the date of his lease. The other moitie of all and singular the premises after the death of Maurice fitzDavid descended unto Gibbon fitz Maurice sonne and heyre of the said Maurice deceased, except the landes of Cloughik [] containing 100 acres of lande, which the said Maurice fitz Davy conveyed unto James Russell in fee farme.

"The said Gibbon fitz Maurice hath demised the landes of Ballygibbon, parcell of the

said seignorie containing 200 acres of land []. The said Gibbon fitz Morrice hath granted his moyetie of the lands of Ballyvistyle, conteynyn by estimation 250 acres unto Richard Boorek of Killonan in fee ferme."

The lands referred to in the Inquisition, of which the foregoing is a summary, are correctly stated therein to have been granted to Richard and Alexander Fitton, two of the "Undertakers" for Limerick, who had a large slice out of the White Knight's forfeitures, in 1588, by Letters Patent in the following terms:—

"Elizabeth &c. To all men unto whom these presents shall come, Greeting. Know ye that wee being effectually mynded & purposed to haue our province of Mounster in our Realme of Ireland to be repeopledd & inhabited with civill loyall & dutifull subjects, and the same to be done & performed &c, of our especiall grace certayne knowledge and newe motion, and by the assent & advice of our trustie and welbeloveld Robert Gardener cheif Justice of our Bench &c, Have given granted and confirmed &c &c &c, unto our welbeloveld subjects Richard Phitton and Alexander Phitton their heires and assignes for ever, all the castles manors lands tenements & hereditaments within the County of Limerick comonly called or known by the name or names of the castle towne and lands of Ballygibbon and Ardnigillanagh with all and singular their appurtenances, Ballenskally, Ballawryny, Coch, Ballencurry, Ellanboy, Bowly, Ballystephen, Ballineinchy, Grangpaden, Raas and Ardpatrik, with their appurtenances, conteynyn in plowlands the number of four plowlands & a halfe, and 26 acres; the towne and lands of Ballenvistallendowne [Mitcheltown-down] & Glaneagillsey, with their appurtenances, two plowlands; and also the Castle towne and lands of Cloghtackee conteynyn by estimacion halfe a plowland. All which lands and premisses aforesaid maketh in all the number of seaven plowlands and 26 acres, which after the rate of 28 plowlands to a seignorie of 12000 acres amounting to 3026 English acres; and all other lands tenements &c &c &c &c. To haue and to hold all the sayd premisses &c, with their appurtenances before specified by the name of Phitton's Fortune to the said Richard and Alexander their heires and assignes for ever &c.

"To be holden of us our heires & successors in fee ferme as of our castle of Limerick in the said countie of Limerick by fealty only in free and common soccage and not in capite nor by knight service &c. And yielding and [paying] unto us our heires and successors &c, &c, &c, from the feast of St. Michael the Archangel which shall be in the year of our Lord 1591, for 8, yeares then next ensuing, the yearly rent of £15., 15s. 2½d. current money of England; and from and after the feast of St. Michael the Archangel which shall be in the year of our Lord God 1594 for ever the yearly rent of £31., 10s. 5d. of lyke money And also yealding and paying to us our heires and successors upon the death or alienation of every or any of the ten'ts owners of the principall habitation and dwelling house &c, his or their best beast by way of an heriot, and also paying releif upon the death of the sayd Richard and Alexander their heires and assignes &c.

"Provided alwayes that yf it shall hereafter within any convenient tyme be certified into our Exchequer &c that the lands &c doe contayne by true measure any greater quantitie or number of acres &c, that then the said Richard and Alexander their heires and assignes shall answere yeald and pay to us our heires and successors, over and above the sayd rents expressly reserved by these our Letters Patents 2½d. for every acre so certified to exceede the sayd number above estimated. In Witness whereof &c &c. Dated at Dublin the 14th day of May in the 30th year of our reigne." (*Entry Book of Patents*, Auditor-General's Collection; vol. II. B. Jas. I. Public Record Office).

A later Inquisition, taken at Limerick, Sept. 4, 1618, throws further light on the dealings between the White Knight Edmond and his connections, and the continual disputes which seem to have existed regarding the lands granted to him by the Crown, whose right or power to grant them was justly questioned by the parties aggrieved—those, namely, who were in possession, at the time of the attainder of Edmond's father, under conveyances made long before the act of attainder of John Oge. By this Inquisition, the Jurors saye that

"Edmond McGibbon, called the White Knight, deceased, was seized of the lands, castle, mill, & watercourse of Kilveheny, and the villages &c., thereunto belonging, called Ballinalong, Kilstela, Bual [], Commame, alias Knockmune, Ellanabine, Ballyhemikine, Glancurranne, Glancundony, Caharremund, containing two ploughlands &c. holden of his Ma^{ty} in free and common soccage. And also the towne lands &c. of Ballinlondra, with the appurtenances, and the villages thereunto belonging called Cullan alias Callane alias Cullanmore, Cullanbeg, Curyhumetyrill, Spyttall alias Spiddall, Rahcony,

Killynue, Cronyvoe, Ballyphraty, Boherdoneene, Boherbane, Knocknoglooneene, Ballyne-leackyn, Corraghballyfaskin, Ballyorin, Ballyduff, Coraghturek, Clasard, Cronaghty, Illanevrooney, Ballybegg, Ballihander, Ballynenvorane, Ballenrahan, Ballyreteene, Ragh-anille, Raghduffe, and Killevullen, containing $8\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands, holden of his Majesty by knight service. And that David fitzGerald maketh clayme to one ploughland called Cullan alias Cullane, alias Cullanmore, Cullanbeg, and Curyhumat [] ell; and that John Burgat Esq. and Myles Roche gent. clayme Illaunivroony to belong unto the kinges majestie, from whom they hold a lease of the same for certain yeares yet unexpired, as parcel of Galbally, and that Gerald fitzDavid Gibbon maketh claim to the four ploughlands of Ballynelondra; and that Edmund fitzGibbon sonne to John fitzJohn the late White Knight did by his deed bearing date the 28th of September 1576, enfeoffe Garrett McGibbon fitzThomas of Ballinlondra his heyres and assignes for ever of and in eight acres in Ballinlondrey, with other rights and privileges, &c.

"And also the townes landes &c. of Deronstowne alias Ballyderonty wth the appurtenes' and the villages thereunto belonging called Carrignebonagh alias Carraghebonagh, Bealaneneshlugh (except twoe lands in the possession of *Gibbon fitzMaurice*, the right of redemption of one of them remainyng in Sr William Fenton knight), Knockanecrevie, Ballinavig, alias Ballinvany, Garrincattagane, Ballicormuck, Teanagh, and Clareene, containing one ploughland, holden of his Majestie in free and common soccadge."

Page 610, line 26.—"*Killing (as they sayd) of John Lord Power.*"

Of this nobleman, who was born in 1527, Sir Henry Sidney writes in his account of the Province of Munster (addressed to the Privy Council of England, dated 27th Feb., 1576):—

"The day I departed from Waterford, I lodged that night at Corragmore [Curraghmore], the house that the Lord Power is baron of, where I was so used, and with such plenty and good order entertained (as adding to it the quiet of all the country adjoining, by the people called *Power Country*, for that surname has been since the beginning of Englishman's planting inhabitants there), it may be well compared with the best-ordered country in the *English Pale*. And the lord of the country, though he be of ground of far less territory than his neighbour is, yet he lives in shew far more honourably and plentifully than he or any other, whatsoever he be, of his calling, that lived in this Province." See *Burke's Extinct Peerage*.

Regarding the cause of quarrel between the White Knight and the Lord Power, the author of the Cotter MS. has the following observations, prefaced by an account of a fierce encounter with the Butlers:—

"On the east side of Clangibbon he was at continual variance with the Butlers; for the Earl of Ormond, hearing that the Knight was engaged in confederacy with the Earl of Desmond, and was absent from home, took an opportunity of going to the country of Clangibbon, which he grievously harrassed and distressed, and took a very great prey from the Kn^{ts} tenants, who [very] soon afterwards made a sudden and unexpected incursion into the Butlers' country, and going as far as Knocklofty near Clonmel, drove a great sight of cattle from these parts, in order to make reprisals for what his people suffered, and the better to insure this undertaking, he left one half of his clan at a place called Garrangibbon (Gibbon's shrubbery), on the west side of Ardfinan bridge, taking the other halfe along with him, and dividing them alsoe, some [of them] midway between that and Knocklofty, for he supposed the Butlers would be too many for him and [so made] use of this stratagem. The country thereabouts were soon alarmed hereat, so that as many of the Butlers' country as would arme & make reddey for that purpose immediately pursued the Kn^{ts} horse and foot to rescue their cattle, and were so numerous it is said that they would have effected the same, were it not for the scheme laid by the Knight as before; for when he saw the numbers that pursued him he turned upon them, and seemed as if he would make a bold stand against them, and then made off by taking to his heels until he came to the first boddy of reserve, with whose help he rallied again (taking care at that time that sufficient persons were employed in driving the cattle constantly and without delay), and then skirmished for some time with his pursuers, in a more obstinate manner than at the first time, and then likewise gave way, and made as much haste as he could until at last he came to his best and greatest boddy of reserve, being still warmly pursued by the Butlers; where he drew up his men in shewy order, and with full intent to give strong

opposition. But the chiefs of those who commanded the pursuit observing that the Kn gathered and increased more and more as he went on, and considering they were not far from the lands of Clangibbon, began to suspect that this scheme was a contrivance to ensnare them, and that the farther they would continue the pursuit the greater would they be in danger, prudently concluded to give it over, and by this means enabled the Knight's people to carry off the cattle without more ado. And here it is to be noted that the place where the Knight placed this his last and greatest boddy of reserve was part of the lands Kilballygorman, whereon at that time stood a thick well grown coppe, but from that day to this is by the vulgar called Garraan Gibbon, i.e. Gibbon's Grove.

"In the county of Waterford on the south-east the White Knight was frequently at odds with some of the name of Power, probably with the Lord Power. What the ground of their dispute was is not related; but it happened (whether it was in revenge for former injuries or in obedience to the Royal commands) that he entered his lordship's country with a very strong force, with intent in either respect to gratify his inclinations. Some indeed affirm it was to execute the commands of the Government, which I shall not insist upon, in regard that I have not sufficient authority that the Lord Power was in arms against the Crown, or giving any offence at this juncture, so rather incline to think he went thither upon an adventure of his own. Be this as it will, he gathered a great prey and was driving them to Clangibbon, but was followed by the Lord Power, attended by several gentlemen of his house, with their tenants and followers; to oppose whom he put himself in the best order that time and situation would admit, and seeing that the Lord Power had detached some of his men to a certain pass, in order (as he apprehended) to attack his rear, in case he became engaged with the rest, and by this means intercept his men in their retreat, [Lord Power's men] were compelled to give way; he the Kn^t thereupon [sent] Cap^t Kelly (the son of O'Kelly of Connaught) [to] them with strict charge, if the Lord Power should happen to fall into his hands, to treat him with all the mercy and humanity, and to keep him in safe custody until further orders from himself. Kelly no sooner advanced to the pass than he was furiously attacked by the Lord Power, who led the detached party in person, with resolution to gain that ground, and [fought] with great obstinacy. In this conflict the Lord Power [being] eager to gain his point, rushed precipitately amidst the enemies, making a great slaughter of them, until some [horsemen of his] became so unguarded and neglected by his party as to give one of O'Kelly's men an opportunity with a poleaxe to beat him from his horse, and then trampled to death in the heat of that engagement.

"Whilst this was transacting the White Kn^t, with the boddy of men which he kept under his own command, put the remaining part of the Lord Power's people to flight, after which, not well knowing how it stood with O'Kelly, and dreading he would be defeated, he made all haste to support him, & no sooner came up to him than he discovered that Lord Power had been slain, for which he expressed great sorrow & concern, & often declared he had not the least illwill against his person; and true it is that immediately after that affair & the death of that nobleman in manner aforesaid, he withdrew his men without doing any other mischief afterwards, but that of carrying off the prey, and it were to be wished he did not do more, since it is affirmed that in this action several estates of Gentlemen of the name of Power lost their lives. The prey he drove to Clangibbon, and at a place called Cooladeery was turned out to graze for the first night, where by reason of the seeds conveyed in their excrements from the country of the Powers, it is said that a break of furze which came afterwards to a head there first grew after that occasion, & that before this happened not a single plant of that kind had there been upon that land."

Page 610, line 6 ab inf.—"*Dermott Aulta*."

This individual, whose name signifies "Wild Dermot" (*Aulta* being Irish for "Wild," or "Savage"), must have been a great desperado. His wild deeds and acts of prowess are still vividly remembered in the traditions of the people inhabiting the district which forms the "White Knight's country," one of the most intelligent of whom relates the following instance of "*Dermott Aulta's*" savagery:—

"Another tradition respecting the last White Knight and his staunch man-at-arms, Diarmaid Aultha. As the knight and his followers were driving a large prey off the Kilworth mountains in Roche's country, the Knight and Diarmaid Aultha were riding along cheerfully, when Diarmaid suddenly turned back after crossing the ford at Ballyporeen, the White Knight thought it was to count the drove as they crossed the stream, but was

horror-struck on turning in his saddle to perceive that Diarmid had beheaded with his large two-handed sword a poor aged Franciscan friar, who was leaning over his mountain pony's neck to allow it to drink of the stream the cattle were passing. When remonstrated with, by the Knight, for committing such a barbarous and unprovoked act, Diarmid coolly replied, 'I never saw so inviting a chance without striking a blow.' The Knight instantly ordered him to ride on, adding, 'If ever you ride beside or behind me you may expect to receive at my hand the same fate that unoffending man received at yours' The Knight evidently felt that even he was never safe with such a bloodthirsty attendant.*

The end of "Wild Dermot" was of a very violent kind. The writer of the foregoing gives the popular account of his death as follows:—

"After the death of the White Knight, Darby Dwyer, † *alias* Diarmid Aulta, lived a very quiet, retired life. One time he accompanied a funeral from near Coolagarranroe to Mitchelstown. When the funeral was over, he was drinking with some of the townspeople, when a dispute arose. Darby lost temper, and being taunted with some of his former acts, he knocked down the landlord of the house. Having no friends, and perceiving his danger, he escaped by the back door, mounted his horse, and rode away. Several persons that accompanied the funeral to Mitchelstown had horses ready saddled, when a regular pursuit instantly commenced. Diarmid rode direct into Glounaharane Wood, about three miles, intending to escape to the extensive woods of Aherlow. Unfortunately a favourite 'Talbot' that he often employed followed him to Mitchelstown, and was at once put on his track by his pursuers. Hearing the well-known tongue of his hound, he dismounted, letting his horse loose, and walked in the bed of the mountain stream that ran through the glen about half a mile. Crossing short to a farm-house† and concealing himself in a pig-stye, covering himself with the litter—by that means intending to destroy the fatal scent that he well knew would lead to his death—the dog came to fault at the stream, trying up and down. The immediate cause of Diarmid's fate was the grunting and unquiet state of the farmer's pigs. On the discovery of Diarmid, his eager pursuers soon surrounded the stye, and with stones, pitchforks, spades, and such weapons as came to hand, killed him on the spot."

Page 611, line 28.—"*Made an end of Stout Roche.*"

The history of the quarrel between the White Knight and James Roche, which ended in the murder of the latter (see p. 664) is thus given in the Cotter MS. :—

"It happened likewise another time that James, a Bastard son of the Lord Roche, who was an enterprising resolute man, made interest to obtain a grant of the lands of Od Castletown in the county of Cork, whilst the Knight held out against the crown, and not received into protection. Under this title Roche summoned the Kn^t, who as yet held forcible possession of that place (to surrender it to him), and after several messages to & fro passed betwixt them on that occasion, it was at length agreed that they should meet on a certain day and at a certain place to confer about it in person; and having accordingly met on the day prefixed, Roche produced deeds to shew his title, which being observed by Dermot the knights never failing servant, he cried out with a loud voice, instead of deciding matters with the sword is it to come to that pass that Edd (meaning the Kn^t) will make pa [], but whether those words had any effect upon the Kn^t that he and Roche broke off, the latter telling the former that he may take it for a warning, that by G—d he would go into Clangibbon and that he would burn and destroy that country, to which the Kn^t very coolly replied he would not hinder him, and that as farr as he pleased, but bid him take heed whether he would be ever suffered to go back.

"This Roche was an obstinate man, and made such little of the threats of the White Knight, that soon after they broke off the conference before mentioned, he made a sudden incursion into Clangibbon, as he sayd, and, supported by a numerous clan of the Roches, never stopt until he went to the farther end Eastwards of that country, where he began to plunder all before him: on his way home the White Kn^t being informed thereof about sunrise, was for a time greatly perplexed what to do, for the greater part of his clan were

* Letter from Mr. Philip Raymond, Mitchelstown, 10th June, 1873.

† The writer of the Cotter MS. says that his name was Dermot O'Brien. See note to line 34, p. 611.

‡ One of the accounts of Diarmid's death still lingering in the locality, represents the scene as having been at a place called Anglesborough, in the Parish of Kilbeahny, about four and a half miles to the north of Mitchelstown.

absent and dispersed, so that he had but very few hands about him, upon whom he could depend; seeing therefore that he must make a virtue of [] and that time was precious he mustered up as many as he could, and as Roche was to pass a foard near a place called [] near Mitchelstown, he arrived there early enough [before] him, and Roche perceiving he was to be opposed by him, crossed the foard, and haughtily required the Knight to make way. Said The Knight, 'tho you have behaved in a violent and cowardly manner to me and my tenants, I will nevertheless suffer you to go home without hurt, provided you deliver up the cattle and goods which you brought so far, otherwise, as I call God to witness that I have done you no injury be assured the crows will soon have yours or my bones to pick if you persist.' Roche thinking it would be a lessening to his reputation that he would quit his prey on such terms, commanded that the cattle should be forced over, which the Knight and his men resisted until Roche advancing too far, he was attacked in the rear by a small party which the Knight posted secretly; and by this means the prey was rescued, and the greatest part of Roaches men killed upon the spot. In this action Roche happened to single out the white Knight, fought him hand to hand, when receiving a deep wound in the knee the Knight kept him still in action until he was abandoned by his men who fled for safety. In the mean time step in one of the Knights alan, who with a pistol shot Roche thro the head, after which one Dermot McAnuliffe, who assisted the Knight, cut the throat of the Lord Roche, saying, 'blood requires blood; for thus this rogue served my father.'"

Page 611, line 30.—" *One Dermott Mac Anuliffe.*"

This person seems to have been the same as the *Dermot Aulita* (or "Savage Dermott" above referred to. See note to line 6 ab inf., p. 610.

Page 611, line 34.—" *Sent Bourke and Brown with a party of foote.*"

The writer of the Cotter MS. supplies the following description of the encounter between the White Knight and the raiding party of Bourke and Brown, who were foraging in his country for the Earl of Desmond:—

"In the west of Ireland he was also very diligent for her Majesty in diverse places, particularly at Beare in the county of Cork, and thereabouts; when he had an independant party of 5 or 600 men in his owne pay to assist in the reduction of that place & part of the country to obedience.

"When he was disengaged of the Crown service, he was nevertheless kept in trouble at home, for he had many enemies to contend with, who made it their practice (but commonly to their own loss) to insult him & his tenants by daily attempting encroachment of one kind or another upon his or their rights and priviledge; of those he had on the North side of Clangibbon the Burks to disturb him, over whom he found himself obliged to keep a constant watch; in the South East of him he had the Lord Power to dread; eastwards of him he had mischiefs to apprehend from Butler's country, and in the West from the Lord Roche and followers of that house; and for a great part of his life was scarce a day in peace with any of them and besett on every side. How he and the Bourkes fell out first and upon what acct is not come to my knowledge, but I find that it once happened the Earl of Desmond with a considerable party were encamped near Cullen (and that after the White Knight quitted the confederacy), where provision being scant, the Earl commanded a chief of the name of Bourke, whose estate lay contiguous to Clangibbon, and one Mr. Browne with a certain number of men appointed for that purpose, to go out [], who well knowing that the Earl bore no good will to the White Knight, and to gratifie him in that respect, marched expeditiously into Clangibbon, and from thence drove a prey of 250 cows from him and his tenants. The Kn^t was so enraged hereat that [he could scarce be persuaded] to waite horse or armour to go in pursuit of them. Having properly equipped himself, he with a select party of [] Kearns followed the cattle across the mountains, and at Aharlow he came up with the detachment that were carrying them off to whome he sent one of his men to require that they would stay and go no farther, & Bourk asking what he was, the Kern replied very resolutely that he was a soldier & servant belonging to the White Knight, whereupon Bourk bid him go back & tell his master that he & his people may go home again like fools as they were, that he would not return a cows taile, and that he cared not for him; hereat the Knight was again so much

provoked that he immediately commanded his men to rescue the cattle, whereupon a skirmish ensued; Bourke and Browne were much superior in number, and seeing the Knight had but a handful of men, & concluded they would not be a morsel to them, Browne in the skirmish which fell out on this occasion singled the Knight from the rest of his party, and attacked him furiously, but lost his life in the fight.

"Bourke seeing this fell on the Knight in like manner, but succeeded no better than the other did, for the Knight disarmed him and commanded one of his men to behead him whilst he was [] and happened that one Dermot O'Brien otherwise called [Dermot] Aulta (or savage Dermot) was an able and very faithful servant to the Knight, seeing he had to deal at each time but with a single hand, would not interpose, but stood by in a careless manner, and as if it was not worth his notice; yet the affair being over, and cattle rescued, the Knight calling to mind Dermot's conduct in the extremity, he upbraided him very severely for it, saying he was a cowardly rascal for not helping him when he had so many to deal with as he saw, to this Dermot gave a heedless ear, & made no excuse, but, 'soulds master' said he 'woud you be allways a child, & surely what happened you was but childrens play, for it was but man to man at single hands.'"

From the time of his father's death in 1569, when he himself was still a minor,* the life of the White Knight Edmund had been spent, as had been the lives of most of the great Anglo-Irish lords of Munster, in armed resistance to the order of things sought to be established by the Queen's officers in that province. This order, or system of government, contemplated the abolition of all chieftainship, whether English or Irish; the extinction of all usages of Tanistry, and the dissipation, "according to the policy of Sir Henry Sidney," of all the great Irish properties—"to distribute them, if possible, amongst Englishmen; but if not, yet to dissipate them."

From the first outbreak of James FitzMaurice until the period immediately preceding the "run of Kinsale," this struggle lasted unbroken; and in all the troubles, up to the final catastrophe, the White Knight had taken an active part.

As need required, he and most of his confederates had submitted and been pardoned, and had broken out afresh, or lived in a sort of neutrality beyond reach of capture, and in frequent intercourse with the authorities. In the latter years of this great struggle the ancient rule of Tanistry was manifestly dying away; the great chiefs, both Irish and English, who

* That Edmond FitzGibbon was not of age at the time of his father's death, in 1569, appears from a petition addressed by him to the Queen in 1584, in which he speaks of his parents' "*rude and uncivil bringing up*." The petition was as follows:—

"To the Queene most excellent Maty.
"Most humbly sheweth unto yor highnes yor humble and faithfull subject Edmond FitzGibbon. That whereas about twenty yeares sythen his father comonly called the White Knight, being a man of *rude and uncivil bringing up*, through privat quarrell betwixt him and the baron of Cahir, against whome he then tooke armes according to the lycentiousnes of those tymes rather then for any wilfull disposicion to revolt from his loiall duty to yor most excellent Maty by meanes thereof fell into the danger of lawe; wch being heavily followed against him by Sir Thomas Cusake then chiefe Comissioner there, being the father in lawe of the said Barron against whome onely he tooke armes, was adijudged treason, and albeit he died before the attainer in the towne of Kilmallocke, being pardoned, yett all his lands were by acte of parlyamt after his death entitiled to yor highnes, wch were before yor suppliants rightfull inheritance, who at that tyme was an infant. After wch yor suptl comyng to adge obeyned from yor highnes a lease of the same for yeares paing the survey, and afterward following a quite contrary corse to his said father, thereby both to recover yor highnes gracious favoure and also the credit of his house decayed,

hath alwaies very dustyfully carried himself and namely in all the troublous tymes of rebellion, hath perfourmed sondry commendable parts of services in kylling of many of the said rebells and sondry other outlawes sythen, without pay or intertaint, as may appeare (unto yor highnes by the particular schedule of the same, under divers credible men in hands, as also by testimonie of the right honorable th'erle of Ormond, the Lo Grey and Sir John Parrott wth many other noble genta who had the charge of those partes. In wch his said services he hath susteyned moch damage both by losse of many of his people and shedding of his blode besides the continuall hatred of som his ill disposed neighbours. In tender consideration whereof it may please yor most excellent Matie of yor mercyfull favoure and gracions bounty and for his better encouradgmt to yor highnes further services to restore him to his blode wth all such lands, chiefries and hereditaments whatsoever as his father had or ought to have, yelding such reasonable service for the same as shall seeme meete unto yor highnes, having accepted his surrender of the lease by wch he presently holdeth the same. And also in regard of his said losses & services, and for his better inhabling to the like hereafter to remitt unto him all such arrerages as he is comyn into for ye same, being growen through his great dishabilyty and long imprisonmt. And he and his shall ever humbly pray for yor highnes long prosperous raigne and eternall happiness &c." (*Dom. State Papers, Ireland, Elizab. Vol. 110, No. 61.*)

had fought so long to uphold the customs of their ancestors, had perished, many in the field, many on the gallows. The great territories of the FitzGerald and FitzGibbons had been effectually dissipated; and in their place was introduced a class, self-termed undertakers, mostly the descendants of the great barons who had come over into England with the Conqueror. But the time was approaching when the White Knight was to atone for all the trouble and disquiet which he had for years caused to the Queen's Government in Ireland by an act of almost unparalleled infamy, namely, the betrayal of his kinsman, confederate, and chief, the so-called *Sagax* Earl of Desmond. How the wily and blood-thirsty Carew, President of Munster, laid his plans to lure the White Knight, first into loyalty and obedience, and subsequently into the position of informer and traitor, will appear from the documents printed *infra*.

In the year 1596, the White Knight was appointed Sheriff of Cork, and during his year of office was in high favour with the English authorities in Munster, because of his zeal in cutting off the enemies of their rule. In a "Summary Collection of the State of Ireland, delivered to the Lord Burgh, and subscribed with the hands of the Lord Deputy and Council" (April, 1597) it is stated, regarding Munster, that

"There hath been not long since an intelligence between the rebels of Connaught and some of the McShees and other ill-affected people of Mounster, of whom, after they had committed several murders of some of the English undertakers there, and done many other outrages, the greater number have been at sundry times cutt off, some of the White Knight and others of the country, some by her Majesty's forces, and some by justice, inasomuch as there standeth up none that we know, any man of name, against her majesty in that province, except two chief persons of the McShees, and two base sons of the Viscount Roche, which being followed by a rabble of loose people, stand out still, though both we and the Vice-President have often dealt with the Viscount Roche for the suppression of his base sons,* or to deliver them into justice."

His tenure of office being about to expire, the White Knight applied for a continuance of the trust in a letter of which the following is a copy:—

"My most humble dutie to yo^r honno^r often remembered &c. Yeldinge like humble and hartie thanks for yo^r manifold favo^rs soe honorable bestowed upon me When I was a suter at court, Wh^{ch} is the verie originall of my Welfare, and having performed some small services in this contrey of late, while I am Shierife, against the McShihies and Scotts that enwaded this countrey out of Conaght, Wh^{ch} I will not bragg of, but rather leave it to the report of others, am very desirous to accomplish more, and casting my plott, I fynde that my shorte contynewance in this Office of Shierifshippe, and my suddaine removall out of the same, Wilbe a great hinderance to my proceedings, for now having her Ma^{ty} auctoritie, my power extendeth in all places most remote, and others, Wher service is most like to be done; but being cutt off from the Office, at the accustomed tyme, my strength consisteth onlie in myne own contrey, and extendeth no further. Therefore I thought it my dutie to signifie unto yo^r Ho: the perill therof. That if yt please yo^r honorable lips to adreesee your lettres for my contynewance in this Office for a year or two longer, yo^r shall heare that I will (God willing) doe her Ma^{ty} speciall good service, protesting that most of my study is to deserve favo^r and credit Wth her Ma^{ty} & her most honorable Consell, wthout regarde of proffitt, alwaies consumyng my substaunce in furnishing my people wth horses, armo^r & Weapons, and in manteynyng them at my owne charges, Wthout seeking any entertain^t and yet have performed more than others that have cost her Ma^{ty} much, hopinge yt will hereafter please her Highness & the Consell to have consideration of me, And of my fidelity to the Crowne of England, w^{ch} I will never forfit for any worldlie wealth. And it is not rare in this contrey that her Ma^{ty} trewe and faithful servito^r (soe well tried) should be kept in Office vij yeares together, for that other gent^l of smale desert onely in respect of favo^r wth the State of this Realme have been contynewed in this Office many yeares. Yet I leave my selfe, & this my mocion to yo^r honno^rs grave consideration, and my sonn to attend on yo^r honno^r for answer at yo^r convenient leasure. And soe till god send me better occasion to truble yo^r honno^r I most humble take leave.

"Clangibbon the XXth of Julie 1597.

"Yo^r honno^rs most humble

"to comaunde,

"Ed. GRABON."

* The base sons of the Lord Roche must have been numerous and were continually giving trouble.

The application is directed "to the Right Honorable my Singuler good Lord, the Lord High Threasurer of England. Att Court," and is endorsed, "20 July, 1597: Edward Gibbon called the White Knight, to be continued a yeare or 2 more Sheref of his contrye for her Mat^{ies} service" (*State Papers, Ireland, Elizab.*)

But the White Knight's new-born zeal for the English interest was regarded with suspicion by his neighbours of English extraction (who for obvious reasons, however, would, in any case, be only too glad of Edmond's downfall), as it was looked upon with stronger feelings by his immediate friends. When "Old" Sir Edward Fitzharris (to whom the writer of the foregoing narrative refers for a character of the White Knight Edmund (*supra*, p. 610), and who must therefore have been looked upon by the family and connexions of the White Knight as one who entertained friendly feelings towards Edmond, could write of him and his son in the terms used by him in his letter to Barleigh in 1597 (printed *supra*, p. 664), it is not surprising that others of the "English interest," less indebted to the White Knight than Fitzharris, should have been untiring in their representations to the Government regarding him.

It was of vital importance to the Government, however, that the White Knight should be drawn off from his associations, and the Queen herself wrote thus on the subject:—

The Queen to Sir Thomas Norreys, Lord President of Munster, Dec. 3, 1598.

(Extract.)

"There are some persons either out in rebellion or suspected, who might be used, on their claims for lands being granted, as good instruments against the capital rebels, who are combined with the Northern Traitor.

"Promise them our pardon, and that we will see them satisfied in all things just and reasonable. Of such are the White Knight, Condon, and Donnough Mc. Cormocke of the Dually. If Mc. Donnagh will serve us against Derby Mc. Owen, who takes the title of Mc. Carty More, we will bestow upon him the County of Dually. If the White Knight has adhered to the rebels for lack of force to resist them, 'or for fear of any other offence against our laws,' assure him we will not suffer any extreme course to be taken against him, but consider his complaints."

The strength of the White Knight's following about this period was respectable, he being able to bring over 400 men into the field. In a paper in the Public Record Office, London, entitled "State of Ireland at the arrival of the Earl of Essex," and endorsed "April, 1599," there is given "a general computation of the Irish forces in rebellion when the Earl of Essex arrived in Ireland;" and among these are included the most powerful of the Munster chieftains, as follows:—

"Munster—In Tippererie, the Lord Baron of Cahir and James Butler his brother, with their followers and dependances, 800 foot, 12 horse.

"Edmond Fitz Gibbon, *alias* the White Knight, 400 foot, 30 horse. Redmond Burke pretending himself Baron of Letrym, and his borroughes, 300 foot, 20 horse, &c. &c.

"In County of Corke, James Fitz Thomas, the supposed Earl of Desmond, 250 foot, 80 horse.

"The Lord Roche and Patrick Condon, 200 foot, 28 horse." &c. &c.

Essex had a very close watch on the White Knight. In a Journal of the "Occurrences of the Camp, from the 21st of May until the last of the same month, and thence continued till the 22nd of June, 1599," preserved in the Carew Collection of State Papers (Vol. 621), the Knight is referred to as working directly, as well as indirectly, against the Government. In the description of the taking of Cahir Castle, the writer says: "His Lordship overtook the Vanguard, and caused them to stay one English mile short of the Castle of Cahir, the chief house of Thomas Butler, Lord of Cahir, a place of greater strength than any in this kingdom, and of great consequence, 'being a passage upon the river, a cover for the best part of the Co. of Tipperary, and a near neighbour to the White Knight's country, to the Burck's country (called Clanwilliam and Muskery), and to Arlo, the principal fastness which the rebels of Munster have.

"The Lord of Cahir should have yielded this castle upon the approach of this army, according to his submission and his word sundry times given to the Lord Lieutenant. He was charged by his Lordship at Clunmell with having received strangers into his castle, who wished to make a party for the White Knight, and against the delivery of the place; but his brother, who was in it, sent word that none were in it but his own kinamen and followers, and that it should be surrendered the next day."

In the end the Castle was won, and Essex, who studied his personal comfort more than state affairs, was troubled as to the best way of returning out of Munster. The writer of the "Journal" thus chronicles the result of his Lordship's deliberations and conferences with the President of Munster on the subject:—"These points were answered thus: In returning, his Lordship might make choice of three ways, 'either from Kilmalouge [Kilmallock] through the county of Tipperary, and so over the Souer [Suir] at Colan bridge (lately repaired by his Lordship); or the White Knight's country, called Clangibbon, and thence to Cahyr and Clonmell; or through part of the Lord Roche's county, and the country of Patrick Condon, and so to Coneigh, the pretended Earl's Castle (a place which he had strongly guarded, as being his chief mansion house, and in the strength whereof he put especial trust), and so to Lismore, whence he might either over the mountains pass to Clonmell, or by Dungarvan go straight to Waterford. If the first, he was presently to part his forces at Kilmalouge; if the second, he must carry all through Clangibbon, and return the President by the fair champaign way of Tipperary. If the third, he must divide his forces at Lismore.

"The first was the shortest and easiest way for his Lordship, but for the President far the worst, the whole forces of the rebels being likely to fall upon him, and if the Lord Lieutenant should carry away any munition with himself, there being not sufficient to answer such services as the Munster Companies were in all likelihood to be put unto, ere they could be supplied. Besides the victuall fell out every way very short for both. The second was thought altogether fruitless, the White Knight holding no place in all his country; his chief Castle of Ballyboy being broken down by himself upon the first bruit of the winning of Cahyr. As for his neighbours, they were all driven into Arlo, a strong fastness, where our army, so pestered with carriages, could not possibly pursue them."

The White Knight's enemies were not slow to take advantage of his difficulties. On the 11th of April, 1600, Lord Deputy Mountjoy writes to Sir George Carew, in behalf of Sir Edward Fitzharris:—

"This gentleman desires to take advantage of the White Knight's absence to repair his Castle. Give order to the next garrison to assist him."

In the year 1598, we find the White Knight's conduct regarded with great misgivings on the part of the authorities. In an "Extract from the Journal of Ormond's Proceedings" inclosed in a communication dated Oct. 21, 1598, his Lordship observes:—

"At Kilmallock, thither came the lo: President, who wrote for a convey of horse wth I sent unto hym, and also of the Noblemen and gent of Monnster formerlie wrytten for, to mete me wth their best forces, the lo: Roche & lo: Barry: Edmond fits Gybon called the whyte knight, and Cormock Mc dermot of Muskrye; Of whome and of the reste, I (longe since) advised the lo: President to take pledges for their loyaltie to yo^r Ma^{ty}, and those lls: and gent^l came wth very feane horsemen, and fyndinge fault wth their footemen: they said they were not permytted to buy weapons for them: and the lls: Roche & Barry said that they had not one pound of powder for the defence of their Castles: Whereupon I gave them some smale quantitie for that purpose." (*State Papers*.)

The conduct of the White Knight with regard to the proceedings of the Earl of Tyrone and his invasion of Munster was characterised by something more than inconsistency. Closely watched, as he was, by the Lord President of Munster, and his active spies, Edmond FitzGibbon required, no doubt, to be on his guard; but there can be little doubt that he faithfully promised to join the Earl, and afterwards held aloof from all complicity in the movement, which ended so disastrously for Tyrone at the battle of Kinsale.

On this subject the following letter is as curious as it is important:—

O'Neill to the White Knight.

"God be wth you White Knight.

"On the xvth of April 1599 we have receaved yo^r letters wth honor and greata thanckes for yo^r service: For every Lord and gentleman that went forth in this action of the nobility of Munster for theire Consciences and Inheritance we are to maintayne every of them wth indifferencie in his owne right and possessions, and there is not one of those gentlemen (the Earle of Desmonds honor only excepted) a man in whom we repose more hope then in yo^r self. And therefore we wilbe yours (by Gods healp) wth all the assistance and healp of all those of this Realme of Ireland as wilbe advised by us And such other as have remayned as heretikes and scismatikes beleeving the stinging and unconstant words and speaches of Englishmen not moved by theire Consciences or beleef, shall not (wth Gods will) obteyne victorie or good successe in this action. And if we the Catholicks

shalbe the stronger (as we think we shalbe) their children and allies shall not succede them in possessing of their lands or livings. As you have written unto us that we should repayre Westward, you may understand that before the receyte of yo^r letter we were owre selvs of purpose to goe Westward about certayne occasions as also to defend the good people of Munster and wth all to compell such as remayned wthin sayther wth their consent or agaynst their consent to enter into warr. We are farr the more willing to repayre Westward for yo^r counsaile sent unto us to goe Westward. And we have putt in now three or foure thousand hable men at o^r owne charges beside such that we have putt in uppon the L^{ie} and gentlemen that belonge unto owre selvs to accomplish that jornie in the name of God. And notwthstanding that the Earle of Essex wth a number of the Queens' forces are now comming into Ireland We doe expect that the Englishmen in England shalbe so troubled and molested this sommer And in such sort as this Iland of Ireland shalbe at owre direction and counsaile (as Irishemen) and admit those armes and forces doe come we under take (wth God's will) to Defend so much as we have in owre hands of this land of Ireland agaynst them. And for so much as they have or such as take their part: We will spoyle and marr all out of the Cityes and Post Townes Wishing you to be of good comfort and to understand that we will end the good enterprize you have taken in hand. And if there happen not some greate mischaunce or trouble unto us or some thing else more then we see as yeat We wilbe wth you about May next wth Gods healpe. And we are making owre best provision and uttermost hast to performe that journie in the name of God. We have sent owre Atturtrie unto you Westward wth owre news before owre selves. As for those few men you sought for you shall have them or a stronger compaigny about that tyme. And you may understand yo^r selves that we are ready to send you such heelp of men and munition as we arr able. And we understand that yo^r land and cuntry is shott at betwixt all the Townes and garrisons in those parts. And that you are yo^r self the best Warrant and strongest gapp for warr of all those that are Westward (the Earl of Desmonds Honor excepted). And that we are most willing (wth Gods will) to be yours most assured in consideration thereof above a number of others: As for the powder and leade whereof you speake, there are boates and shipping from us in Scotland that were sent to bring store of powder and leade which are not to come till about May next, and when they doe come you shall not bee forgotten of that they shall bring. At Lough Boughane on the vijth of Aprile 1599.

"O NEYLE.

The spirit of treachery, unfortunately, has always had deep root in Irish political society. At this period it was in a particularly flourishing condition. If we may credit the anonymous author of a "Project for Suppressing the Rebellion of Ireland," dated March 8, 1600, and preserved among the State Papers, the eldest son of Edmund Fitz-Gibbon, the White Knight, namely, Maurice (who had spent many years on the Continent intriguing against the promoters of English rule in Ireland), was considered to be a person capable of being converted into an instrument in the hands of the enemies of James Fitz-Thomas (the *Sagan* Earl of Desmond), even before his father, the White Knight, had been lured by the wiles of Caraw to act the part of traitor to his friend and relative. The anonymous rogue thus discloses his plot:—

"My first proiect is for the surpriseng or distroying of the usurping treator of Desmond his creat; for the surpriseng of them, after I once know in what places they are kepte and in what manner thay ar driven and fedd, I will propound unto the Lord president such means as shall apere possible and very probable.

For the distroying of them as they passe or where thay feed and water I have secreet experience for y^e purposes*.

The second proiect is for the surpriseng or in executing of y^e persons of James Fitz Thomas and John Thomas, his brother, in the which resolutely I offer to hassard my life by eny drafte or practise that shal be approved by y^e Lord president.

The third project is for deulding of his troopes by distracting his forces and driueng his followers from hym. The White Knight his sone Moris McGobbone is of my familiar acquaintance and were camarados in the Low Contries, whose nature and dispossession is inwardly knowen unto me.

* With regard to this horrible suggestion, even the unscrupulous Cecyll, to whom the project was submitted, has added in the margin, "I like not such barbarisme."

I doubt not but be his means and such others of my acquaintance amongst the followers of James FitzThomas, but to affect something of consequence for her Majesties service.

The fourth project is secretly to fire his provision or magazine of powder; at such convenient tyme as the Lord president shall think good.

There be many advantages of great importance that to ye ey of a discerning soldier will be presented, the which I will faithfully put in execution as the Lord president shall command.

For the better execution of these services if it maye be so thought convenient; I do desire to have some 15 or 20 parsons of Yreah and English, such as I shall fynd in this country, unto whose Resolution and secrecie I may give confidence."

Sir George Carew was appointed President of Munster by Letters Patent, dated 6th March, 1599 (1600). On the 2nd of May following he gives his opinion of the White Knight in a letter of which the following is a copy:—

President Carew to Cecyll, 2nd May, 1600. (Shandon.)

"Although there is no man that more mislikes thatt companies should be bestowed upon Irishe captens than myselfe, yett when I find itt to be expedient for the Queen's service I am bound in dutie to signifie my opinion, and therefore to encourage my La. Barry, who is now in blood with the traytors, since his losses when Tyrone was in these parts, I thinke it were meet thatt a company of foote were bestowed upon him.

&c.

&c.

&c.

"The White Knight hathe sent sundrys messendgers unto me promisinge to be an honest man; a more faythlesse man never lived upon the earth, yett to satisfie his desire that he may have no cause to excuse himselfe, accordinge to his owne request I have sent Sir George Thornton to speake wth him, and to bringe him unto me, but I have as little hope in him as in Florence McCarthy; yf any thinge do move him to keepe his promyse and to come unto me, is the internall malice betwene James McThomas and him which is irreconciliable. Yf these tow men were reconcyled to the State I should in a short tyme drawe from James McThomas all his best frends; for had they but a leader they would stryve who should make his peace first. This I know to be trew, for most of his best followers haue by there messendgers assured me that they would come in yf they durst wch makes me the more desirous to reconcile Florence and the White Knight to the state; and yett I protest I do not seeke it att there hands, but in regard of the queens honnour do seeme coy, and deale no further in itt then by there importunities I am urged. Untill I do know what these grandes will do I am fast att anchor in Corke, nott knowinge wch way to carrye the forces."

&c.

&c.

&c.

The mission of Sir George Thornton to the White Knight seems to have been more successful than Carew could have expected. A few days after the date of the previous letter, the President writes to Cecyll in a tone which indicates a belief on his part that he (Carew) had succeeded in securing the submission of the Knight on certain conditions.

Sir Geo. Carew President of Munster to Cecyll. (Shandon, Cork, 6 May, 1600.)

"SIR—When I despatched all my lettres and the lettre from me and the counsell bore unto the L. bearing date the last of Aprill, I reserved the writings of my lettre unto your Honour until the wynd served to embarque, wch bare date the 2nd of May, since wch tyme the wind nott serving. In these I thought good to relate unto you whatt hath passed betwene Florence McCartie and me.

When I was thus farre proceeded in my lettre I stayed fynishinge of the same, expectinge these lettres of Florence's unto yourselfe, Sir Walter Raleghe, and Sir John Stanhope; but he having not drunke wyne in many dayes before to put care awaye, so filled his skynne wth saeke as the whole daye was loste in sleepe; this day better remembering himselfe he brought me these three lettres unsealed, and gave them unto me to read; wch varies nothinge from his former lettres to me and others; but I do nott geve creditt unto them, or to anything he sayes; for my Intelligences assures me thatt underhand he combynes wth the rebels as firmly as he may; and yett his oathes are to the contrarye. The report of the fight betwene Her Ma^{ties} forces and him is falsse; lett your Honnour beleave whatt

I have wrotten to Sir Walter Raleghe w^{ch} is a true narration of thatt dayes service, testified under a discreet Irisheman's hand who did view the bodies. This day I find him more tractable than before, gevinge me some good hope thatt he will deliyver his sonne presentlye pleadge into my hands; but such is his inconstancie as I dare nott trust him, for his fears on either side do so besiedge him as he cannot well resolve whether it were good for him to be a subiect or a rebell; and to say my opigion of him he is good for neither of them bothe. Yf I were assured thatt he would keepe his promise wth me, and do me underhand service as he protests, I could then be more gladd of his walkinge in the woodes then in the ciye of Corke; but cowards are faythlesse and so I think I shall find him. But howsoever he deale wth me I doubt not but to make some advantadge of him and fight wth him att his owne weapons so as he shall nott overreache me. The White Knight hathe sent this day a messenger unto me wth faythfull promise to submit himselfe, so as he may be pardoned for his lye and goodes, restored in blood, have his lands by a new graunt from Her Matie. and forgoen the arrearadge of his rents due uppon him since the rebellion; all w^{ch} because they are nott unreasonable demands and suche as are nether unprofitable or dishonourable to the Queene and suche as I am sure att the last when he hathe done more harm, Her Majesty will graunt unto him, I will be so adventurous as to promise them unto him, hoping that the Queene will nott mislyke itt. The stave of Florence from aydinge James McThomas and the drawinge in of the White Knight dothe in a manner free the countye of Corke; then my taske lyes onelye in Lymericke and Kerry, in w^{ch} countie I doubt nott but to rayse uppe factions agaynst Desmond and his brother w^{ch} will geve a fayre hope towards the flynishinge of this warre. This bearer Capten Browne sonne to Sir Valentyne and a cashiered capten I may nott forget to recomend unto your Honnour's good favour, beseeching you to give him your ayde and assistance, yf he shall have cause to be a suter for the same. He is an honest man very valiant, & thatt w^{ch} I like best, one that loves me. So humblye rest att your Honour's service.

"Your Hounour's most humblye to serve you,

"GEORGE CAREWE."

"Shanden This 6th of May, 1600."

The first result of the negotiations carried on between Sir George Carew and the White Knight, with the view of securing the submission of the latter, and his powerful aid in promoting the "pacification" of Munster by the suppression by fair or foul means of the *Sagan* Earl of Desmond and his sturdy followers, was communicated by him to the Privy Council of Ireland early in the year 1600.

Sir G. Carew, Lord President, and the Council of Munster, to the Privy Council. (Shandon Castle, by Cork, May 19, A.D. 1600).

[Extract.]

"The 20th of this month, I, the President, intend to be in the field and to begin my march to Limerick. Many that now attend the rebels are desirous to be taken into subjection.

"The White Knight, so soon as the army comes to Kilmallock, has promised to submit himself, and to deserve grace by *very acceptable services*."

The author of "*Pacata Hibernia*" (who was no other than Sir Geo. Carew himself) thus reports the submission of the White Knight:—

"A.D. 1600. The President [Sir George Carew] on the 21st of May left Corke, and with his arme incamped that night within three miles of Moyallo [Mallow].

"The twenty-two they lodged within five miles of Kilmallock, where the White Knight, according to his former promises made his humble submission unto the President, whereby the faggots began to unloose which combined the rebellion in Mounster."—(Ed. 1810, p. 74.)

In a letter to the Privy Council under the date of June 17, 1600, President Carew reports the submission of the White Knight in terms which indicate the importance attached to the event:—

President Carew to the Privy Council in England. 17 June, 1600.

"It may please yo^r L^{ies} after I had taken order wth the chieftaines of Barryes contry, Muskerry and Carrebry, to conteyne those partes in some quietnes till my retorne, I assembled together her Ma^{ties} whole forces in this Province and wth them the 21st of the last began my journey towards Limericke marching the same day neare Moyallo, where I encamped, and the next day I lodged wthin 5 myles of Kilmallock and the thirde day wth in a myle of that towne, wheare the White Knight (according the last ioynt lettre sent from hence) made his humble submission and attended me from thence to Limerick, wth whome hauinge some care to deall effectually for his loyalty hereafter found him very reasonable to the same by any messeours; but by reason he had some pledges taken by Tyrone at his late beinge in Mounster and referred to the chardge of Redmond Bourke who still holdeth them he humbly entreated respite to see yf in some short tyme he could procure their safeties and then to satisfie me on her Ma^{ties} behalf, w^{ch} yf he fynde to be any thinge tedious or difficult, conditioned wth me not to defer tyme therein but to leave them to God, and for the performmance thereof tooke a corporall oath upon a *Pius Quintus*. In w^{ch} respect (hauinge also since harde from him, being wth in the tyme respited) of the zeale he hath to become a new man and to deserue her Ma^{ties} grace by his endeuors to advance her service) I have a good opinion of the true meaninge and do expect an end dayly of his assurance for that the tyme wthin XIIIII dayes will be expired. In this meane while he hath behaued himself exceedingly dutifully and is a good neighbour to Kilmallock, takinge equall care wth her Ma^{ties} garrison for the defence of the castle of that Towne. From Edin (the encamping place aforesaid neare Kilmallock) I marched the 24th to the Brough castle w^{ch} was sometymes Sr George Thorntons, but since the warr held by the traytor Piers Lacye to annoy the passage between Kilmallock and Limerick, w^{ch} I fyndyng to be of good strength and well accommodated to disturbe the traytors in the Castle of Lough Girr (lyeng somewhat neare unto yt), I placed therein a warde wthout chardge to her Ma^{ties} and saw them furnished wth all meanes to serve till I had taken the said castle of Lough girr, w^{ch} upon the viewe I tooke thereof in my passing by, saw that by the cannon I might &c. I have bin of late importuned by the Knight of Kerry, the Knight of the Valley and John O'Connor, men of this province of best meanes and quallytie amonget them, to be receaued into grace and fauor and whome I dowt not will performe their offers yf they be not chaunged by obseruing Florence M'Carties newtrall humo^r w^{ch} now I fynd to be dowtfull and more bent (as by his accions appeareth) to combyne againe wth the traytors then to manifest any desire to become honest." &c. &c. &c. &c.

The ardour of the White Knight's youngest son, John, was about this time near bringing his father into trouble with the authorities. The circumstances are thus reported in the record of Carew's proceedings called "*Pacata Hibernia*."

"A.D. 1600. Aug. 18.

"The day following at Kilmallock, the White Knight being there to attend the President, news was brought unto him, that diuers of his people and Followers, were slaine by the Garrison of Moyallo, commanded by Captaine *Roger Harvy*. The President carefull to give him contentment (being under her Majesty's protection) in his owne presence examined the matter, and there it was found that Captaine Harvy having intelligence by a spy, that was his Guide, of a notable traitor called *John Mac Redmond*, and certaine other traitors, and their goods, which were reported to be neere unto Sir *Walter Raleigh* his lands, adjoining to the White Knight's countrey, with seuentie foot, and four and twentie horse, marched that night one and twentie miles from Moyallo; and at the break of day, our men, thinking that they had been brought upon an Enemies Towne, set fier to a house, hauing some few people therein.

"But an old souldier knowing the place, told the captaine that it was the White Knight's Towne: Whereupon he commanded his company to forbear committing any outrages either upon the people or any of their goods:

"But the White Knight's younger sonne, *John fits Gibbon*, having suddenly gathered to himselfe one hundred and sixty foote, and eighteen horse, overtooke Captaine Harvy, who began to excuse the matter, telling him (as the truth was) that the Guid whom he had there with him, to answer the fact, had brought him unwillingly upon that place; and therefore for the hurt done (ignorantly) he would make a large satisfaction.

"But the young man following the advice of one *Garrett Mac Shane* (who had lately

been a notable Traitor), thinking it not possible for so small a company to resist his great force, (without returning an answer) began presently to clear our men, whom they supposed without any great resistance to have at their service, and came up close to our foote, who nothing dismayed, stood firme, expecting their chardge: But they not coming on, Capitaine Harvey advanced towards them and brake them instantly.

"In this conflict were slaine and hurt about sixtie of their parties, and among them Garret Mac Shane, the Leader and procurer of the fight; of our men some four were hurt, but none killed; Captain Harvey received a shot on his murrain, a blow with a pike upon his back, but escaped danger by the goodness of his Buffe Coat, and had his horse slaine under him.

"The White Knight upon dew knowledge hereof, condemned both his Sonne and people for their folly to enforce a fight having no harme intended them; and confessed they were well lost. But yet for his better satisfaction the treacherous Guid who did upon a set purposed malice draw this Draught was by the President's appointment delivered over to the Marshall, and presently hanged."*

At this time the wary Cecyll did not place much faith in the White Knight's professions of loyalty. Writing to the President of Munster a few months after the date of Carew's letter to the Privy Council (17 June, 1600) announcing the humble submission of the White Knight, and his earnest promises of amendment, the suspicious Cecyll wrote to Carew cautioning him against the wily conduct of the unruly subject so lately received into favour. The letter contains some interesting particulars regarding the purpose for which the young "Queen's Earl" of Desmond was sent over to Ireland in 1600, and the spirit of thrift in matters pertaining to Ireland, which, even in that age, was cultivated by the English Government. The political object contemplated by the English Privy Council was of the utmost importance, but the instrument to be used should be provided at small expense.

Sir Robert Cecyll to Sir George Carew. 1 Oct., 1600.

"If you shall not remember where I dwell this Dispatch will torment you, because it is incertainys with Imbroderys; but rather then I wold haue taken all this paine, and you not haue ben acquainted with all our alterations, I thought good to send you all the same even . . . as I wrote them. And for short this is all the plaine trowthe; the report of the Bishop's protestacion to the Lis being related to the Queen was the only motive that recovered this patent. He desires to be the carrier, and the yong Erl being departed out of London, and without it, I haue committed it to his hands, for now it is sealed with the great seal of England. Sir now this is don the Queen will not pay any great soomms for James McThomas, and therefore now must his friends know they must work, or els plainly she will revoke him. Sir I think Castle Maine wold be a very acceptable pleasure to her, and an argument that might be used to the world that the Queen getts somewhat by him good for herself as well as for him. As concerning his expenses let him know he must live frugally and within the compass of £500 yearly till he be seated and lands giuen him which must be recouere^d. Besyds you may tell him that he may tell his followers what he thinks good but that you haue but £500 allotted, and that if he consider well it is a fayre pension. He may be also told that he shall come ouer when he hath don any good and marry in England, whyther it seems he longeth to retourn; and I assure you in my opinion he will never much like an Irishe lyfe for he is tender and sickly, but time will shew. In any case place well affected persons about him. I pray you sir remember good pledges upon the Whyte Knight whilst thinges are prospering well, for it is sayd you will be coined by him at last. You can not please the Queen better than that some of the principall knaues of name be hanged, &c., &c." (*Carew MSS.* Vol. 604.)

A fortnight after, Cecyll again writes to Carew in rather an angry mood, because of the leniency (?) exhibited towards the Munster chiefs who had submitted, or were in treaty for their submission, and denouncing the White Knight.

* The foregoing extract is similar—verbatim—to a passage in a letter or report from Sir George Carew to the Privy Council, dated 25

Aug., 1600. (*See Carew State Papers*, A.D. 1600, p. 429.)

Sir Robert Cecyll to Sir George Carew. 15 Oct., 1600.

"8^r I have receaved this evening and not before your packette by Smith which finds me at London from whence I resolve to make you some answer; though I doubt not before this lett^r arryves but my sundry dispatches will cease upon you when Desmond arriveth. In one of your lettres of the first of Octobre I find some clauses whereunto I am in some payne to make answer for even indeed they vary in themselves from the very lettres which come in the same packette; a matter which I know is common in lettres of several dates, but yet in this point, wherein you desire to be resolved, your arguments are somewhat obscure; for you say that this taking in of the rebels is the way to end the warr for the tyme but not to secure it hereafter; which future tempe, yf you do limite either to the comming in of the Spaniards or to the day of the disastre by the Queenes decease (whome God long preserve!); for the first I am not of opinion there will any arryves in haste; and for the second, lett that unfortunate tyme care for itself;—secondly you say you durst not use force because you know not how it would be here accepted. Surely Sir I do not know that you were enjoyed to any course, one or the other, neither do I remember but that ever I tould you that for example's sake her Majestye would expect that some should pay the randomes of their rebellions; and (as I conceive) your owne project was, after you: return from Kerry (during which voyadge you meant to have those at your back as quiet as you could) that you did not intend to pardon any upon base conditions neither (for ought I know) could I have wished a better choise then of those five villaynes, who yet are left, I mean 124 [James Fitz Thomas?] 125 [Piers Lacy?] 128, [Edmond Fitz Gerald:] 4012 [Knight of the Valley?] 1047 [Thomas Fitz Maurice Lord of Lixnaw?] whereof as it appears three of them are fled the contrey and two are but in poor estate, whome I wish neuer forgiven. I am onely not satisfied why 123 [the White Knight] so wealthy and plentiful a knave should be still borne with, yf you be not secure of him, for the war were easily made upon him. It is true that in my conscience 1089 [Thomond?] is come as well to see how wee are disposed to proceed with the generall as for his owne particular; wherin because you shall know his nature I protest to you before God when I readd unto him 2049 [Carew's?] letter written in his commendacion (as yf he had been the son of Jupiter) and used these words unto him: 'You see 2049 [Carew?] hath given you great commendacion' he answered me 'By God he hath not said so much as I deserve,' so as I assure you there need not any other president then 1089 [Thomond?] yf you beleve ether what he hath done or what he can, &c. &c. &c. &c." (*Carew MSS.* Vol. 604.)

The submission of the White Knight, which was looked forward to with such satisfaction by Sir George Carew, who was most competent to judge of the importance of such an event, was really not the work of the Lord President, but of one of his subordinates, Sir George Thornton. It is to the honour (?) of Sir George Carew, however, that he has given his subordinate the credit (?) of the affair. Writing to Cecyll, under date of October 21, 1600 (two months after his announcement of the White Knight's abject submission to himself at Kilmallock), the Lord President of Munster expresses himself thus:—

"The first rebell in Mounster (and absolutelye the worst while he was a rebell w^{ch} is the White Knight) that did submit himselfe unto me was his [i. e. Sir George Thornton's] onely act, for by his persuasions he was reduced, and because there is more doubt held of the Knight than of any man ells, Sir George Thornton dothe upon the losse of his reputation for ever undertake to conteyne him a subiect whether the Spaniards come or not as long as her Mat^{tie} lyveth, this beinge by him performed is no small service, for the White Knight is the most wyse subtile and valliant man in Mounster and of great following." (*State Papers.*)

The White Knight himself soon followed with assurances of his dutiful obedience, in a letter remarkable for the abject tone of his apology for previous transgressions, and the apparent earnestness of his promises of amendment and of zeal for the Government service. Writing to Cecil on the 27th of November, 1600, he says:—

"My humble dutie remembred to yo^r Ho: &c. Albeit Her Mat^{tie}, yo^r honorable father, & the rest of the Lords of the Councell in England had sufficient testimony of my services hertofore, for w^{ch} I have receaved manifold considerations from her Highnes, wherof I cannott be forgetfull: yet I have been constrayned to brecke from my duty as well be the suddaine envacion of this countrey, as alsoe be the risinge fourth in action of the late L. Roch, the Lo: of Mountgarrott, the Lo: of Cahir wth the rest of my neighbours rownd about, in sorte as I could not broock any safte for my self, nor my poore people, but

be entering into y^e action. As also for that her Ma^{tie} at that instant had not force then in these parts sufficient to prevent the great mischief happened to her subjects. Consequentlie, seeing the Governor to draw back from Kilmallock, and other holds w^{ch} her Highnes had in this province, wherbe everie man was compelled to shift for himself; nevertheless when I saw my opportunitie not knowing howe to give better triall of my willingness to live duetifully, upon the first comynge of this Lo: President,* I have been the first that made submission of himself, for ensample to all the rest to doe the like, as his Lp: and S^r George Thorne-ton can witness. Since w^{ch} tyme I keepe in all duetifulnes, and will doe (God willing) while I live, yet not knowinge under whose winges I might better convert my self to have ease and forgyves of my fault herin, then to make choise of yo^r ho: as my onelie good Lo: & pattron, from whome I will never sequester my self, but wholie depende and relie to yo^r honorable favor, be whose contenance I altogether expecte to be helpen & relieved in this my great want and necessitie. Most humble craving, that the sinister enformacions of my adversaries make not wourck anie alteration of the contrarie untill yo^r Ho: doe make further triall of me & my loialtie. Even soe Leaving my self altogether to yo^r honno^rs grave consideration, Eftsoones prainge that it will vonsafe please yo^r Ho: to accept of me accordinglie. Alwaies prainge for yo^r prosperous health wth increase of all Ho: , I most humble take leave. From Clangibbon this 27th of November, 1600.

"Yo^r honorable Lordships most humble to commaund

"EDW: GYBBON."

The letter is addressed "To the right Ho: my verie good Lord, S^r Robert Chesale, Knight, one of her Ma^{tie} most honorable privy Councell in England."

Page 612, line 9. "*The defeat he gave at Glenconkin in Ulster to Mac Saurly Boy MacDonell.*"

The battle of Glenconkin (in Irish *Gleann-Concadhain*), in the parish of Ballinascreen, county Londonderry, if battle it could be called, was fought in 1584. In none of the published accounts of the event is there any mention of the presence of the White Knight on the occasion, although it is likely that he was there in the train of the Lord President of Munster. In a despatch from the Lord Deputy Perrott to the Privy Council in England, dated 25th October, 1584, he states that "the Lord President (Norris), the Baron of Dungannon (Hugh O'Neill), Mr. Thomas Norris, and Edward Berkeley, did good service against Sorley Boy, the Scots and the Irish, in Glenconkine." (*Carew Calendar*, 2nd Series, p. 380).

The Four Masters thus refer to the expedition of the Lord Deputy to Glenconkine:—

"The Lord Justice (Sir John Perrott) proceeded on the following day to Limerick, and resolved to spoil and chastise a great number of gentlemen about Limerick, until despatches overtook him informing him that a Scottish fleet had landed in the North of Ireland, at the invitation of Sorley Buigh, the son of MacDonnell, and were plundering and devastating the country about them; and the cause for which they had come was, that Sorley Buigh, who was in possession of the Routes (in Antrim), for thirty years before that time, received intelligence that the council of England laid an injunction and command on that new lord justice, to confer the Routes on its own rightful inheritors, and to expel Sorley to his own paternal stock in Scotland; and not that alone, but that he would not suffer any foreigners to make settlements in Ireland while he should be in the service of the sovereign. As to the lord justice, he left Limerick with all despatch, and commanded that all men fit for service, from the Boyne to Beirre (Bear, in the county of Cork) should meet him, at the expiration of twenty-four days from that at Drogheda.

"These commands were obeyed by the men of Munster, Meath, and Leinster, for they came numerously, and fully equipped, to that place, and they all marched for Ulster.

"When Sorley received intelligence that the forces of Ireland were marching towards him, he left the Routes, and carried off with him his herds of cattle, his women, and his people, to Gleann-Choncadhan (Glenconkene in Derry), and left neither herding or watching in the country, or guarding of any town in the Routes, except alone Dunlis (Dunluce Castle); and although that was the stronghold of the province, it was taken by the lord-justice in two days and nights after he had laid siege to it, and he put the queen's

* i. e. Sir George Carew,

guards into it. After the lord justice had been ten days in the Routes, he left thirteen *Banna* (bands, or companies) quartered in Ulster against Sorley, and he himself returned to Dublin, and disbanded the men of Ireland, and sent them to their homes." (*Ann. Four M.*, 1584).

It would seem from the foregoing account that there was not much actual fighting between Sorley Boy and the Government forces, at least in Glencorkine. If we may believe the writer of the Cotter MS., however (who appears to have derived his materials for the history of the White Knights from very reliable sources), Edmond acquitted himself on the occasion of the Glencorkine expedition with great bravery. After referring to Edmond's return from the Continent, this writer says that Edmond was "a person to be greatly dreaded, especially for a short time he held out against her Majesty, & according to the Earl of Essex his memoirs, it gave the Irish Government no small content, that he was afterwards brought over to her; for making his peace with the queen, she was pleased to make him a grant of the forfeited estates of his father, in recompence whereof he rendered her Majesty several acceptable services.

"In the North of Ireland he distinguished himself particularly against O'Neill and M'Saurleyboy, who I conceive was the ancestor of the Lord Marquess of Antrim, who in those days greatly embarrassed her Majesty's affairs in the province of Ulster, in so much that it was thought exped^t by the Lord Deputy and council to levy a great force to suppress him.

"To this purpose the Lord Barrymore the Lord Roche and the White Knight were commanded to levy a select number of men for this expedition; the White Kn^t it is said for this occasion brought about 600 men of his own well armed and equipped, and joining the Lord deputy and the two other Lords they made hasty marches untill they reached a place called Glencorkin, where they discovered that the enemy, that is to say M'Saurley with his adherents, were strongly fortified in the bogs & woods adjacent, and which seemed almost to be inaccessible. Here the Lord deputy drew up his whole army and then detached the White Knight with his men to maintain a pass pretty remote from their main body, lest the enemy would otherwise make way to take them in the rear. Here he posted himself according to command, and stood not there very long when he descried a numerous party of the enemy advancing towards him, to oppose whom he drew out 600 men, whom he advantageously posted leaving 200 more for a reserve; but the enemy being superior in number, the White Knight, after he had lost 50 of his men, was obliged to retreat; being thus pressed he sent for his reserve, who came in so opportunely that rallying again, he beat the enemy back with the loss of about 500 of their men, the rest of them making off as well as they could to their main body, and that with such precipitation that one Denagh Casey, an officer belonging to the White Kn^t cried out aloud, & swore by G—d, they would escape before they could kill any more of them. The Lord Deputy was not idle, for by this time he advanced to the main body of the enemy putting them to flight, and such was the slaughter made by the Queen's forces, that of M'Saurley's army, it was computed upwards of 2500 men were slain in the action. The White Kn^t lost 184 of his men and was wounded in one of his arms, and rec^d also a slight wound in his thigh from a musquet ball. Maurice FitzGarrett of Ballinloughrey was greatly wounded with a pike in the shoulder. Gibbon Rua, another of his officers, was severely wounded with a broad sword, & Gerald Fitz Thomas another officer had a deep wound from a small sword on the shoulder of his right arm."

Page 612, line 14. "Whereon the Lord Deputy."

The Lord Deputy of Ireland at this time was Sir John Perrot, who in June 1584 was sent to Ireland as its Chief Governor. Of this personage the Revd. George Hill says in a note at page 159 of his *Macdonnells of Antrim*, "This Knight was believed to be a son of Henry VIII., whom he very much resembled in personal appearance, and also in his arbitrary temper. Sir Robert Naunton states that Perrot 'was sent lord deputy into Ireland, as it was then apprehended, for a kind of haughtiness and repugnance in counsels; or, as others have thought, the fittest person then to bridle the insolence of the Irish.' Perrot whilst in Dublin often told the council there to 'stick not so much upon the Queen's letters of commandment, for she may command what she will, but we will do what we list.' He was eventually accused of high treason, and imprisoned in the Tower, where he suddenly died, just as the Queen had determined to pardon him." (*See Somers' Tracts*, vol. 1, p. 268.)

Page 613, line 32.—“ *Other his good and loyal Services.*”

Among these services, the writer, no doubt, numbered the White Knights' betrayal of the Earl of Desmond, although he carefully avoids any reference to that reprehensible transaction. The writer of the Cottler MS. has the following observations on the subject. But they seem to have been taken, nearly verbatim, from the account in the “*Pacata Hibernia*,” Book ii., chap. 3.

“As it was not my intended purpose to intersperse these memoirs with stories of the transactions of any other, during these commotions, but such as I could not well avoid to give a more ample acc^t of the actions of this unhappy and reputed Earl, & others of the Mounster FitzGerald, I shall therefore speak but very little of Florence McCarthy,* as^d McCarthy More, in the sequel hereof.

“Let it suffice the reader, in short, that he was apprehended and sent into England as an acceptable present to the Queen, and as that Earl was now approaching his destiny, shall hasten to show in what manner he made his exit from the stage of this world.

* The influence of Florence McCarthy over the White Knight was for some time very great, and his indignation at the latter's submission to Carew was, therefore, proportionately immoderate. The author of “*Pacata Hibernia*” speaks of a “traitorous message (sent by Florence) to the White Knight by his daughter, Mac Donogh's [MacCarthy's] wife, together with a cunning letter, written in Irish, and translated as followeth.”

The letter is described as *A letter from Florence Mac Carthy to the White Knight*, and reads (in translation):—

“Damnation, I cannot but commend me heartily unto you, as bad as thou art, and doe also most heartily commend me to your wife, and to your two sonnes, I would be very glad to speak with you for your good; and because I cannot speak with you my selfe, yet I would have you in any wise credit your daughter mistresse *Mac Donogh*, concerning me, and to beleieve from me whom she sends, or what she sends you word of, by a trusty messenger; I would have to determine about *Pierce Oge*, and that I may speak with you, I meane about *Gortnetobers* or *Tullylease*, send word to *Pierce* and *Desmond* of the day with him, and send me word, and I will come without all faile: In the mean time I leave to God. Pallace, this seven and twentieth of August, 1600.

“Your assured loving friend,

“FLORENCE MAC CARTIR.”

The author of “*Pacata Hibernia*” adds:—
“The letter was delivered and expounded to the President by the White Knight:

“*Pierce Oge*, before mentioned, was *Pierce Lacy*. The message which he sent by *Mac Donogh's* wife, was to reprove him for his submission to the Queen, and to incite him to enter againe into rebellion, and if he would not be advised by him, and himselfe not able to maintain the action, that he purposed to agree with *Donell Mac Cartie* his brother in Law, and to leave the County of Desmond and the Followers in his hands and to imbarke himselfe into Spain, to procure and hasten the long expected aide.

“In October, after many and infinite delatory excuses, and protracted delays, he submitted himselfe to the President putting in such pledges as you have heard, and received a Protection for ten days, before the expiration whereof hee earnestly laboured *Cornac Mac Desmond* about the marriage betwixt the Arch-rebell *James Fitz-Thomas* and his sister, promising to the said *Cornac* all the Lands that hee had in Carbery, and undertaking that the said Earl should give

farther unto him, such portions of Lands as should be to his own content, so that he would consent to this marriage, and join in this wicked combination.”

When examined before the Privy Council, Florence McCarthy is stated by Cecyll to have denied that he had sent messages by the White Knight's daughter.

Sir Robert Cecyll to Carew. (5 Sept., 1601.)

“I know not what to wryte which some of my packetts that have lyen at the sea-yde (and I hope by this tyme are with you) do not containe, only now I must touch what hath hapned synce my last of our newes of Spayne and the examinacyon of *Desmonde* and *Florence*. For *Desmonde* I fynd him more dyscreet then I have hard of him, and for *Florence* the same which I euer expected which is a malycious wayne ffoole. When he came to be examyued he pryncipally and absolutely denied that he had done any thing in the begynning, but that which he had warrant to doe from the commissioners in Munster tyll he had recovered his contrye and that for the combynacyon with *Spaniards* it should neuer be proued especially that particular concerning his writing to the Pope when *Tyrone* was in Munster or at any tyme. In which poynt *James McThomas* being confronted with him dyd not directly mayntayne it that he had seen his hand, but that he was prvy to their consultacyon and that *O'Kegan* when he came for his hand told him *Florence* should loyne to; mayntayning it there resolutely that whether he wrytt or no he was present at all the counsells and gave his full consent. He lykewyse contesteth agaynst the report of any message he should send by the White Knight's daughter and for the dissuading of *Thomas Oge* pretendeth that you were not discontented with it, because you could have ben content it should have ben his act. To be short he makes it very merry-torious to have deluyered *Tyrone's* packetts to you, and I perouse will draw in all his crimes so farre within the reachs of his pardon, as we must only make him a prysoner by dyscretion and prayse you for your dyscretion to put it within our power and so hath the Queen willed me to wryte unto you. Of the *Spaniards* purposes I interrogated them.” &c. &c. &c. &c. (*Carew MSS.*, vol. 604.)

(For further notices of Florence McCarthy, see “*Pacata Hibernia*,” the Hamilton and Carew State Papers, and the apology for him, written by Mr. Daniel MacCarthy, entitled, “*The Life and Letters of Florence MacCarthy-Reagh*.”—London, 1867.)

" This Earl in his flourishing state of life, was a person indeed to be dreaded by the Queen's ministry in Ireland, if it be true, as some authors affirm it, that scarce any Earl of Desmond besides was as powerfull as he; for it is related by some for certain truth that he had eight thousand men of his own, well armed and payed, under his command, to serve ag^t her Ma^y, and should we give credit to the traditional acc^t of his might, kept up among the Irish to the very day, we would be induced to believe, that the forces which he kept in his own pay were not less than ten thousand, which seems to be confirmed by a letter,* whereof the following is a transcript (See note at foot. The Letter referred to has not been copied by the author of the Cotter MS.):—

" Nay, says the author (from whose works I have transcribed this letter), so much was he feared that there was not a man of acc^t in all Munster to whom the Lord President did not apply, with promise of a great reward, to such as would undertake to bring him in either dead or alive; & soe assiduons was he to bring it to pass, that at length the Lord Barry went in pursuit of him, and understanding that he was harboured by one Dermot O'Dugane, a man whose profession it was to play upon the harp, he took the command of one hundred men in the Queen's pay, in order to apprehend him; & directed his march to a place called Garryduff,† where Dugan resided.

" When he came near that man's house, he perceived some people enter a wood, which surrounded the same, & thereupon ordered his men to follow them.

" In this place was the Earl, accompanied only by his landlord and two other persons of the name of Baldwin, just ready to go to supper; but before they were seated, by good fortune they saw that the Lord Barry with his party were advancing towards them, and as they well judged that their design was upon the Earl, they left the meat untouched upon the table and made their escape; and were scarce got out, when the soldiers entered and there only found the provisions left by the fugitives, and a cloak which some of them knew to be the Earl's, who was by that time out of danger; and to cover his retreat the better, Duggan and the Baldwins immediately appeared with the lapwings pollicy, moving from place to place, to the end that the pursuit would be made upon themselves, and by that means give the Earl a full & secure opportunity of getting quite out of their way. This had its desired effect, for the soldiers imagining that the Earl was one of the three which they saw make off last, never ceased pursuing them, 'till they got into Clangibbon, where being out of all hopes of finding him they returned to Barrys Court.

" And now the Lord Barry surmising that the Sagan Earl was usually protected by the White Knight (for that it might be reasonably supposed, if he were not already secure of the Knight's friendship, he could not expect to be sheltered in a country belonging to him), made a remonstrance thereof to the Lord President, and how the Earl made his escape, adding withal (as he had a grudge of a long standing to the White Knight) if his men had assisted the soldiers under his command, he could not possibly get off as he did.

" The Lord President conceiving this aggravation of the Lord Barry's to be very suitable to the character of the White Knight, readily believed it to be true, & sent for the knight, and reprehending him very severely for his negligence in an affairs of such importance, threatened him that he would bring him to a strict & bitter acc^t for it, adding that as he stood engaged for the good behaviour of his Tenn^{ts} & followers, he should for this default be made answerable at the peril of his life & lands.

" The White Knight, greatly nettled at these and the like rebukes, suspended his passion for the present, and intreated the Lord President to have patience with him for a few days; and swore by his sowle, that if the Earl was then within the precincts of his estate, or would for the future attempt to enter the same, he would give his Lord^{sh} a satisfactory acc^t of him, either dead or alive; after which being rendered very uneasy from the many reproohs given him on this occasion, he went directly to Sir George Thornton's, & in great dudgeon recounted the ill treatment which he had from him, & in a vehement passion took his corporal oath upon a book, that he would not cease to employ his endeavours to effect what he

* The letter here referred to seems to be the communication addressed to the King of Spain by the Sagan Earl of Desmond, dated 14 March, 1599, and printed in "Pacata Hibernia," book ii., chap. 8.

† There are several places named Garryduff in the counties of Cork and Limerick: but

the place here referred to is most likely Garryduff, in the parish of Clonmult, barony of Kinnataloon, county Cork, which lies on the route from the White Knight's country to Barryscourt, in the barony of Barrymore, Lord Barry's then residence.

had already promised the L^d President; and said it was a hard case, that he who had been a faithful subject to the Queen for a long time past, should be suspected of such a misdemeanour.

"From Sir George Thornton's he went to his own house where he began with great indignation & concern, to make the like moane to some of his trusty followers, and to help him out of the danger he was in declared in their presence that he would give fifty pounds in cash, and the free inheritance of one ploughland for ever, to the p^{sa} who would first bring him word where James the Sugean Earl was, so as he may be secured; hereupon one who had a more tender regard for the knight's welfare than the rest, & taking compassion of the anxiety he was in, asked him if indeed he would lay hands upon him, in case he brought him where that Earl was, to which the knight answered it, and confirmed it with a fresh oath that he would; then follow me says the man, and I will undertake to show you where he is.

"The knight was glad of this, & accompanied by Redmond Bourk of Muskerryquirk in the county of Tipperary (then distinguished by the title of the Lord of Cappagh), and by six or seven persons more, on the 29th day of May, 1601, followed their guide, 'till they came to the mouth of a cave lying in the knight's country of Clan-Gibbon, on the south side of the mountain named Slevegrot,* well known by the Irish appellation of *Ua na Quereagh glaise*,† i.e., the gray sheep's grave; but ever since called Desmond's Cave; this

* *Slevegrot*. The extensive mountain range at present known as the "Galtees" (or the "Gualtie," as the name is written in Petty's Map), was anciently known as *Crotta-Cliach*, or *Sliabh-Crot*. Although these old names have given place to the comparatively modern one of the "Galtees," or "Gualtie," they have not altogether disappeared, inasmuch as they are represented by "Mount-Grot," the name of a hill at the eastern spur of the range, in the parish of Killardrig, county Tipperary; at the foot of which is the Castle of Dun-Grot, built on the site of an ancient fort, and which is supposed to have been the residence of an ancient king of Munster. (See Ordnance Map of Limerick county, sheet 50).

Irish etymologists have occupied themselves with the meaning of the name *Crotta-Cliach*, to explain which they have invented a story in the Dindsenchus style. This story, which is given from the *Leabhar Breac*, in O'Curry's *Lectures*, &c., pp. 426, 632, represents the name as derived from a harper named *Cliach* (a Tuatha-de-Danaan), who played on two harps (*Cruit*) at the same time. Being in love with the daughter of a fairy chieftain who resided on *Sidh-Arfeimkin*, *Cliach* seems to have taken up his position on the top of the "Gualtie" mountains, where he continued to play until a lake broke forth and submerged the minstrel and his instruments. This lake was afterwards known, among other names, by that of *Loch Crotta Cliach*, or the "Lake of *Cliach's Harpe*," and the mountain range as *Crotta Cliach*, or "*Cliach's Harpe*."

But this is all romance, for the word *Cliach*, explained as a man's name in the story, is really the genitive form of *Cliu*, the ancient name of a territory comprising the present barony of Coshlea, county Limerick, and some adjacent lands. The proper form of the name Coshlea, it may also be observed, is *Cos-a-tseibhe*, signifying *ad pedem montis*, as lying along the western base of *Sliabh-Crot*.

The extent of this territory of *Cliu*, or *Cliu-Mio-Ugaine* (the "C^{lin} of Mal son of Ugaine") is easily ascertained; for the Four Masters, under the year 1579, refer to the ford of *Bel-atha-nan-Deise* (now Athneasy, in the parish of the same name, near the village of Eiton, in the barony of Coshlea, about four

miles to the east of Kilmallock), as in the very centre of the district.

Many places of note in the east of the present county of Limerick were distinguished by the addition of *Cliach*, such as *Aine-Cliach*, or "*Aine of Cliu*" (now Knockany, or "*Aradha-Cliach*," or "*Aradha of Cliu*," now probably represented by the barony of Small County).

Crotta-Cliach, therefore, could not mean "*Cliach's Harpe*," but the *Crotta of Cliu*. What *Crotta* means may be matter of dispute (there are many places in Ireland called *Crott*, *Crotta*, *Crottee*); but there can be no question of the fact that the *Gualtie* mountains were anciently known by the names of *Crotta Cliach*, and *Sliabh-Crot*. This was not O'Donovan's opinion when he edited the *Annals of the Four Masters*; but he came at last to the conclusion here stated. See his note (753) to O'Huidhrin's "*Topog. Poem*," where he says, speaking of *Crotta Cliach*, "this was the ancient name of the Galtee mountains."

† *Ua na Quereagh glaise* (*recte*, *uaimh na arach glaise*) signifies, as above stated, the "Cave of the gray sheep:" a name that owes its origin to an old legend still remembered by some of the Irish-speaking people in the neighbourhood, according to which the cave was the retreat of certain magical sheep of a peculiar gray colour, capable of working deeds of enchantment, like the famous sheep that played such a striking part in the old romantic tale called the "Siege of Drom-Damhgaire" (now Knocklong, at the Limerick side of *Sliabh-crot*). See O'Curry's MSS. Materials, p. 271.

The identification of the cave in which the *Sugean Earl* of Desmond was apprehended has long occupied the attention of local antiquaries.

The historian of the county of Cork, Dr. Smith, in speaking of the Barony of Condons and Clangibbon, says, "It was in a part of Clangibbon, in the wood of *Sleive-gort* (sic), that the White Knight, towards the end of queen Elizabeth's reign, took the *sugean Earl* of Desmond prisoner: for which the queen gave him a thousand pounds." Vol. i., p. 352.

The author of the *Cotter MS.* states, as we have seen, that the cave was situated on the south side of *Sliabh-Crot*. The writer of "*Pacuta Hibernia*" has the following observa-

place is very deep and difficult of access, for the entrance thereto is very narrow; and here the Earl concealed himself, attended only by one Tho- O'feigh, his foster brother.

"The White Knight being well assured that the Sagan Earl was then actually there, came to the cave's mouth, and called to him to come out, & surrender himself prisoner; but that unhappy man, still presuming too much upon his quality, appeared & commanded Bourk as he tendered the welfare of his country, and of the *Catholic religion*, to cease upon the White Knight; and now the saying, 'no longer pipe, no longer dance,' was truly verified; the wheel of fortune turned; so that instead of being obeyed as accustomed, Bourk and the rest of the knight's retinue ceased upon the Earl and his foster brother, with drawn swords, & disarmed them, after which they were tied, & delivered to the White Knight, who from hence had them conveyed to his castle of Kilbenhy," which was not far off; from

tions on the subject; but they do not help to fix the site:—

"The White Knight with six or seven more (whereof Redmond Burke of Muskrig was one) presently upon the nine and twentieth of May took horse, and were guided to a Cave in the Mountains of Slawgort, which had but a narrow mouth, yet deep in the ground, where the Caytiffs Earle (accompanied only with one of his foster brothers called *Thomas Ophapic*) was then lurking. The White Knight called *James Fitz Thomas* requiring him to come out and render himself his prisoner. But contrariwise hee presuming upon the greatness of his quality, coming to the Cave's mouth required Redmond Burke and the rest to lay hands upon the Knight (for both hee and they were his natural Followers), but the wheel of his fortune being turned, with their swords drawn they entered the Cave, and without resistance disarming him and his foster Brother, they delivered them bound to the White Knight, who carried him to his castle of Kilvenny, and presently dispatched a messenger to *Sir George Thornton*, to pray him to send some of the Garrison of Kilmallock to take charge of him, which employment was committed to the care of *Capt. Francis Slingsby*, who marching with his company to Kilvenny, had the prisoner delivered unto him, and from thence with as much expedition as might bee, the White Knight, *Sir George Thornton*, and *Capt. Slingsby* brought them unto the President, then residing at Shandon Castle adjoining to Cork. But how the White Knight performed his promise to his servant it may bee doubted, though he had one thousand pound given him from her Majesty for the service."—*Dublin Ed.*, 1810, pp. 341-2.

According to the tradition existing in the locality, to which great weight must certainly be allowed, the cave in which the Earl of Desmond was captured, and which for centuries, as mentioned in the *Cotter MS.*, was known as Desmond's Cave is a remarkable cave in a round hill, in the townland of Coolagarranroe, parish of Templetenny, barony of Iffa and Offa West, Co. Tipperary. This place, which adjoins the townland of Skeheenaranky (or the "little bush of the dancing"), a name brought rather prominently before the public two years ago in connection with an agrarian outrage committed near Mitchelstown, is about six Irish miles from the latter town, and about the same distance from Clogheen, and close to the old road from Burncourt to Kilbenhy. It is some four Irish miles from Kilbenhy Castle, to which the Earl of Desmond was brought by his captor.

Within quarter of a mile from Desmond's cave is the now well-known cave, generally called the Mitchelstown Cave, and which was accidentally discovered in 1833.

Desmond's Cave is in every respect similar to the latter, and consists of numerous natural vaulted passages and areas of varied heights and widths, and extending for unexplored distances into the mountain limestone formation, of which the entire district is formed.

The entrance to the old, or Desmond's Cave is very narrow, being only two feet wide (but it is some fifteen high), from which there is a perpendicular descent of about fifteen feet, down which one goes by means of a ladder; after reaching the bottom of which there is a further very steep declivity of some hundred feet in length to be scrambled down before reaching the irregular rocky floor of the cave.

The tradition of the capture here of the Earl by the White Knight has been well preserved in the district.

• Kilbenhy. Kilbenhy Castle was a strong pile. It was taken by Cromwell in 1649 about the time that Ardinnan Castle was taken by Ireton. The capture of both castles was reported by Cromwell to the Speaker.

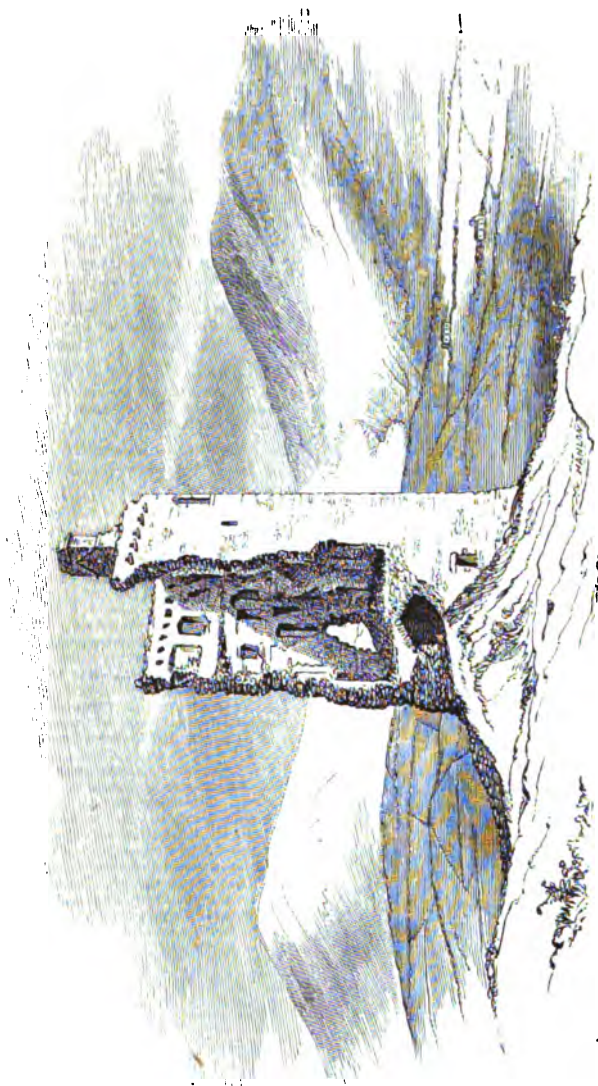
Cromwell to (Speaker) Lenthall, Castleknock, 1 Feb., 1649-50.

"Our resolution was to fall into the enemy's quarters two ways. The one party being about fifteen or sixteen troops of horse and dragoons, and about two thousand foot, were ordered to go up by the way of Carrick, into the county of Kilkenny under the command of Col. Reynolds; whom Major General Ireton was to follow with a reserve. I myself was to go by the way of Mallow, over the Blackwater, towards the county of Limerick and the county of Tipperary, with about twelve troops of horse, and three troops of dragoons, and between two and three hundred foot.

"I began my march upon Tuesday the nine-and-twentieth of January, from Youghal; and upon Thursday the one-and-thirtieth, I possessed a castle called Kilbenhy (*Kilbenhy*), upon the edge of the county of Limerick, where I left thirty foot. From thence I marched to a strong house belonging to Sir Richard Everard (called Clogheen), who is one of the Supreme Council; where I left a troop of horse and some dragoons. From thence I marched to Rophill Castle, which was possessed by some Ulster foot, and a party of the enemy's horse; which upon summons (I having taken the captain of some prisoner before), was rendered to me.

"These places being thus possessed gave us much command (together with some other holds we have) of the White-Knight's and Roche's country; and of all the land from Mallow to the Suir-side, especially by 'help of' another castle called Old Castleknock, which since my march was taken by any Lord of Droghda."

•••••



KILBENNY CASTLE.



this place he sent an express to St George Thornton, to let him know that he had got the Earl into his custody at last, and to desire he would immediately send a guard to take him in charge, which was accordingly done, under the command of Captⁿ Francis Slingebie, who went & received the prisoner, & under this gentleman's conduct he was transmitted to the City of Corke, attended also by the White Knight, untill he was delivered to the Lord President, then residing at Shandon Castle; which was not sooner done, than the knight addressing that great man upon this occasion, told him 'the Earl is now y^r prisoner, this house is your own, and take care of it.'

The same writer proceeds thus to speak of the reward given to the White Knight for his treacherous conduct in connection with the capture and betrayal of the Earl, and of the reasons which actuated him in hunting the unfortunate nobleman to earth, in a vain effort to palliate the infamy that will always attach to the White knight's character for an act of almost unexampled perfidy.

"It is say'd the White Knight for this service received the reward of one thousand pounds from her Ma^{ty}—& here as we are morally advised, that we ought to do good for evil, it is to be presumed there are some who as yet were attached to the memory of the Sagan Earl, than will give themselves leisure to consult reason, that will not stick to charge the knight with a cruel & inhuman breach of that maxim, by what was transacted by him in this case. But if we consider how great an aspersion it was upon him to be charged with disloyalty when he professed himself to be & behaved a faithful subject for several years; when we reflect upon the severity of his treatment when he was forced to lackey it on foot & in handlocks, to attend the pleasure of O'Neil and this very Earl; when we reflect upon his being in this wise detained a prisoner by them for the space of three months, because he would not join in their confederacy against the Queen, & that even after this tedious confinement they would not release him, 'till he paid them a ransom of two hundred pounds etc. I say if we consider all this, & what he suffered by his long absence from home, whilst the Earl of Ormond taking advantage thereof, with his forces made havoc of his country, in burning, ruining & destroying the same for the most part, it must be allowed that he had but little reason to shew him either favour or affection if ever it lay in his power to do so; for certainly the losses he sustained through his means were so great & so many, as could not sufficiently be repaired; not to say more of the indignities offered to his person, which was of that nature that flesh and blood could never forget; &

"I had almost forgot one business; the Major General (Ireton) was very desirous to gain a pass over the Suir; where indeed we had none but by boat, or when the weather served. Wherefore, on Saturday in the evening, he marched with a party of horse and foot to Ardinnan; where was a bridge, and at the foot of it a strong castle. Which he, about four o'clock the next morning attempted;—killed about thirteen of the enemy's outguard; lost but two men, and eight or ten wounded; the enemy yielded the place to him, and we are possessed of it,—being a very considerable pass, and the nearest to our pass at Cappoquin over the Blackwater, whither we can bring guns, ammunition, or other things from Youghal by water, and then over this pass to the army."

(Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, by T. Carlyle. London: 1846, II. 142-7.)

Of the ancient history of Kilbehenny very little is known. The name is written *Ooill-beithne* (the "Birch wood") in the Annals of the Four Masters, under A.D. 1503, in an entry announcing the death of Donogh O'Brien, of which the following is a translation:—

"Donogh O'Brien died. He was the son of Brian, son of Conor, son of Mahon, son of Murtagh, son of Turlough, son of Teige, son of Conor-na-Siudaine, son of Donogh Cairbreach, &c.

"This Donogh was the fountain of the prosperity and affluence of all Munster;—he was Lord

(of that district extending) from Adare to Limerick, and from Baile-nua to Mainistir-an-senaigh, (and) Lord of Aharlagh, and Coill-Beithne."

The late Dr. O'Donovan, who seems to have regarded the proper form of the name as *Cill-Beithne*, which he explains as signifying the "Church of the Birch-trees," furnishes the following particulars as all that he could learn in 1836 regarding the history of Kilbehenny:—

"The old church of this parish is in tolerable preservation. The walls are 12 feet high and 3 feet thick, and built of small, round brown stones. It has a large burial-ground attached to it.

"About half a mile to the west of the church there is a small burial-ground in which the natives believe the original church called *Cill Beithne* stood.

"On the townland of Castle quarter to the west of this church, there is a ruin of an old castle, which was built, according to tradition, by *Beithne O'Brien*, who also built and gave name to the church of Kilbehenny.

"Its south and west walls are destroyed down



Window,
Kilbehenny

such as contrary to all morals, must by force of nature break out with violence when opportunity served, for the resentments of a man so tenacious of his Right, & enamoured of his honour as he was.

"I cannot think, however, that the knight was possessed with such a spirit of revenge, as to be any way solicitous about the apprehension of this Earl, or that he was desirous of having the last hand in it himself, were it not for the menaces of the Lord President, since it was the opinion of the people of those times that he would not make such strict search for him as he did at last, had it not been for that reason; for that, without doubt, if he had endeavoured for a long time before to have taken him, he might easily have effected it & much sooner than he did." (See the White Knight's own account of the apprehension of the Earl of Desmond,* in his letter to Carew, dated 29th of May, 1601, printed vol. i, 3d ser., pp. 552-3.)

The capture of the *Sugan* Earl was regarded by Carew as putting an end to the troubles in Munster. Anxious to retire from his hitherto arduous position, and to bask in the presence of Royalty, he writes to the Queen on the same day that he conveyed to Cecyll the news of Desmond's apprehension:—

to the very foundations, excepting a small fragment of the south wall.

"This castle measured on the inside 24 feet in length and 18 feet in breadth, and consisted of five stories. Its walls are about 60 feet high and 4 ft. 6 in. thick."

(*Ordinance Survey Letters*, Co. Limerick; in *Royal Irish Academy*.)

The plate facing this page gives a view of the remains of the castle, and, by the fall of the north-west half, a good section of its construction is shown. The lower story was vaulted, and above that were three floors; at one of the two remaining angles still remain a double look-out slit, one of which is represented in the accompanying woodcut. No remains of bawn or outworks are apparent, but doubtless there were such in existence round the tall keep when the *Sugan* Earl was brought there a prisoner, as seen still round many similar castles. Kilbenny seems to have been one of the White Knight's chief residences, and here he died. The date of the keep is of the fifteenth century, towards its close.

* The fate of the *Sugan* Earl involved the extinction of the title of Earl of Desmond, which had been borne for nearly 300 years by the heads of the Southern Geraldines. Like many of the old Irish Titles extinguished by the attainder of the Irish nobility, but revived in favour of English and Scotch favourites, the Title of Earl of Desmond was also revived in 1613, in favour of Sir Richard Preston, Lord Dingwall, under the circumstances related in the following letter from Mr. John McKenzie to Mr. Abraham Fitzgibbon:—

"Dear Sir,

"You are aware, that James 9th Earl of Ormond married Joan daughter and heiress of James 11th Earl of Desmond,—and their son Thomas 10th Earl of Ormond married a daughter of Lord Sheffield, and had only a daughter and heiress, *Elizabeth*, who was married to Theobald Butler, the Heir Male of the Ormond Family, who was created by King James, Viscount Butler of Tulleophelin.

"This marriage was dissolved by the death of the Viscount in 1613, without issue.

"Robert Preston of Halthie had been one of King James' Household before his accession to the English throne, and had accompanied his

Master to England, and appears to have stood high in his favor.

"His daughter Elizabeth being likely to succeed to the Ormond Estates, the Duke of Buckingham (the King's Favourite) seems to have thought she would be a good match for his Nephew, George Fielding (his sister's son),—and this appears to have been got arranged, when she was only about 7 years of age.

"With the view of carrying this match through, a Patent was granted 22nd Nov. 1612, creating George Fielding *de presenti* a Peer of Ireland by the titles of Lord Fielding of Lough and Viscount of Callan,—and Earl of Desmond on the death of Richard Earl of Desmond without Heirs Male of his Body, it being declared that he should be entitled to assume the Earldom immediately on the death of Earl Richard.

"The Patent was granted on the ground of the intended marriage.

"Earl Richard's wife died in 1623,—and he was drowned in his passage between the two kingdoms near Holyhead, in the same year.

"On his death, George Fielding Viscount Callan, his intended son in law, became Earl of Desmond.

"In 1609, Preston was created a Scottish Peer by the Title of Lord Dingwall, to him and his heirs general, and he got at the same time a grant of various Lands in Ross-shire.

"The Dowager Viscountess of Tulleophelin having claimed the Ormond's Estates in opposition to the Heir Male, who had succeeded to the Earldom, & her claim being supported by the King, she was a great match,—and the King bestowed her in marriage upon Lord Dingwall soon after her husband's death, and *Elizabeth*, the only issue of her second marriage was born on 25 July, 1613.

"The competition for the Ormond Estates led to long litigation, but the King put Lord Dingwall and his wife in possession of nearly the whole of them in 1618.

"Prior to 31st July, 1621, [on 34th July, 1619], Richard Lord Dingwall, on the ground of the descent to his wife, Elizabeth Butler from Lady Joan Fitzgerald, her Grandmother, was created Earl of Desmond in Ireland to him and the Heirs Male of his Body.

"After the Duke of Buckingham's murder in 1628, the then Earl of Ormond had sufficient influence with Charles 1st to get the intended

"Since my time of banishment in this rebellious kingdom (for better than a banishment I cannot esteem any fortune that deprives me from beholding your Majesty's person), although I have not done as much as I desire in the charge I undergo, yet, to make it appear that I have not been idle (I thank God for it) I have now at length (by means of the White Knight) gotten into my hands the body of James Fitz Thomas, that archtraitor and usurping Earl, whom for a present, with the best conveniency and safety I may find, I will by some trusty gentleman send unto your Majesty, whereby I hope this province is made sure from any present defection." * * * * (Cork, 3 June, 1601.)

The reward was not long in coming, although Carew was not able to pay the entire sum, £1,000, without borrowing, owing to the poverty of the Exchequer. But as the White Knight was probably importunate for his fee, the Lord President had to raise the money on his own credit. The success of the project undertaken by the White Knight seems to have encouraged Carew into undertaking similar proceedings in other directions, as we learn from his correspondence with the authorities in England.

Sir G. Carew to Cecyll. Cork, 18 June, 1601.

* * * * *

"I am promised for 100^{li} to gett Bishoppe Craghe, and for the like some the Knight of the Valley, ere itt be longe I hope to send you the one or bothe: likewise I am profered for money to have McWilliams head in Connaght; but beinge out of my goverment I know nott how to deale in itt: Here is no money, I beseeche your honnour to mediatt for itt: so humblye rest your honnours ever more humblye to serve you.

GEORGE CAREW."

And he adds in a postscript:—

"Now willbe a good time for Nicolas Browne to come into Desmond, and he willbe a good pay in that wyld countrye, whether he have a charge or no, for those parts are very quiett: *I have payed the White Knight 400^{li}, wch upon my creddiit I procured.*"

The President of Munster was hard up for money to pay the miscreants who were ready to betray their leaders, friends, and kindred for profit. The Privy Council of England were anxious to supply the funds required for the detestable duty, but the Treasury was rather low in the end of Elizabeth's reign, owing to the incessant drain caused for many years by the wars in Munster. The Queen, however, was ready to reward the White Knight with honours as well as more solid gifts, and deigned to take notice of his younger son John, the same who had been surrendered as a hostage to O'Neill by his father.

Sir R. Cecyll to Carew. 29 June, 1601.

"SIR GEORGE,

"The dispatche which Patricke Crosbie brought hath not a little rayseed your reputacyon for I know not how by force or counsell more could have ben performed, which are Her Majesty's own words. Where you have determined to send him (Desmond) over alive Her Majestie allowthe well of your judgement, but especyally in that you ingaged the Province in his condemnation before. Synce I have receved a lettre from you of your apprehendings of Florence in whose case I pray you spare not sending over of any proofes you

marriage of George Fielding (Earl of Desmond), and Lady Elizabeth Preston (Baroness Dingwall) broken off,—and on 8th September, 1629, a Grant of her Wardship was made by the King to the Earl of Ormond with the view of her marriage at Christmas, 1629, to his grandson James Viscount of Thurles (afterwards 1st Duke of Ormond), and it took place, when the young Lady had only attained the age of Fourteen.

"The present Earl Cowper claimed & was adjudged by the House of Peers, the Title of Lord Dingwall, as the Heir General of that marriage.

"The Earldom of Desmond is now conjoined with that of Denbigh, although the proposed connection, in expectation of which it was granted, never took place,—and the present holder has no kinship to the Fitzgeralds.

"I am,

"Dear sir,

"Yrs truly,

"JOHN W. McKENZIE."

A. FITZGIBBON, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

can, for although Her Majestie is not lykelle to proceed vygorously, yet she accounts yt an excellent pledge to have him safelle sent hither. For the other poynts which James McThomas offreth I need wryte no cyrcumstances but this shortly, that Her Majesty will not yet give you warrant to assure him lyefe whom you have in your keepinge, though I have acquainted her with the condycons, but I am not desperate (with a little tyme) to induce her Majesty to the same &c. I have sent you herewithall a lettre to the White Knight from my Lords; and Her Majestie hath taken notyce of his sonne, that is here with my Lo. of Thomond, and hath lette him kisse her handes with very gracious usage. For the liii hundred poundes which you have payed to the Whit knight, there will be order given the thesaurer that there shal be so muche sent over for you. I would to God 1206 [Thomond?] were once from hence for no man that lyues can tell what he would have, but his wholle dryft was to be governor of Connaught, &c. &c."—*Carew MSS.* vol., 604.

Carew's gratitude to the White Knight was further illustrated soon after, by his recommendation to Cecil and the Privy Council, in favour of the Knight's younger son, John FitzGibbon, whom his father wished to be attached to Cecil as a sort of equerry.

Sir George Carewe to Cecyll. (From Cork, August 9, 1601.)

"Right Honorable. I shall not neede herein to trouble your Ho: wth the particulars of that w^{ch} I desire you shold understand in the fauor and behalfe of Edmond Fz Gibbon called the White Knight, because at lardge I have written the same to their lls: by this bearer John Nashe his servaunt, and do humbly crave pardon to refer your Ho: for notice thereunto: But in respect the gent doth wholly betake himself to a dependancy upon you and desires onely to be supported by yo^r countenance, I do humbly beseech you to admitt him the favo^r thereof and to be pleased to give such honourable furtherance to his reasonable causes, as the gent may fynd himself regarded, and be animated to hold on in the dutifull course hee hath embraced; Besides w^{ch} as a particular sute to yo^r Ho: he hath besought me to move you that you wold be pleased to accept of his sonnes service now there, named John Fz Gibbon, and to give him leave as yo^r servaunt to attend and followe yo^r Ho: by w^{ch} yo^r chardge shalbe nothing encreased, for that his father will see him mentayned in the state and condicion of a gent, and therefore do also humbly crave that yo^r ho: will receive him, and at my sute yield such favo^r to his fathers causes as yo^r grave iudgment shall thincke meete. for w^{ch} I will acknowledge most humble thanks: And so leaving him herein to yo^r hoble consideracon and regard. I do remayne

"Yo^r ho: enermore most humbly bounde to serve you,

GEORGE CAREW."

The following is the letter to the Lords of the Privy Council, referred to in the foregoing communication:—

Sir George Carewe to the Privy Council. (From Cork, Aug. 9, 1601.)

"It may please yo^r lls: Though I am unwillingly moved (and have hitherto much restrayned myself) to become a sutor to yo^r lls: in the fauor of any hence, yet for many good reasons w^{ch} Iustly occasion me to give Edmond Fz Gibbon called the White Knight my best furtheraunce to his content, I most humbly crave pardon to expresse to yo^r lls: his merits: for as he was the first of any gentleman of qualytie that after my coming to this Gouvernem^t submitted himself to her Ma^{ty} grace and mercy, and ever since hath demeaned and approved himself as a loyall, and dutifull subiect, and by his example many more weare the rather induced to imbrace the benefitt thereof; so hath he from tyme to tyme furthered the service, both by Intelligences and other wayes, as did not onely much advance the same, but gave me assurance of his obedient disposicion, worthis to be employed and trusted: besides w^{ch} to confirme that his desire and endeavors have bin directed to good purpose, and his intention honest, according the apparence, he hath so well approved yt by his late service in apprehending of James Fz Thomas the Archtreator of this province, as I can not sufficiently declare his comendacion; but in that point leave him to be censured by yo^r lls: The gent hath much importuned me for lycense to have repaired himself to yo^r lls: but because I fynde great use of his personall attendaunce here, chiefly in this tyme when wee daylie expect the cominge of Spaniards, I have deferred him untill I see further what wilbe the event of this brute: and being confident that he will contynue in the loyall course he hath enterteyned, I do most humbly beseech yo^r lls: for the better encoragiding of him therin, to vouchsafe such favo^r and good allowaunce to his reasonable

causes, as he may perceave his endeu^{rs} are regarded and may seeme meets in yo^r lla: wisdomes to be yielded him, wherunto yf yo^r wilbe pleased at my humble sute to give him further countenance, I will present unto yo^r lla: for the same my most humble thanckes. And so leaving him to yo^r honourable consideracions, as one whom I wish much good unto, I evermore remayne

"Yo^r lla. most humbly ready to be commaunded

GEORGE CAREW."

The White Knight followed soon after with a petition to the Queen, couched in terms which would almost seem to have been dictated by Carew himself. The phraseology has a strong similarity to the style and form of expression of the Lord Presidents' Letters to the Queen and her Privy Council.

"To the Queens most excellent Ma^{tie}. The humble petition of Edmund Fitz Gibbon the Whit Knight. (Sept. 8, 1601.)

"Declaring that as well in the rebellion of Garret late Erie of Desmond, as in the tyme of Sr Tho. Norreys late L. President, Yo^r Supl't hath don yo^r Ma^{ty} very good and acceptable services, especially aboute 4 yeares past when the notorious rebells the Clan-shibhies drew into Mounster certen Scotts and Connaght rebells w^{ch} were all ouerthrowen chiefie by yo^r supl't.

"That in the beginnyng of this last rebellion, he being not able to wthstand the violence of the rebells (yo^r Ma^{ty} not havinge any forces to defend yo^r subiects in that province) he was compelled to ioyn wth them, and to run that unnaturall and disloyall course w^{ch} they did, till the nowe L. Presidents conyng, to whom yo^r supl't was the first that came in, and since hath from tyme to tyme to the uttermost profe of his endeavo^r laboured not onlie to repaire his creditt, and to regaine yo^r Ma^{ty} gracious favo^r and good oppinion, as by the L. Presidents severall lettres hither may appeare, but also by some notable and rare pees of service to raise out of yo^r Ma^{ty} remembrance and to remove from yo^r royall harte all thoughts and memories of form^r dialoyalties, and henceforth to be reputed, and to remayne a man undoubtedly unsuspected, he hath in manifestacion of his care and diligence therein, and to his noe smale travell & chardges surprised and taken the Archtraito^r James Fitz Tho: the late usurped Erie of Desmond and delivered him to the L. President who hath nowe sent him to yo^r Ma^{ty}. In consideration wherof, as also of the future services of himself his sonnes and followers for ew^m he most humbly beseecheth yo^r sacred Ma^{ty} the better to inhable him & them therunto, to grant of yo^r princelie bounty the requests herunto annexed."

The requests were as follows:—

"The humble petitions and requests of Edmund Fitz Gibbon alias the White Knight.

"1. Whear the petitioner standeth and dwelleth in most convenient place of service and in danger of the encursion of the rebells, yf they pretend any exploits for the Province of Mounster, he praieth some charge of foote for his better assistance, the rather for that he is assured to be shott at by the rebells before all other, for the late service by him comytted.

"2. Whearas also he holdeth most of his landes by severall pattents from her Ma^{tie} and some parte by purchase from others, he praieth that his surrender may be accepted by her Highnes of all his saide landes, and to rehave the same againe and his chiefe rents granted to him and his heires to holde from her Ma^{ty} by some reasonable and easie tenure.

"3. Whearas also the landes of Kinaltallone, vidz: Connebie, Aghcarren, BallyMc-Symon, Ballinatten, Ballynoe and Knockmorny and other the landes forfeited by the attaindo^r of James Fitz Thomas, are borderinge upon the landes and possessions of the Petitioner, he praieth that the same may be past to him and his heires paiging such reasonable rent as the saide landes shalbe extended unto.

"4. Whearas also he and his suerties have formerlie incurred some forfeito^rs of bonds and recognizances he praieth the remyttall therof, and of all fynes and amerco^ms upon them imposed and the arrerages of the rents acrued due upon him duringe the Warra.

"5. Whearas also he obteyned her Ma^{ty} former lres for restitution of his blood at the next Parliament, w^{ch} hitherto was not kept; he praieth a renovation of the saide lettres."—(*State Papers*.)

The troubles attending the closing period of Elizabeth's life caused the White Knight's petition to be put aside for the time; but soon after the accession of James I. the subject came again before the authorities; and in 1604, a king's Letter was issued, directing the restoration of Edmund FitzGibbon to his ancient blood, lineage, and estate, &c.

"James Rex

"The king to the Earl of Devonshire Lieutenant. Right trustie: Upon consideration had, by us and our Privy Councill, of the services done to our late dear Sister and to us by Edmond FitzGibbon called the White Knight, and in respects of her favour intended towards him, as expressed in her letters of the 12th December, 1601; we require you at our next Parliament to give order that it be enacted, that said Edmond, by the name of Edmond Fitz John oge Gibbon, alias Gerrald, called the White Knight, be restored to his auncient blood and lynage, and inhabied to make his conveyance, pedigree, clayme, by descent, lineall or collaterall, from his father deceased lately attainted, and all other his auncetors, for all lands, tenements, and hereditaments, as if his owne or his father's attainder had never bene. And where said Edmond and his suerties have forfeited divers bonds, recognizances and fines, for want of apparaunces, by reason of their defections in their loyalte; and where he is indebted unto us for divers arrerages of rents durieng the late warres; our pleasure is that you give order that those bonds, fines, and the forfeitures thereof, be remitted for ever, without release of all rents and arrerages due out of such lands as he houldeth, from the beginning of the last warres in Ireland, till the 27th of June last.

"Moreover we are pleased to accept his surrender of all such castles, mannors, lands, tenements, cheife rents, and services, as he houldeth by patent, or ought to have in right of his ancestors, though belonging to us by his father's attainder or his own defections, together with such lands as he hath purchased in Mounster; and to regraunte same to him and his heires, in as ample manner as he or his predecessors have enjoyed same. Therefore we authorise you, upon such surrender, to cause the premises soe surrendered to be re-graunted to said Edmonde FitzGibbon, and his heires, in fee farme, for ever; To hould Ould-Castle-Towne and Mitchellstowne, in the county of Corcke, by the same services as they are nowe helde; and to hould the residue of said lands in free and common socage, and not in capite; reserving the former rents, and for such parcelles as are not yet in charge, such rents as they shall be rated at.

"And because said Edmond hath good scope of lands, and by this our favour he is to receive an enlargement of his territories and amendment of his estate, such as may inhabie him to live in a degre of honor; wee have thought meete to have him graced with the stile and name of the Baron of Clangibbon; To hould to him and the heires of his bodie; which our princelie intention wee require you to consider of at the next Parliament, and, accordings to your allowance thereof, to see the same accomplished.

"Westminster, Julie 7."

(*State Papers, Ireland. Jas. I. Pat. Roll.*)

As the first Parliament held in Ireland by James I., however, was not convened before 1613, when the White Knight and his eldest son, Maurice, were no longer living, the project of conferring honours and rewards on the chief of Clangibbon fell through. But even if a Parliament had been held during the White Knight's lifetime, the authorities in Ireland would probably have been in no great hurry to carry out the king's commands as conveyed in the foregoing Letter. In the January following the date of the last communication, we find the White Knight writing thus to the Lord Deputy:—

Edmund FitzGibbon the White Knight to Sir Arthur Chichester.

"Right Honourable, my very good Lord, my duty always remembered &c. Having four months ago repaired to the late Lord Deputy at Lexlipp, delivered his Lordship there His Majesty's gracious letter directed in my behalf, which his Lordship then caused to be enrolled, but yet deferred to grant me a commission at that time to inquire for His Majesty such lands, chief rents, services and hereditaments as could be found to be His Majesty's in the right of my father or any other of my predecessors, according as the said letter importeth, by reason of the sickness then and discontinuance of the term; as also for that there were none of His Majesty's learned counsel then at Lexlipp, but did write a letter to the Lord President in my behalf, and entered caveats in several offices, there expressing His Majesty's said gracious pleasure to the end that I might not be prejudiced in the meantime until his Lordship had by the advice of some His Majesty's learned counsel, this term grant (*sic*), me that commission; and being not able myself now to repair thither being somewhat sickly, I have sent my son thither, to whom I humbly beseech your honourable Lordships upon view of His Majesty's said gracious Letter, to grant out a commission to inquire ac-

cording the true meaning and intent thereof, leaving the rest of the particulars of the letter until mine own repair thither the next term, wherein I afterwards implore your honourable good favour.

"Your honourable Lordship's most humble at commandment,

ED. GIBBON."

"Ballyboy, 25 January, 1604."

(*State Papers*, Jas. I.; Russell & Prendergast's *Calend.*, vol. i. p. 250.)

The services rendered to the Government in the year 1601, and the unvarying professions of his zeal for the interests of the crown of England, could not save the White Knight from the suspicion of being deficient in his duty in 1606.

Writing to Salisbury, after a journey into Munster in that year, Sir John Dav Attorney-General, in describing the condition of the county of Cork, says, *inter alia* :—

"From Youghall we went to Cork and dined by the way with the Viscount Barrie who at his castle, at Barriecourt, gave us civil and plentiful entertainment. When we came to Cork my Lord President having taken an extreme cold kept his chamber during the time of the sessions, but the rest of the commissioners performing the service, there was great appearance and good attendance of the principal inhabitants of the county. There were present with us the Lords Barrie and Roche, The Bishop of Cork, the poor Lord Courcey, together with the principal lords of countries, as Cormock McDermot, and other of the McCarties, O'Swillivans, O'Driscolls, and Sir John Fitz-Edmond of the Geraldines; only the White Knight and his son made default pretending himself to be sick, but indeed he was obnoxious unto many challenges, and amongst other things he doubted lest he should be charged with relieving of one Morris McGibbon Duff, a kinsman of his own, who is now a wood kern and called a rebel, and so indeed it was presented unto us by the grand inquest of the county."

* * * * *

And speaking of the state of Limerick, Davis remarks :—

"The gaol being cleared, we began to consider how we could cut off two notorious thieves, or as they term them rebels, who with two or three kern at their heels, did infect the whole country. The one Maurice McGibbon Duffe, whom I named before, the other one Redmond Purcell, whom they call the Baron of Loughmoues in the county of Tipperarie; the former we found to be received and cherished for the most part in the White Knight's country: the latter we understood chiefly to be relieved in the country of Arra upon the borders of Thomond and Tipperary by Sir Tirlagh O'Brien and his sons, which Sir Tirlagh is brother to the Bishop of Killalowe, natural Lord of Arra and uncle to the Earl of Thomond by his mother's side. We first called the White Knight and his son whom by special commandment we sent for to Limerick and charged them with the relieving of the traitor McGibbon. They protested the contrary and vowed their uttermost endeavours to bring him to justice. Notwithstanding, we thought it good to commit them both, for then we knew their kinsmen, tenants, and followers, would use all possible means to get the traitors, to procure the liberty of their chief lords.

"Howbeit the White Knight, with importunity and vows of service, did prevail so far with my Lord President that he got licence to return to his country for one month, and if in that time he performed no service upon the rebels, himself and his son should render themselves to my Lord president to be punished or restrained as his Lordship should think meet. For Sir Tirlagh O'Brien and his sons, we had once resolved to take bonds of them for their appearance at the next sessions, because the proofs against them were not direct and clear; but afterwards the Bishop of Killalow, his own brother, accusing him and his sons as relievers and familiar companions of Redmond Purcell, after our departure from Limerick towards Cashell committed them prisoners to the castle of Limerick. Whereupon this effect did follow: Purcell, not daring to trust the inhabitants of Arra, among whom he was wont to lurk, fearing they would seek his head to redeem Sir Tirlagh's liberty, retired to the county of Limerick, where one Morice Hurley drew him into a castle of his, and brought some of my Lord President's soldiers upon him, who, killing one or two of his kern, took Purcell himself alive and brought him to the President since the end of our circuit, so that now we hear he is executed by martial law. As for Morice McGibbon, the like must needs befall him, shortly, for there are so many snares laid to entrap him, that it is not possible for him to escape." (*State Papers*. Inclosure in Letter from Davis to Salisbury, 4 May, 1606.)

Maurice Dubh FitzGibbon appears to have eluded, for some months at least, the "snares laid to entrap him" by the brutal and relentless Brounker, President of Munster, who, writing to the authorities, in Sept., 1606, states that he "has executed many fat ones for relieving Morrice McGibbon and other traitors, and has refused almost \$1,000 to reprieve them, but he says, *fiat lex*. The Judges," he adds, "are almost weary of his company, seeing he *disappoints their harvest*." (*State Papers, Ireland, Jas. I.*)

Soon after the death of the White Knight Edmond^{*} without heirs male, a determined attempt was made by some of the Scotch minions of James I. to secure his lands for one of their number, named Sir Patrick Murray, one of the King's Privy Chamber. A King's letter was issued to the Irish Government in 1612 (dated June 2), directing a grant in reversion to Sir Patrick Murray of "the lands of the White Knight now dead, and of whom there is but one heir male inheritable." [This statement is not correct, as the last heir male, Maurice Oge, had died on the previous 30th of April. See p. 712]. In September following came a fresh command from the king, directing an absolute grant to be made to his favourite, in the following terms:—

"James Rex. By the king. Right trustie and welbeloved wee grete you well and lett you to witt that wheras in the tyme of the Raigne of our late dear Sister Queene Elizabeth a gentleman named Edmond[†] fitz Gibbon comonly called the white knight in the province of Monster in that our Realme of Ireland was attainted of high treason, whereby all such mannors castles lands ten'ts rents services and hereditam^{ss} wherof the said white knight was seised in use or possession escheated & came to our late deare Sister in right of her Crowne, & wheras afterwards our said late deare Sister by lettres patents under the greates seale did graunt unto the said fitz Gibbon & to the heires males of his boddie the rev'cion in our Crowne of div's mannors castles lands ten'ts hereditam^{ss} within our said Realme. And wheras the white knight is nowe deade without heires males by whose death without yssue male the said mannors lands castles & hereditam^{ss} are rev'ted & come unto us, wee are gratusly pleased att the humble suite of our welbeloved seavaunt Sir Patrick Murray knight one of the gentlemen of our Privy Chamber and in consideration of his longe & faithfull service don unto us to bestowe the same on him And doe thearefore hereby require & authorize youe to make a graunt or graunts by lettres patents under the greates seale of that our Realme from us our heires and successors in due forme of laws by the advice of some of our learned counsell there unto the said Sir Patrick Murray his heires & assignes for ev' in ffee ferme without fine, of all such mannors castles lands tsements rents services rectories tithes and hereditaments with all the rights members & app'ten^{ts} whatsoever wherof the said white knight was seised of any Estate of inheritances in use or possession att the tyme of his attainder beinge not form'ly mencioned to be graunted by lettres patents to any other p'son. And of our rev'con and rev'cons remainder and remainders & of all other our Estate Right title & interest therein, together with all the meane p'tits thereof since the death of the said whit knight without heires males. To have & to hold all the said mannors & p'misses unto the said Sir Patrick Murray his heires and assignes for ev' from & imediately after such tyme as the said mannuors castles lands hereditaments & p'misses are rev'ted & come unto us by the surrender forfeiture or other determynacion of the above menc'oned estate tayle or otherwise howsoever. To be holden of us our heires & successors by such rents composicions tenors & services as now are answered unto us for the same. And our further pleasure ys for the better accomplishm^t of our intencon hearin, And

* The death of the last heir male, the poor sickly boy Maurice Oge (son of Maurice son of Edmond), was closely watched by the head of the Irish Government, who had fixed his eyes on the rich possessions to which the youth had been born. Before the father and grandfather of Maurice Oge had been two months dead, the rumour had spread that he also had been gathered to his ancestors, whereupon the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, immediately puts an agent of his in motion to press his claim for the estates. Writing to Sir James Perrot, from Dublin, on June 15, 1606, Sir Arthur Chichester states that he had "heard yesternight that the White Knight's grandchild, who was a ward, is dead; if it be so, God's heavy

hand is upon that house, and surely the lands will revert to the Crown, for there is but one more boy in the succession. [Chichester commits a curious mistake here, for the grandchild referred to was the only legitimate male descendant of Edmond Fitzgibbon alive in 1606. If they do, they are worth seeking after, and he (Chichester) would become a suitor for them. Prays him to take some time to acquaint the Lord Treasurer with as much."—Russell and Prandergast's *Calendar of State Papers, Jas. I.*]
† This must be a mistake. Edmond's father, John, was surely meant, for Edmond was never attainted (however he may have deserved it), whereas his father was.

wee doe heaby require & authorize you by like advice of some of our learned counsell there, by lettres patents under the greates seale of that our Realme to create the said Sir Patrick Murray & his heires free denizens in that our kingdome & fourthwith to direct Comissions to sitt p'sons for the findinge out the said mannors & p'misses and our tittle therunto, to wch the said white knight's heire generall & such women as may p'tend to have tittle of dower or joynture to any the p'misses may with their learned counsell upon reasonable warnings be called therunto, to the end their sev'all rights & titles may appeare & bee returned by the said Comissions, & upon retorne therof to make a graunt of the p'misses unto the said Sir Patrick Murray & his heires as aforesaid. And these our lettres notwithstandinge any want or omission of words that weare meete to bee incerted herein misrecitall misnameinge or other defect shalbe as well to you our now Deputy as to any other Deputy or head gou'nor or gou'nors of that our Realme for the tyme beinge & unto you our now Chauncellor or to any other Chauncellor or keeper of our greates seale of that our said Realme likewise for the tyme beinge and to all other officers & ministers to whome yt may appertayne & ev'ry of them sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. Given under our signet at our honor of Hampton Court the last day of September in the tenth yere of our Raigne of England fraunce & Ireland, & of Scotland the sixe and fortieth.

"To our right trustie & welbeloved Sir Arthure Chichester knight our Deputy of our Realme of Ireland & to our chauncellor ther now beinge and to any other Deputy or Cheife Governor chauncellor or keeper of the greates seale that hereafter for the tyme shalbe & to all other our officeres & ministers ther to whom it shall or may appertayne.

"Memorand' quod decimo quarto die Octobris Anno d'ni millesimo sexcentesimo duo decimo Patric' Murray mil' venit in Canc' D'ni Regis Regni sui hibernie et petit l'ras supradict', Irrotular', ad cuius requisicon' Irrot'lantur de verbo in verbu' prout superius."

The Commission directed to be issued by the foregoing letter was issued in the month of December following, and was in these words :—

"Arthur Chichester.

"By the Lo. Deputie. Forasmuch as his Ma^{tie} is graciously pleased to graunt unto Sr Patrick Murray knight and his heires all such mannors castles lands tenem^{ts} & hereditam^{ts} as escheated or came to the crowne by the attainiture of John FitzGerald in his lifetime called the White Knight, and for that the certaintie of the said mannors and other the premisses are not yet knowne, These are therefore straitlie to will and require you and every of you to whome it shall or may appertaine to forsee and take order that no lands &c whatsoever lying within the counties of Limerick, Corke, Tipperarie, the Liberties of Tipperarie, and Waterford, or eyther of them, which are or att any time were parcell or within the territorie or countrie called the White Knight's countrie or Clangibbons, be passed in anie lettres pattents to anie person or persons whatsoever untill the retorne of the said Sr Patrick Murrey out of England, or upon his long stay other directions be therein given. Hereof you may not faile as you will aunswere to the contrarie. Given at Chichester House, the 2^d of Decemb^r 1612.

"To his ma^{tie} learned Councell, the Surveyor, Auditor, the Clerke of the Hanaper and to every of them. And to all other his ma^{tie} officers mynisters and loving subjects whome the same shall or may concerne."

On the return of the Commission a regular grant was made to Sir Patrick Murray, at a rent of £40 Irish, of such lands belonging to the late White Knight as the Commissioners considered to be at the disposal of the Crown. The grant was in the following terms :—

"Jacobus &c &c. Sciatis quod nos tam pro et in consideratione boni veri et fidelis et acceptabilis servicii per dilectum servientem nostrum Patricium Murry milit' ordinis de la Bath ac un' gener' privat' camer' nostr' nobis antehac multipliciter prestit' et impens' ac imposter' impendend' quam pro diversis aliis causis et considerationibus nobis specialiter moventibus, de gratia &c &c &c secundum Intencionem et effectum quarundam literarum nostrarum manu nostra propria signatarum et sub signeto nostro dat' apud Westm' decime septimo die Junii anno regni nostri Anglie Francie et Hibernie x^o et Scocie xlv^o, et nunc in rotulis cancellar' nostre dict' regni nostri Hibernie Irrotulat', Dedimus et concessimus, ac per presentes pro nobis heredibus et successor' nostris damus et concedimus prefato Patricio Murray milit' in Regno nostro nat' seu oriund', seu quocunque alio nomine cognomine sive addicione stat' grad' sive loci conseatur vocetur seu cognoscatur, Quod ipse sit indigena et ligueus nostr' ac hered' et successor' nostr' Regni nostri Hibernie, Ac quod heredes sui sint et erunt filii nostri ac hered' et successor' nostror'. Ac quod tam ipse quam hered' sui in omnibus tractentur reputentur teneantur habeantur et gubernentur tamque

fidel' ligei nostri infra predict' regnum nostrum Hibernie oriand'. Et quod ipse et heredes sui omnes et omnimod' acciones &c.

"Ac ulterius de consimili gratia &c. &c. damus et concedimus et confirmamus prefat' Patrio Murray mil' et Domine Elizabeth uxori ejus centum et decem acras terr' arrabil' que extendunt viz., in vill' et campis de Keilballyredmond alias Balliremon et Balliphillip, triginta acr' terr' arr', triginta acr' subbosci bogg et mor', ac etiam vill' de Ballyvisry alias Ballivestyn, Kildariry (alias Killadirry) et Killmochully alias Killmacully, continen' per estimacion' trigint' acr' terr' arr' et vigint' acr' pastur' et mor' cum pertinen' in com' Corke. Ac etiam vill' et terr' de Kilclony continen' per estimacion' centum et vigint' acr' terr' cum pertinen' in Com' Cork pred'. Ac etiam vill' et terr' de Ballienoghan et le Scarte alias Scarballyenoghan, continen' centum et octogint', acr' terr' arr' et pastur' cum pertinen' Ac etiam vill' et terr' de Pollardston juxta Brigowne continen' vigint' acr' terr' arr' pastur'. Ac etiam vill' et terr' de Keilglasse in com' Corke pred'. Ac etiam vill' et terr' de Ballinegreney et Jamestowne in com' Limerick vill' et terr' de Kearhowgarrove alias Charrowgarruffe juxta Killmallock in com' Limerick pred'. Ac etiam castr' de Courtaruddery cum pertinen' ac scit' circuit' ambit' et precinct' ejusdem castr', ac vigint' acr' terr' et octodecem acr' pastur' in vill' et campis de Courteruddery prope Killmallock in com' pred'. Ac etiam un' molend' aquatic' et tertiam partem un' molind' aquatic' super rivul' de Killmallock in com' Limerick pred'. Ac etiam . . . un' carucat' terr' . . . in vill' et campis de Garrintwoyny alias Garranthwoony in com' pred'. Ac etiam vill' et terr' de Rathniwitagh alias Baynewitagh, Ballinwilagh alias Ballinwillie, cum pertinen' in com' pred'. Ac etiam Ballincarrowne Kilchoan alias Ballinchoan Rathphilip Cleehagh alias Oluahagh in com' pred'. Ac etiam part' casti de Balleboy que extendit in vill' de Ballyboy et Ballidamsher iuxta vill' de Balliboy pred' in com' Tipperary. Ac etiam vill' et terr' de Kelicarrowny alias Kelearrownagh, Adridacharrick alias Dirraghcarriack, et Cranoghton alias Cronaghdam in com' Tipperary. Ac etiam vill' et terr' de Coolenatallagh alias Culbellagh Ac etiam parcell' terr' cum pertinen' vocat' Garrinruddery in Killmallock, vill' et terr' de Cessyraghmeanagh cum pertinen' in com' Tipperary. Ac etiam vill' et terr' de Knockaharun cum pertinen' in com' Tipperary pred'. Tenend' et gaudend' omnia et singula premias superius per p'sentes p'concess' cum suis pertinen' univers', decimas reversionem et reversiones &c., p'fat' Patrio Murrie mil' et Elizabeth uxori ejus et heredi Pat' Murry de corpore p'fat' domine Eliz' procreat et procreand', et pro defectu tal' heredi remanent' inde rectis heredi p'fat' Patrio Murry imperpet'. Tenend' de nobis heredi successor' nostris in capite per servitium militari', viz., per servicium vicissime partis un' feod' milit' quando scutagium currit in dicto regno nostro Hibernie. Reddend' annuatim &c. &c. &c. &c. &c.

"In cujus rei testimon' has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste prefato deputato nostro apud Dublin decimo nono die Decembris anno Regni nostri Anglie Francie et Hibernie decimo tertio et Scotie quadragesimo nono." (Auditor-General's Entry-Book, vol. II. B. Jas. I.)

But the intrigues of Sir Patrick Murray's friends in England and Ireland on his behalf proved of no avail. The Patent issued to him in pursuance of the repeated commands of King James I., though enrolled in Chancery, with all due formalities, turned out to be of no effect, and the lands which it purported to grant to Sir Patrick Murray and his heirs for ever were granted in 1618, amongst other lands, to Sir William Fenton, knight, and Dame Margaret Fenton, his wife, the grand-daughter of the White Knight Edmond. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the nullification of Murray's Patent, and the subsequent grant to Fenton and his wife, were procured through the powerful influence of Sir Richard Boyle (then Lord Boyle, and afterwards Earl of Cork), who was married to the sister of Sir Wm. Fenton. By this new grant, the following lands in the counties of Cork, Limerick and Tipperary, formerly part of the extensive estate of the White Knights, were granted to Sir William and Dame Margaret Fenton, viz. :—

IN THE COUNTY OF CORK.—Old-Castletown, otherwise Ballytancaslane, Callonaghmore, Callonaghbegg, Ardska, Bnllinknockane, Balingillroe, Knockenrissy, Skeneconarty, and Kynelyneigh; Michellston, otherwise Ballyviateale, Killoghlan, otherwise Killcloghlan, [with some other *alias* names], Coolemgilloceddo and Killecoghlan. Ballymarical, otherwise Marshallstowne or Lisnoloman, Curraghgarran, otherwise Curraghgorra, Ballinurwano; Ballinkokie, Gortbury, Gorneceragh, Killmoore, Knockybeanny, Kil-

akenagh, Lissylene, Lissbwy, Tullyoranane, Curraighmynepeakie, Dirrynoule, Lissarvoe, Gortnekeagh, Knockanonymaraff, the two Carrygarruffa, and Attanoole, Curraghgorum, Marshallstowne, Ardskeagh otherwise Farryskeath, Castle Garraninruddery and Ballinlop, Ballinbuoly, Rathglassane Ardskeagh, Rathphillip, Ardskeagh, Brigowane; Clonloghs, the two Clonees, the two Clonecarberies, Garteneugrane, Bansagh knockagh, Gortnealecky, Classewency, Bannyard, Glasaspoll, and Feneenvevre, all being parcel of Brigowane; Aghaliske, Colegowyn, Garrywalshy, Kildrony, Carrowgaariff, Ballyarthure, Buolychallo, Gartinytariff, Garranrushellagh, Carraghaneleagha, Gortno, Killechloick, Cloghlefuno, otherwise Cloghlemono, Ballynechoola, Skartlefune, Garrycronie or Garrychromin, and Kneekardmore, Garryblesesry, Parkenynane, Lisnoidin, and Shanvallymore, Knockanivin, Curriehnie, Tobberengaun, Traharlogh, Curraighniehanekarde, Monere, Labbymolagga, Toorelegan, Monenenchroine, or Monenechroine, Ballingarran, Ballinwillin.

LIMERICK CO.—Derranstowne, otherwise Ballyderonty, Carrigebonagh, otherwise Curraghnebonagh, Bealaneshagh, Knockanecrue, Ballynavig, Garrincattigan, Ballycormuck, Teanagh, and Clarene, Corbally, Kilkeally, Knocktorryn, and Kilkeallan; Killveheny, otherwise Killveny, Ballynattony, Killstealla, Breackvane, Comane, or Coinane, Ballyhemekeene, Glancurrane, Glancundony, Caharuremane, Ballenlondra, Cullan, otherwise Callan, Cullanbegg, Rabcony, Carrihinetinell, Spittel otherwise Spidiell, Killinecronive, Ballinphratty, Ballyneleackin, Corraghballyfaskin, Ballywrin, Ballyduff, Corraghturk, Cloosard, Cronaghtie, Illimewrony, Glannaghilly, Ollort, otherwise Ollworth, Gorteloyduff, Gortnecrush, Gortenollort, Gortenthomas-downe, Gortenkeam, Garrykeale, Killveg, Garrinvoakally, and Curraghmebin, otherwise Curraghmablin; the castle town and lands of Ballygibbon and Ardnegillenagh, Ballenscally, Ballenwryny, Cosh, otherwise Cork, Ballencurry, Iianbwy, Buoly, otherwise Bowly or Bewly, Ballestephen, otherwise Stephenstowne, Ballenehinchy, otherwise Ballenehinshy, Graigpadden otherwise Grangepadden, Raas, and Ardpatrik, Ballenvistallendowne and Glannehagelsy, Cloghtackes, Wahall, Cosh, Adsellog, Towrelangan, Clonmorrushen, Ballenfeyne, Gorttoore, Gorteloynecoorde, Ballemartin, Tyremor, Ballineplay, Tonregar, Gortmore, and Balligha, otherwise Davidstowne.

TIPPERARY CO.—Ballyleam, otherwise Williamstowne, Gurtinlillogonan, Gurtishell or Gortishale, Cooleddirry, Shanrahan, Coolenagellshy, Curraghkeile, Lisnecoolene, the Bridge, otherwise Dredid, or the Bridge of Owentarr, Lissfuntion, Ballynecantreene, Roscleavane, Farryneclesary, Ballirvoirk, Cooleshoddan, Shanvallpholly, Ballino, Rosnecheorus, Mantane-Muckenagh, Montanevaddery, Cullonagh, Lissenard, Curraghfuntion, Curraghnecooltollogh, or Carraganeculletollogh, Newcastle, otherwise Cashlanow, Glannaghonagh, otherwise Glanachuno or Garryncloona, Newgurtin, otherwise Gurtin or the Gurtins, Newcastle, Barrabuy, Coolegaranerhoe, Carrighanry, Glanagowlane, Carrigvistale, Bealanporan, Garranballenvee, Dramruo, Carraghrabine or Curraghrabine and Lyrefune, otherwise Lieron or Lyron, Newcastle, Glanaghonagh, and Gurtin; Ballibwy, GarranmCaddow, otherwise Garranvickaddock or GarranmCaddow, Lissyvory, Farrene-woody, Tergoram,

CORK AND TIPPERARY Co's.; or one of them.—Curragh-Iway, otherwise Curragh-Ivo, or Curragh-Ivuoa, or Curragh-Iwo, Killcolldagh and Skehenerehey or Skenerehy, Gortneboule, Ardglare, Curraghmore, Coolefrevane, Monegrangyne, Cappa and Breaks, Gortroe, Kilgowne, Killtankyne Garramea and Curryleagh.

The foregoing lands, which in the Letters Patents are stated to have been in the seisin of Edmond, or Morris Oge McGibbon at the time of their death, and "did or ought to descend as of inheritance to the same Dame Margaret," were granted to Dame Margaret and her husband, their heirs and assigns for ever. They were also divided into three Manors (Mitchelstown in Cork, Newcastle in Tipperary, and Derrantstown in Limerick, with power to the grantees to hold the usual fairs, markets, and manorial courts.

Page 613, line 33. *Services in Queen Elizabeth's dayes.*

The conduct of the White Knight with regard to the proceedings of the Earl of Tyrone and his invasion of Munster was characterised by something more than inconsistency. Closely watched as he was by the Lord President of Munster and his active spies, Edmond Fitzgibbon required, no doubt, to be on his guard; but there can be little doubt that he faithfully promised to join the Earl, and afterwards held aloof from all

complicity in the movement which ended so disastrously for Tyrone at the battle of Kinsale. On this subject the following letter is as curious as it is important:—

O'Neill to the White Knight.

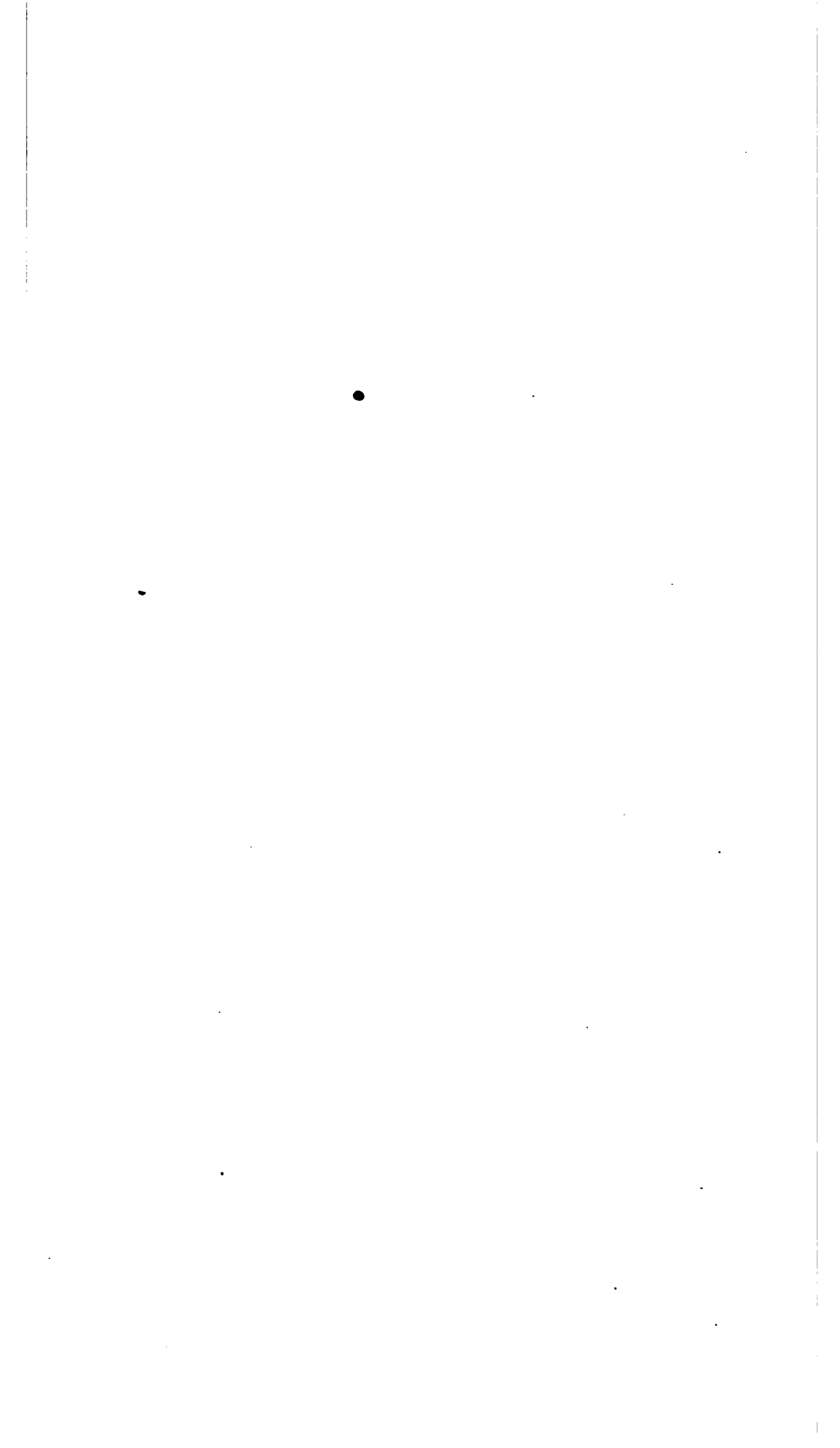
"God be wth you White Knight.

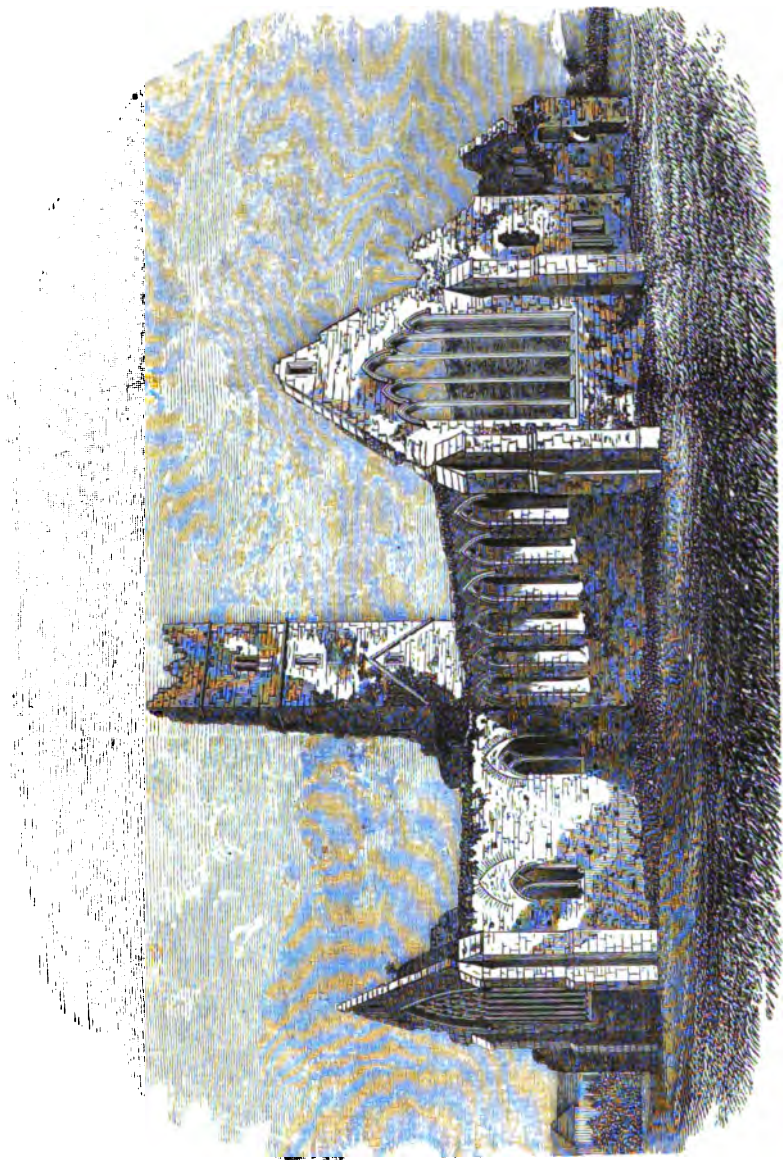
'On the xv of Aprill 1599, we have receaved yo^r letters wth honor and greates thanckes for yo^r service: For every Lord and gentleman that went forthe in this action of the nobility of Munster for theire consciences and inheritance we are to maintayne every of them wth indifferencie in his owne right and possessions, and theare is not one of all those gentlemen (the Earle of Desmond's honor only excepted) a man in whom we repose more hope then in yo^r self. And therefore we wilbe yours (by Gods healep) wth all the assistance and healep of all those of this Realme of Ireland as wilbe advised by us. And such other as have remayned as heretikes and scismatikes beleoving the stinging and unconstant words and speeches of Englishmen not moved by theire consciences or beleefe, shall not (wth Gods will) obteyne victorie or good successe in this action. And if we the Catholiciks shalbe the stronger (as we think we shalbe) theire children and allies shall not succede them in possessing of theire lands or livings. As you have written unto us that we should repayre Westward, you may understand that before the receyte of yo^r letter we were owre selvs of purpose to goo Westward about certayne occasions as also to defend the good people of Munster and wth all to compell such as remayned wth in eayther wth theire consent or agaynst theire consent to enter into warr. We are farr the more willing to repayre Westward for yo^r counsaile sent unto us to goo Westward. And we have putt in now three or four thousand hable men at o^r own charges beside such that we have putt in upon the Ll^{ds} and gentlemen that belonge unto owre selvs, to accomplish that jorne in the name of God. And now standing that the Earle of Essex wth a number of the Queens' forces are now coming into Ireland we doe expect that the Englishmen in England shalbe so troubled and molested this sommer and in such sort as this Iland of Ireland shalbe at owre direction and counsaile (as Irishmen) and admit those armes and forces doe come we under take (wth God's will) to Defend so much as we have in owre hands of this land of Ireland agaynst them. And for so much as they have or such as take theire part: We will spoyle and marr all out of the Cities and Post Townes. Wishing you to be of good comfort, and to understand that we will end the good enterprise you have taken in hand, And if theire happen not some greates mischaunce or trouble unto us or some thing else more than we see as yet, We wilbe wth you about May next wth Gods healep. And we are making owre best provision and uttermost hast to performe that jorne in the name of God. We have sent owre attorne unto you Westward wth owre news before owre selvs. As for those few men you sought for you shall have them or a stronger compaigny about that tyme. And you may understand yo^r selvs that we are ready to send you such healep of men and munition as we are able. And we understand that yo^r land and cuntrie is shot at betwixt all the townes and garrisons in those parts. And that you are yo^r self the best Warrant and strongest gapp for warr of all those that are Westward (the Earle of Desmonds Honor excepted). And that we are most willing (wth Gods will) to be yours most assured in consideration thereof above a number of others: As for the powder and leade whered you speake, theare are boates and shipping from us in Scotland that were sent to bring store of powder and leade which are not to come till about May next and when they doe come you shall not bee forgotten of that they shall bring. At Logh Ruaghane on the xvijth of Aprile, 1599.

"O NEYLE."

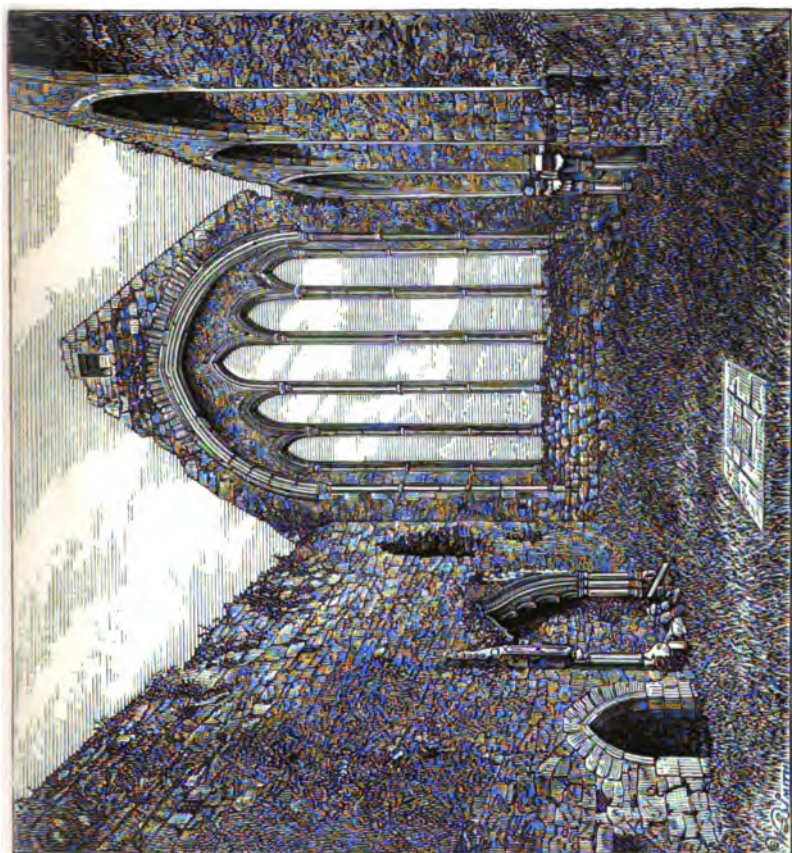
Page 614, line 17, "*Killmallock and there lye in theire owne tombe.*"

The plan of the Dominican Abbey of Killmallock, here given, shows that the greater part of the church and a considerable portion of the cloister and domestic buildings remain. Of these the church is the most ancient; the choir is of the thirteenth century, and presents one of the most beautiful examples of an Early English window in existence; the engraving annexed gives some idea of its chaste elegance, and its great height and lightness. The south side wall is pierced by no less than six lancet-windows, and underneath the eastern ones are the remains of the sedilia and piscina in the same style. At the north side is a richly ornamented tomb-niche, which is a century later than the choir belonging to the middle of the 14th century. This





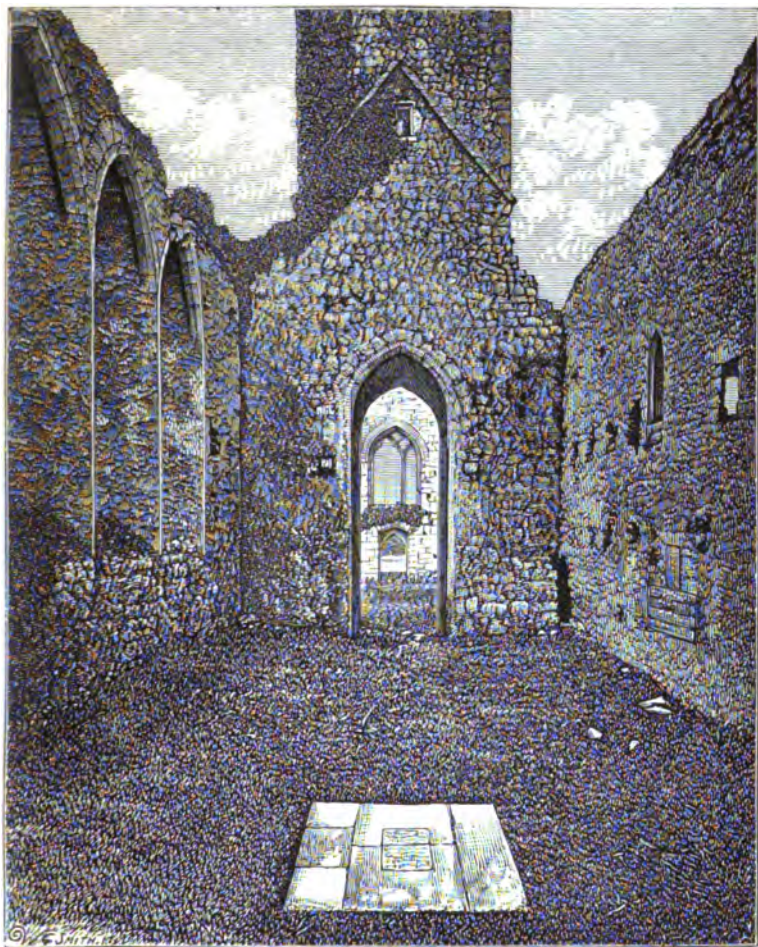
DOMINICAN ABBEY, KILMALLOCK, SOUTH-EAST VIEW.—SHOWING 14TH CENTURY TRANSEPT.



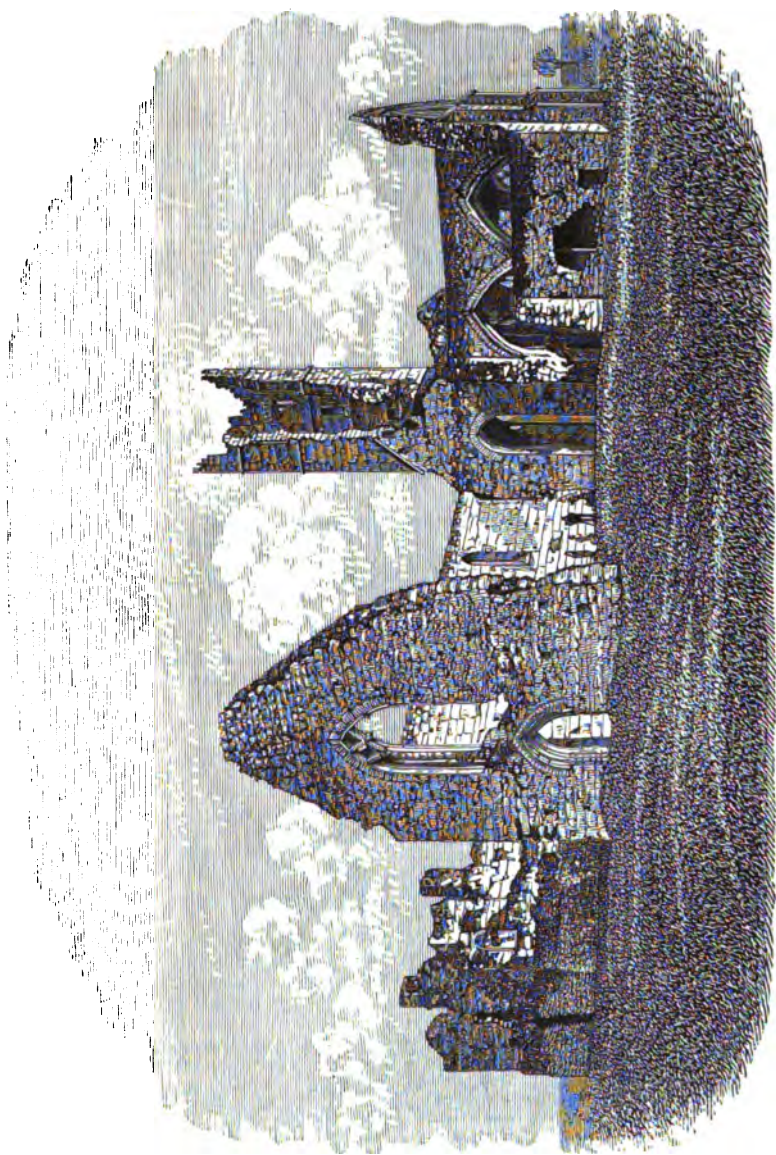
DOMINICAN ABBEY, KILMALLOCK, INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST.
Tomb of Edmund, The White Knight.



EAST WINDOW OF CHOIR, DOMINICAN ABBEY, KILMALLOCK.



DOMINICAN ABBEY, KILMALLOCK, INTERIOR, LOOKING WEST.
Tomb of Edmond, The White Knight.



DOMINICAN ABBEY, KILMALLOCK, S.W. VIEW.

is probably the tomb of Maurice, the first White Knight, who was buried here, and in whose time the transept (there is only one, and that on the south side, as is often the case in the Dominican Churches) was also remodelled, and a fine many-lighted window inserted in the south gable, and two smaller ones in the east wall. Some of the older, or twelfth century work of this transept remains, as for instance the piers and arches of a western aisle. The tower with its characteristic narrow arch, almost entirely dividing the nave from the choir, is of the 15th century, as are also the west doorway and window. There was a south aisle to the nave, but it is now destroyed. The domestic buildings also belong to this later period. Views of the chancel-arch and tower, of the choir, and also of the east and west aspect of the exterior of the abbey are given with this brief description. The tomb of Edmond the White Knight, and of his son Maurice, was, no doubt, originally erected in the choir as an elaborate mural monument. Of this only the slab containing the inscription remains. This was for many years lying in a broken state in the middle of the choir of the abbey, but has been repaired at the expense of the Countess of Kingston, and now lies level with the grass, as represented in the accompanying engraving. The inscription, in incised Roman capitals, is as follows:—

†
I H S
HIC · TVMVLVS · ERETVS · FV
IT · IN · MEMORIAM · ILLIVS · STE
MMATIS · GERALDINORVM · QVI ·
VVLGO · VOCANTVR · EQVITES ·
ALBI
IOHANNES · CVM · FILIO · SVO ·
EDMVNDO · ET · MAVRITIO · FI
LIO · PREEFATI · EDMVNDI ·
ET MVLTI · ALII · EIVSDEM · FAMIL
IEE · HIC · TVMVLANTVR · PREEFA
TVS

The inscription as it stands is unfinished. It was intended that the dates of the deaths of Edmond and Maurice were to be inserted after the word "præfatus," for which there is ample space on the stone. The monument was evidently erected previous to Edmond's decease.

Page 614, line 27: "*Marryed to Sir William Fenton.*"

This Sir William Fenton was son and heir of Sir Geoffry Fenton, of whom the Rev. George Hill says in a note at page 159 of his "Macdonnells of Antrim:—"

"Sir Geoffry Fenton, a native of Nottinghamshire, was twenty-seven years a member of the Irish Privy Council, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. He translated the 'History of Guicciardini' into English, and dedicated this valuable work to the Queen. On the urgent recommendation of Sir William Pelham, the Lord Justice of Ireland, Fenton was appointed Secretary of State. In March, 1584, Fenton writes to Leicester as follows:—'Since the death of Sir Nicholas Malbye, the Justices have committed to me, by way of custodiam, the young Baron of Leitrim, son to the late created baron, murdered, it is supposed, by his brother, the Earl of Clanrickard. They have now written to your lordship and Mr. Secretary Walsingham, to be a mean to her Majesty to bestow upon me his wardship and marriage. His father's living is dangerously entangled, and subject to great traverse and contention in law. If his father's inheritance be recovered, it may bring to my small living some help during the minority. I beseech you to be a mean for her Majesty's letters. The Lords Justices have not the power to dispose of the wards of noblemen.' Fenton died in (October) 1608, and was buried in St. Patrick's, and in the same tomb with his father-in-law, Dr. Robert Weston. (See Fuller's "Worthies," vol. 2, p. 574; Calendar of Carew, MSS., second series, pp. 276, 374.)"

The only daughter of Sir Geoffry Fenton was the second wife of Sir Richard Boyle, the first and "great Earl of Cork," who was Lord-Treasurer of Ireland, and who died at Youghall, September, 1643, his second wife having predeceased him in February, 1629. Burke.)

The marriage of Sir William Fenton to Margaret FitzGibbon is thus recorded in the diary of the "Great Earl of Cork," preserved at Lismore Castle :—

"*Memorandum, that my Brother in law Wm. Fenton was married in my bed-chamber in my house in Youghal by Mr. [] the minister of that town to Margaret neen Maurice fz Gibbon, grandchild and heir general of Edmond Fitz-Gibbon, Esquire, otherwise called the White Knight, the nine and twentieth day of December anno Domini one thousand six hundred and fourteen ; which young couple I beseech the Almighty God to bless and prosper.*"

The youthful bride was only in her twelfth year when thus wedded to the brother-in-law of the astute but very unscrupulous Boyle, who probably hoped to come by some portion of the large estate to which the baby bride was entitled.

The age of Margaret FitzGibbon at the time of her marriage is fixed by an Exchequer Inquisition, taken at Cork, 6th July, 1618, as follows :—

"And further they find that the aforesaid Edmond McGibbon, commonly called the White Knight, had issue three sons, vizt. Morrice, John, and Edmond Oge ; and that John and Edmond Oge died without issue ; and that said Morrice had issue Morrice Oge and Dame Margaret Fenton now wife of Sir William Fenton of Youghall in the county of Cork, Knight, which Dame Margaret was of the age of fifteen years the last day of May last past before the date hereof ; and that the said Morrice father of Morrice Oge and son to Edmond McGibbon, commonly called the White Knight, died in the lifetime of his father, vizt. the 23rd day of April, 1608. And that Edmond McGibbon, commonly called the White Knight aforesaid died so seized of the premises the 24th day of April 1608, by whose death the premises descended and came unto the said Morrice Oge* as grandson and heir of the said Edmond McGibbon, by virtue whereof the said Morrice Oge into all and singular the premises entered and was thereof seized as of fee ; and being thereof so seized died without issue the 30th day of May, 1611, whereby all and singular the premises wholly descended and came to the said Dame Margaret as sole sister and heir of the said Maurice Oge McGibbon, son and heir of the said Morrice the eldest son and heir apparent of the said Edmond McGibbon, commonly called the White Knight, who was the grandfather to the said Dame Margaret."

The inquisition, which is of interest in connection with the possessions of the White Knight, is printed in the Appendix.

Page 614, line 50, "*She was married to John Lord Kingston, of the Kingston family.*"

Sir J. B. Burke says in his Peerage. "This family of King was originally of Feathercock Hall, county York ; and the first of its members we find upon record in Ireland is Sir John King, Knt., who obtained from Queen Elizabeth, in requital of his military services, a lease [of the Abbey of Boyle, county Roscommon ; and from King James I. numerous valuable territorial grants, and several of the highest and most lucrative political employments. He married Catherine, dau. of Robt. Drury, Esqr., and grand niece of the lord-deputy Sir Wm. Drury, and was succeeded at his decease by his eldest son, Sir Robert King, Knt., Muster Master General of Ireland, who by his 1st wife Frances dau. of Sir Henry Folliott, 1st Lord Folliott, of Bally-shannon, had with other children, John, who received the honour of knighthood ; and although an active Cromwellian, was elevated to the peerage by Charles II. (for his zeal in restoring the monarchy) by patent dated 4. Sept. 1660, in the dignity of Baron Kingston. His lordship married Catherine dau. (by his wife Margaret FitzGibbon, sister and heir of the White Knight) of Sir William Fenton, of Mitchelstown, co. Cork, and grand-daughter of Sir Geoffry Fenton, principal Secretary of State. By this lady the Kingston family acquired the estate of Mitchelstown." The pictures of the King family are now at Rockingham, near Boyle, the seat of Colonel King-Harman ; and amongst them, hung in the hall, is a fine full-length portrait representing (according to the tradition of the family) "the White Knight." The armour and flowing

* In 1608, Francis Annesley had a grant of "the custody and wardship of the body and lands of Maurice Fitzgibbon, grandson and

heir of Edmond Fitzgibbon commonly called the White Knight." See Patent Roll, 6 Jas I., Part I.

hair of the uncovered head are, however, unmistakably of the period of Charles II. This portrait cannot, therefore, be that of Edmond, the last White Knight. It may represent Sir John King, created Baron Kingston, who perhaps claimed, in right of his wife, the great grand-daughter and heiress of Edmond, to be the White Knight.

Although there is no actual evidence that Sir John King did lay claim to this ancient title, the feeling that the knighthood descended with the property of the White Knight would seem to have continued in the Kingston family down to the year 1821, when George, third Earl of Kingston, boldly claimed to be the White Knight's representative.

The following is from an article by Dr. John O'Donovan, which appeared in the "Ulster Journal of Archeology," January, 1858, and is entitled "The Descendants of the last Earls of Desmond :—"

Referring to the Right Hon. James FitzGerald, who was born in 1742, and died 20th January, 1835, at the advanced age of 93 years, and who was the then male representative of the Kilmore branch of the FitzGibbon sept, Dr. O'Donovan says :—

"Mr. FitzGerald had two grand-uncles in the army of James II., viz., Colonel Nicholas FitzGerald, and Robert FitzGerald, who was Comptroller of the Musters.

"Mr. FitzGerald was paternally descended from David FitzGerald, or FitzGibbon, commonly called the 'White Knight,' feudal Lord of Kilmore, in the county of Cork, who became the eldest* male representative of the descendants of Gibbon or Gilbert FitzGerald, who was styled 'The White Knight.'

On the decease of Edmund Fitzgibbon, the 'White Knight,' who first (as appears from the pedigree of his family in Lambeth Palace), assumed the name of Fitzgibbon instead of FitzGerald, A.D. 1607, his estates devolved on his [grand] daughter, who married the [son of the] celebrated Irish Chief Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, from which marriage is descended the Earl of Kingston.

"Edmund FitzGibbon, the 'White Knight' already mentioned, was enabled to arrange with the English Government, as one of the conditions of his betraying the [Sugan] Earl of Desmond, that he should not only preserve his landed property, but should transmit it to his [grand] daughter,† contrary to the usual rules of descent of knights' fees in Ireland, which would have given it to David Fitzgibbon, of Kilmore, commonly called *ne carrig* (i.e., David of the Rock†),

"It must be observed, however, that if the fief of the White Knight had been allowed to descend, according to the common course of law, to his cousin, David *ne carrig*, it would have been confiscated, as the estate actually possessed by the latter was, in consequence of participation in the rebellion of Gerald, sixteenth Earl of Desmond, in the year 1585.

* * * * *

"The White Knight possessed a very large estate in the counties of [Tipperary], Limerick, and Cork, which at a comparatively recent period was declared by Mr. Arthur Young to be the finest estate in Europe.

"The White Knight was not, however, called after his land, but is supposed to have taken his distinctive appellation from the colour of his armour.

"The family of the White Knight was always esteemed the second branch of the great southern house of the Geraldines, of which the Earl of Desmond was the head.

"There was likewise a Fitzgibbon, a Knight of Ardsakeagh; and another, a Knight of Clonliah§ (*Ridere na Claenghlaise*), who seems to be the same as the Old Knight.

"At the time of the visit of his Majesty King George IV. to Ireland, in 1821, the claim of the Earl of Kingston to be allowed a place on public occasions as 'the White

* If the David alluded to by Dr. O'Donovan was "David-an-corig Fitzgibbon," referred to *supra* (p. 668, note, and *passim*), then O'Donovan was clearly wrong in saying that he was the eldest male representative of the White Knight, as the White Knight Edmond, not to mention the representative of the "Old Knight," was alive at the time of David-an-corig's death, about 1585.

† This is scarcely likely, as Edmond had a

son, and also a grandson, who was his heir, until his death in 1611. See p. 712.

‡ The name was more usually written David *an corig* (for David *an comraic*, i.e., "David of the fight").

§ O'Donovan was wrong here, as the Clonliah family always used the name of FitzGerald, and never that of FitzGibbon, and were entirely distinct from the Old Knights.

Knight,' in company with the Knight of Kerry, was successfully opposed by Mr. William Vesey Fitzgerald (afterwards Lord Fitzgerald of Desmond and of Clangibbon), eldest son of the Right Honourable James Fitzgerald.

"The Right Honourable James Fitzgerald was younger grandson of Mr. James Fitzgerald, whose two brothers already mentioned were present at the battle of the Boyne.

"On the decease, in 1852, of Major William Edmund Fitzgerald, of Drumbighill, in the county of Clare, without issue, Mr. Fitzgerald's son, Henry,* third Lord Fitzgerald and Vesci (and Dean of Kilmore), became the eldest male representative of that race of the Geraldines 'commonly called the White Knights' (to use the expression recorded on the tomb of their house in the Abbey of Kilmallock), and of the family of Fitzgibbon, or ClanGibbon."

For some time it was considered that Lord Kingston's claim to the title of White Knight had really been recognised by the Crown, and in the *Liber Munerum* (vol. I, Part I, p. 71) it is positively stated that the right had been acknowledged. Among the acts there recorded as having been done in 1822 are the following, quoted from "The King's Letter Books in the office of the Secretary for Ireland at Westminster:"—

"A.D. 1822. Earl of Kingston.—License to be entitled the White Knight, July 17.

"John E. Fitzgerald, Knight of the Glynn, same day.

"Right Hon. Maurice Fitzgerald, Knight of Kerry, same day."

But there does not seem to have been any authority for the foregoing statements. Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King of Arms, when consulted on the subject in 1872, expressed a decided opinion to this effect, as may be seen by the following extracts from two letters on the subject.

"Under the date of Dublin Castle, 14 June, 1872," Sir Bernard writes:—"You are, I think, under a misconception in supposing that a Royal License ever issued authorising the assumption of the title of 'White Knight' by the Earl of Kingston, or by anyone else. The peculiar designations of 'Knight of Kerry,' 'Knight of Glin,' and 'White Knight' derive their usage from prescription. I have never discovered any Royal confirmation, although in Acts of Parliament reference is made to 'Miles de Kerry.'" And on June 24th, in the same year, "Ulster" writes:—"Some years ago, the Knight of Kerry, misled by the statement of the *Liber Munerum*, applied to me on the subject of the Royal Letters of 1822. I referred to the Secretary of State's Office, (Home Office), London, and the result was a corroboration of my view. The Royal Permission was REFUSED, not granted, at that date."

The late Knight of Kerry, who took a keen interest in everything connected with the history of his country, and the dignity of its institutions, paid much attention to the subject of these old titles. His views of the position of Lord Kingston with regard to the title of "White Knight" are partly exhibited in the two following letters. Writing to the Rev. James Graves, from Valencia, 5th June, 1877, the Knight observes:—

"I have just been looking over the Oct. 76 No. of your Journal, and the interesting account of "Beranger," and it struck me that it would be a very desirable thing if there could be photographs taken of his sketches. I am sure many would be interested in them. I do not believe it would be expensive. If you thought it could be managed, and the expense met by a small subscription, I would be happy to contribute.

"In the same number I see it stated that Vesey Fitzgerald (afterwards Lord F.) successfully opposed the recognition by Govt. of the three titles of Irish knights, which was much sought for by the then Lord Kingston (as claiming to represent the White Knight), at or soon after Geo. IV.'s visit to Ireland. My father took comparatively small interest in the matter, though, no doubt, he may have acquiesced in any step taken at the time by Lord Kingston; but he was on very intimate and friendly terms with Vesey Fitzgerald, and if he (V. F.) had opposed the recognition by Govt., I am sure my father would have

* This Henry, third Lord Fitzgerald and Vesci, and Dean of Kilmore, died without male issue, March 30. 1860.—Burke's Extinct Peerage. Ed.

† This statement is totally without foundation. The branch of the FitzGibbons repre-

sented by the White Knight Edmond, who died in 1608, being but a junior branch of the ancient stock, the headship of the "Clan Gibbon" reverted, on the death of Edmond's grandson in 1611, to the proper representatives of the direct descendants of the "Old Knight."

been aware of it and would have mentioned it to me when talking on the subject. It is not unlikely that V. F. may have said to Peel, who was an intimate friend, that he and not Lord Kingston should represent the *White Knights*, as he claimed in the male and Ld. K. only in the female line, and to this, perhaps, may be traced a passage in Sir Robert Peel's letter objecting to the recognition. Peel gives very plausible tho', perhaps, a little 'red tape' reasons contra, and says that if recognised at all, it could only be in the persons of *male* representatives of the respective knights. This effectually shut out Lord K., who was the soul of the effort. It is a curious fact that 'Rowley Lascelles' in his magnificent volume (see T.C.D. Library) on '*Irish Dignities*,' compiled at the desire of Geo. IV., asserts in the most positive manner in the most heroic type, and in the largest of folios, that these 3 *titles* were recognised by 'Letters of License of H.M., July, 1822, as recorded in the Irish Office in London.' I found, however, that Rowley Lascelles had been misled into this belief by a letter from the then Lord Lieutenant to the Government in England, recommending that these three titles should be duly recognised. He took 'the will for the deed.' I have in my possession a copy of Sir R. Peel's declining letter, which was shown to my father at the time, but I think it was addressed to Lord K.

"Excuse this long prose, and believe me

"Yours truly,

"P. FITZGERALD,

"Knt. of Kerry."

And, writing three days after to the same correspondent, the late Knight of Kerry furnishes conclusive evidence to prove that Lord Kingston's attempt in 1822 to be acknowledged as White Knight ended in failure.

"Valencia, 10th June, '77.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I enclose you the copy of letter you ask for. My father's title was never formally recognised; the nearest approach to it was, I believe, that, in the patent made out to appoint him Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, he was described as '*commonly called the KNIGHT OF KERRY*.' So, at least, my father has told me was the case.

"The book of R. Lascelles which I referred to is precisely that which you suppose.

"I am very sorry that from what you say neither photography nor lithography of Beranger seem to be within reach.

"I am, my dear Sir,

"Yours truly,

"P. FITZGERALD,

"Knt. of Kerry."

Copy Letter of Mr. Peel to Lord Kingston.

[PRIVATE.]

"Whitehall, Jany. 23, 1823.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"One of the difficulties in the way of the compliance with the memorial to which you refer is the formal recognition by the Crown of a new species of distinction, which it appears to me can neither be considered as a surname or known name, a title of dignity, nor a name of office. I have not the least objection to your showing my letter to your Lordship.

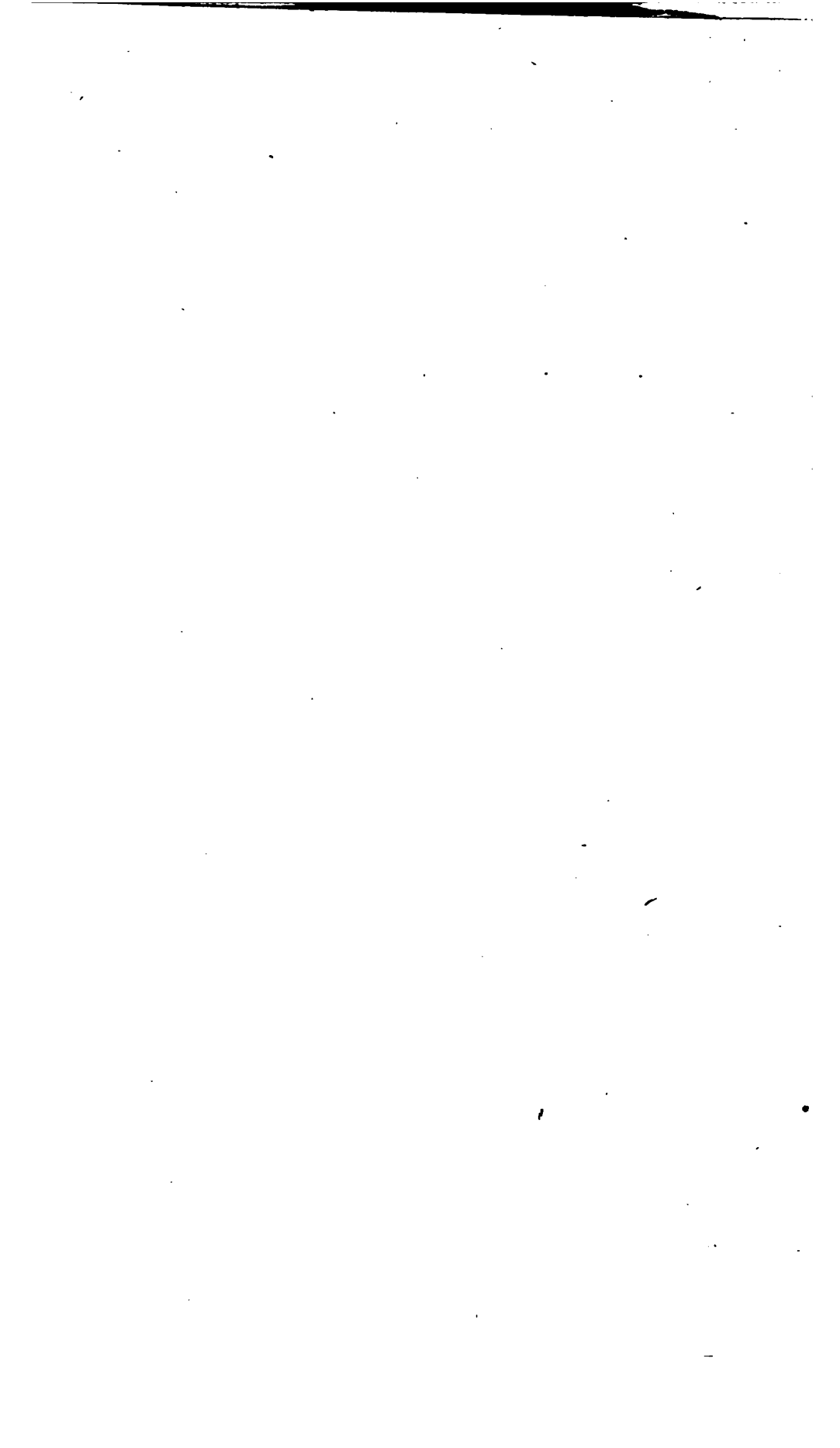
"Should the difficulty arising from principle and the want of precedent be obviated, I conceive the nature of the distinction required to be recognised would make it absolutely necessary for the parties claiming it to prove their descent in the male line. This, however, is a subsequent consideration.

"Believe me, my dear Lord,

"Most faithfully yours,

(Signed)

"ROBERT PEEL.



l. 166b, in Sir George Carew's own handwriting.

2a.

Joane, daughter to the
Lord Barry.

Thomas, executed at Kilmallocke.	Honor. = McMaoge Condon.	Daughter, married to John, base son to James Fitzmorice, Earl of Desmond.	Gibbon Fitzgib- bon, slain by Morice, Lord Roche.	= Daughter md. to Davye Mc- Shane en Co- rigge of the Great Wood.
			Daughter.	Thomas. = Daughter md. to Henry, her brother to Morice, Vis- count Dedes.

1. = Sister to Thiballt Butler, Lord of Caer, and after married to James Fitz- Thomas, the Suggan Earl.	Garrot, died S. P.	5. Garallt, slain by Tyballt Butler, Lord of Caer, S. P.	3. William, executed at Kilmallocke, S. P.
--	--------------------	---	--

England Ellen. = John FitzGarallt, Lord
of the Dedes.

son 1 Mo- oghe, ir to 2nd Sir katie	Daughter = Hughe, son to Amy. Connor Omul- rian.
---	--

ted unto him by reason of that murder aforesaid; but in the end a composition was made, which was,

Old Knight, and Ballylondrey, which last is of a bastard.

re process upon the inhabitants of the same.

WILL OF EDMOND FITZGIBBON, WHITE KNIGHT.

From the Public Record Office, Dublin.

hts is in th

xxiii^o Januarij, 1607, 5^o Jacobi Regis.

name of God, Amen. I, Edmond fitz Gybbon, of Michelstowne, in the com. sq., al^o dictus the whyt knight, somewhat weacke in body, but of good & perfect bod be thanked, doe make and ordayne my last Will and Testament in manner following:—First, I comend me soule unto Almighty God me Creatoure, hopmeryts of me Savior Jesus Christ to be made partaker of blysse everlastinge, and bodie to the earth to be buried in the Sepulker of the Church of Kilmeheny. make, nominate, ordeyne, and appoynte my yonge son, Edmonde oge Fitz Gib-
 1. David
 2. of this me last Will and Testament. And I doe appoynte me Son in Lawe,
 3. re. and me nephew, Charles Cartie, tutors & overseers of me said yonge son,

to Longan
 a crock.

White
 mur-
 by
 cousin-
 s, Gib-
 id Tho-
 y the
 ment of
 re.

Where I have geven and granted unto Donell M^oOwen Callaghane and Dermod the number of lxxii great cowes with the increase, being now in Muskrye, in of Corka, together with all my sheepe, swiyme, & hogs, and owne siliver salt and a standinge cupp of silver duble gilte, to certaijne uses as be the deede fected, bearinge date the xth daye of Auguste, 1606, app'reth. And where I be another deede bearing date the xvith day of June, 1607, given and granted to Donell and Dermode all and singular such household stuffe, furnitur, bed-
 1. David
 2. Th horses, mares, caples, stoode, cowes, oxen, corne, and other goods and chattels belonginge to me the said Edmond fitz Gibbon, with their profyth and increase, to holde his thyrd p'te of all the said goods whatsoever to certeyne uses in the lymtyed, and the other thyrd p'te to be to the use of me last Will and Testa-
 3. re. ment. Et sic in dictis litteris et sigillis p^o dictis peractis confirmatum
 4. in conditum sigillatum et signatum fuisse sicut et clausulam ultimam manu ejus-
 5. Richardus scriptam credimus quam scripturam ejus nominis. De quibus omnibus
 6. is et hac copia vera ejusdem concordans verbatim cum originali ad fidem faci-
 7. sic testamentum coram nobis probacon' hanc copiam vobis approbandam (ut fas
 8. mittimus. Dat. apud Corck sub sigillo Curie Cons' nostre Corckagens' 23^a mensis
 9. 38.

lain in
 1 by
 Harry,

THL. GOLD, ARCH., OFF. GEN. CORK. CLOIN.

atum in Curia prerogativa Regni pro Causis Eccl^oasticis. Et quia dictus Ed-
 1. ige fitz Gibbon executor in eodem nominatus infra minorem etatem notorie sit
 2. is, Administratio secundum tabulas testamentarias predict' eidem annexas com-
 3. t Joanne ny Dermody Cartie, alias fitz Gibbons, Vidue relicte defuncti et matri
 4. cutoris, in persona Jacobi Walshe nuncii sui specialis jurati, salvo jure cujuscun-
 5. re chief Daughter
 6. n. die mensis Maii, 1608

JOH. FORTH, DEP. REG^rBARII.

re chief Daughter
 n.

Taken of
 by his
 sister to
 John, Es-
 and wife
 Collins, of
 Lord Fran
 churchyard in the

Chamber of the Church of == MARGARET O'CAHAN, married 1681; died 1721;
 Chamber to James II.;
 monument in Brigown church.

re, his son = Da-
 of heir.

Baron Kingston, founder of Kingston = Dau. of Sir John
 Mitchellstown, in 1761; d. 1765. Meade.

Daughter and
 heiress.

== RICHARD FITZGERALD, of Mount Ophaly, Esq.,
 descended from Maurice, fourth son of the
 seventh Earl of Kildare. WILLIAM, ob. s. p.,
 v. p.

erice, the White
 1.ologue, the Most

BERT, Viscount Kingston (son and heir of Sir Edward King of Roscom-
 mon, created in 1764-6 Earl of Kingston). Robert died in 1799, soon
 after his trial and acquittal for shooting Col. FitzGerald. Robert was
 second Earl of Kingston.

Wart. Linc., and
 on to John Fitzgib-
 four seps of th
 n they are sura-
 l in the countie
 reason did subse-
 olds his lands to
 Ardara, and P

ELENA MOORE, dau. of the Earl
 of Mountcashel; d. 1847. 2. ROBERT EDWARD, created
 Viscount Lorton.

Dr. Brinkley, Bishop of Cloyne, = WILLIAM DOWNES WEBBER, Kellyville;
 emained of the White Knight's Queen's County, Esq., second husband.

A P P E N D I X.

I.

[THE following sketch of a Pedigree of the White Knights was compiled for the first Earl of Clare by the well-known genealogist, the Chevalier O'Gorman. It would seem, however, by comparing this sketch with the detailed Pedigree above printed, that the Chevalier was not in possession of much accurate information regarding the family history of the FitzGibbon sept. Nothing appears to be known as to what has become of the collection of documents bearing on the FitzGibbon Pedigree which O'Gorman professed to have made; and some of the statements contained in the following sketch are certainly not founded on documentary evidence.]

A short sketch of the Pedigree of the Geraldines.

I shall begin with Maurice FitzGerald, second Lord O'Faly, and the fifth in lineal descent from Otho or Other, who flourished in the reign of King Edward the Confessor, in order to show the separation of the House of Desmond from that of Kildare, and of the House of Clangibbon from that of Desmond:—

Maurice FitzGerald, second Lord O'Faly, was constituted Lord Justice of Ireland, A.D. 1229, and again in 1232, and was buried at Youghal, in the monastery of the Franciscan Minorites, which he had founded in the south end of that town. He left three sons:—

1st Son.—Sir Gerald FitzGerald, Knight, 3rd Lord O'Faly. He died A. D. 1286, was ancestor of the Earls of Kildare and Duke of Leinster, through his grandson John Fitz Thomas Fitz Gerald, created Earl of Kildare by letters patent dated 14th May 1316 ixth Edw. ii.

2nd Son.—Thomas Fitz Gerald, surnamed the Great. He married Eleanore Daur of Sir William Morris (by whom came the Estates in Kerry), and dying at Youghal 26th May 1260, was buried in the Franciscan Convent there, which (being founded by his father) he had finished at his own charge, leaving one son Sir John FitzGerald of Callan, Knt. Ancestor of the Fitz Gerald of Munster.

3rd Son.—Maurice Fitz Gerald was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland A.D. 1272. He died in the year 1286, leaving Gerald Fitz Maurice Oge Fitz Gerald, who died issueless, and a daughter Juliana married to Lord Thomas de Clare, younger son of Richard Earl of Gloucester and Hertford.

1st Wife.—Margery Daughter of Sir Thomas FitzAnthony, Knt. She brought him the lands of the Decies and Desmond, &c. By her he had one son.

Sir John FitzGerald of Callan, Knt. founded the Abbey of Tralee in Kerry for Friars Preachers, and built the strong castle of Tralee for his Residence. But his aspiring Greatness being much feared by the Clancarties and the other Irish septs of Desmond, he was killed in the bloody battle of Callan near Tralee [*vectè*, Kenmare] A. D. 1261. *Annales Inisfallenses.*

2nd Wife.—Honora Daur. of Hugh O'Connor—Kerry Dynast of Carrigafole, by whom he had four sons.

A

B

C

1st Son.—Sir Maurice fitz Gibbon, White Knight. He was the first of the family that assumed the appellation of Fitz Gibbon instead of Mac Gibbon. He took part with Perkin Warbeck along with the rest of his kindred, and was attainted, but afterwards pardoned, and restored to his honours and blood by King Henry VII. in the 12th year of his reign,

Sir John FitzGibbon, White Knight,

Sir John Oge (junior) Fitz Gibbon, White Knight, was attainted Anno. 13^o. Elisabethæ Reginae (1571).

A Daughter married to John FitzJames, son of James fitz Maurice FitzGerald, Earl of Desmond.

1st Son.—Sir Edmund fitz Gibbon, White Knight, was restored to the Blood by Queen Elizabeth. He first married Joan daughter of Sir Dermot Mac Teige MacCarthy, Lord of Muskerry, by whom he had one Daughter. He took to his second wife Ellen dau. of Thomas Tobin Ld of the Coughshenagh, by whom he had 2 sons and four Daurs.

2nd Son.—Maurice FitzGibbon; succeeded his Brother as White Knight by the Law of Tanistry. He married the sister of Theobald Butler Lord of Caher. No further acct of his issue. A Daughter Ellen married to Sir John Fitz Gerald Ld of the Decies.

1st Son by the second wife Ellen Tobin, Maurice FitzGibbon, who died before his father, leaving by his wife Joan Daur. of James Ld Dunboyne a Daughter and Heir married to Sir William Fenton Knt. son of Sir Jeffry Fenton Knt. It was by her that the Lordship of Clangibbon descended to the family of King, Earl of Kingston.

2nd Son John fitz Gibbon who died before his father and without issue.

1st Daughter married to John Barry, brother of David Visc. Barry.

2nd Daur., Ellenor, married to Cormac son of Donnell MacCarthy-Reagh Ld of Carbery in the county of Cork.

3rd Daur. married to Thomas fitz Edmund fitz Gerald, Knight of the Valley.

4th Daughter married to William son of Connor O'Mulryan of Owny in the county of Limk.

Maurice dearg (Red) fitz Gibbon Roe, living anno 1617. It is from this Branch that the R^t. Hon^{ble} the Earl of Clare, Ld. High Chancellor of Ireland, descends.

2nd Son.—John Roe fitz Gibbon from whom the Branch called Clangibboun Roe (Rufus).

Edmund fitz Gibbon Roe.

Thomas fitz Gibbon Roe.

Gerald fitz Gibbon Roe.

† There was a sepulchral Monument erected at Kilmallock by Sir John Oge fitz Gibbon the White Knight, with the following inscription, which is still extant:—*Hic Tumulus erectus fuit in Memoriam illius Stemmatis Geraldinorum, qui vulgo vocantur Equites Albi. Johannes cum filio suo Emundo, et Mauricio filio præfati Edmundi, et multi alii ejusdem familiae hic tumulantur. Præfatus (here it breaks off, but should be read thus) Johannes hunc Tumulum sibi et suis fieri fecit, A.D. &c.*

So far my Manuscripts compared with Sir George Carew's collections in the Harleian and Bodleian Libraries.

N.B.—The foregoing are only short notes pointing out the separation of the Clangibbon race from the Geraldine. History and Records are very full of the transactions, which are omitted here for brevity sake.

The younger sons of the Knights of Clangibbon,—stiled the White Knights,—have, in process of time, formed several Branches, by the names of fitz Gibbon, in the counties of Cork and Limerick. They were endowed, for their maintenance with large

estates, which they held by Feudal Tenure from their chief Lords, the White Knights, to whom they were bound to pay Homage and service upon all their Hostings and Risings out. These estates continued in their possession until the suppression of the Desmond Rebellion, in the latter end of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, in which Rebellion they were involved and forfeited their Property to the Crown, yet a great many of them were pardoned and restored to their Estates, but afterwards forfeited them in the Civil Wars or Revolutions of 1641 and 1688.

The pedigree of the Clangibbons may be traced down in a direct line from Other or Otho, who flourished in the Reign of King Alfred and Edward the Confessor, showing in their proper places the many Illustrious Branches that sprung from him both in England and in Ireland since that Æra to that of Gilbert or Gibbon fitz Gerald, Ancestor of the Clangibbons or Fitzgibbons.

The principal and most noted branches descended from Gibbon, particularly that of the present Lord Chancellor, may be traced to this present time, in their proper Lineage, both from Record, the Annals and the Authentic Pedigrees of that family which are transmitted to us in the old Irish manuscript Books. The whole may be compiled in a large folio volume on vellum beautifully decorated, with their coats of arms and those of their respective Alliances richly Blazoned. To which may be annexed, in support of the Pedigree and by way of an Appendix, the extracts from the Records, Family Deeds, and Annals of the kingdom.

Chevalier O'Gorman always devoted to the Right Honble the Earl of Clare, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, has, since his Lordship's promotion to the Peerage, collected both in England and in Ireland, all the Documents that his time and leisure could permit him, for the purpose of offering a correct History of the House of Clangibbon as a homage to his Lordship. He would have that History at present completed, were it not for the unfortunate revolution of France, which deprived him of his Estate and Property in that unhappy kingdom, and various other Domestic afflictions, which he has sustained since his residence in Ireland, all which have racked his mind so much that he was obliged to postpone his searches until better times. Yet he is very far advanced in his collection of the Materials, and has nothing at present to wish for, but a short Tour in Clangibbon and the county of Limerick, together with a few searches in the Records of Birmingham Tower, the Rolls and the Excheq^r offices, and communication of such of his Lordship's family Deeds as may be Deemed Necessary.

If it shall be his Lordship's pleasure to grant O'Gorman the honour of a short audience, he will make it his duty to point out to his Lordship the few things that remain as yet to be done for the perfection of the work. No 9 Montague Str. 11th March, 1797.

"This document is copied verbatim; from one by the Chevalier O'Gorman, and was lent to the copier—A. FitzGibbon—March 1873, by John Adair Esq^r, Barrister, of 23 Lower Mount-St. Dublin, who was handed it, in same month, by Miss Mahon, sister of his wife, and who as executrix of her mother, Lady Mahon, wife of Sir Ross Mahon, possesses many papers of the FitzGerald family. A. F. G."

II.

(Extract from the Betham MSS., 2nd Series, Vol. III., p. 17. Ulster's Office, Dublin Castle.)

(The letter of which the following is a copy was addressed to Sir William Betham by John FitzGibbon of Ballysheedy, near Limerick, son of Patrick FitzGibbon, who was the brother of John FitzGibbon, father to the 1st Earl of Clare. In the will of John, the father of the 1st Lord Clare (1780), the writer of the letter is called "the son of my unfortunate brother Patrick." The letter contains, besides a few facts, some matter that seems quite unreliable. The statements regarding the large estates alleged to have been possessed by the writer's family in the 18th century seem to be devoid of foundation; some members of the FitzGibbon family had leasehold interests in the counties of Cork and Limerick in the early part of the eighteenth century, but from the date of the Act of Settlement in 1661, (which ignored their claims to be restored to the lands of which they were deprived by Cromwell,) until the time of the 1st Lord Clare's father, John FitzGibbon, it is doubtful if anyone of the name held an acre in fee. The writer was interred in the Church of Donoughmore, near Limerick. See Journal of the Archæol. Association for April, 1872, p. 80.) :

In the year 1333 Edward the Third King of England was at war with Scotland. The Earl of Desmond sent his three sons, Gibbon, Gerald, & Maurice to Edward's assistance with a thousand men each. They invaded Scotland, stormed Edinburgh, & reduced it. When they attacked the Castle, the Females of the Royal Family threw themselves on their knees to Gibbon begging Protection from the licentiousness of the soldiery; he raised them off their knees, and guaranteed their safety. One of the princesses observing him wounded in the arm took off a white scarf and tied it round

his arm. She was a beautifull young woman, and he a fine military looking man. The King was so well pleased at the conduct of the three brothers that he dubbed Gibbon the White Knight, from the scarf the Princess gave him, to whom he was afterwards married in the presence of the King, descendible to his Heirs for ever. Gerald was dubbed Knight of the Valley or Glin from the green armour he wore, and Maurice Knight of Kerry; his armour was black. The King gave them Letters Patent for the several estates they then enjoyed, to prevent any future disputes. Maurice's Estates lay in the county of Kerry—Gerald's in the county of Limerick, namely Glin, Castletown now in the possession of John Waller, Esq., and Loughill. Gibbon's lay in the counties of Corke and Limerick, called the manor of Condons and Clangibbon with other estates, such as Ballylander, Ballynahinch, Cullane, &c., &c., &c. The sons of these Brothers added Fitz to their Christian names, as FitzGibbon, FitzGerald and Fitz Maurice. Fitz being derived from the Saxon word Fil or filius in Latin. My great great grandfather Thos FzGibbon lived at Ballylander. The Earl of Kingston,* who had the Lower Manor of Mitchelstown, resided at the Castle in that town. A strong intimacy subsisted between them. The Earl wanted FzGibbon to go with him to London to revive his Patent, which at that time was necessary on account of the new restrictive Laws against Popery. FzGibbon, a steady Roman Catholic, pleaded the gout as an excuse for not going—he wd sooner forfeit his Property than swerve from his religion. He begg'd the Earl to cover his estates under his Patent, and gave him £100, the expense of doing so. The Earl promised faithfully to declare the trust on his return. Some say Sir Wm Fenton was the person who cover'd the Estates under his Patent; he was connected with the family—still I cannot conceive how he could be the Person entrusted from what follows. Before the Earl's return FzGibbon died, & left an only son John. The Earl took him to his Castle & had him educated, then sent him to Paris to study Physick, at that time reckon'd a very genteel Profession. The Earl died (in 1727) without declaring the Trust or leaving any document of it—thus was my family most fraudulently thrown out of their Property. The Earl left an only child, a son (James 4th Lord Kingston) who married, and died A.D. 1761, leaving no issue but a daughter (Margaret) who married Col FitzGerald (see Burke's *Extinct Peerage*, p. 306). She was the mother of the present Countess Dowager Kingston. On the Earl's death the estates devolved on his daughter and the title to his next male relative—King of Boyle—County Roscommon; who had a son the late Lord Kingsborough, between whom and the Colonel's daughter a match was made up by the parents of both to unite the title and estates. My grand father Thos FzGibbon, the son of the Physician, lived at Ballyseeda in the Liberties of Limerick in a most respectable Light, & died there leaving four sons, John the eldest, Patrick my father the second—Thos the third, & Gibbon the fourth. You see by this we are lineally descended from the White Knight, tho' many assume the name of FzGibbon—*We have no relations of that name but the offspring of the Four Brothers.* My uncle John's first son Ion (Thos.?) brother to John the late Earl of Clare, discovered how fraudulently the family lost their property & consulted his Father, reckon'd a very able Lawyer. He said he wd by no means allow of a suit, as there were many estates equally circumstanced, & that suing for it wd cause general confusion throughout the Kingdom, tho' he acknowledged it could be easily recovered. Not content with his father's opinion, he went to England, & advised with the most eminent Council, who gave their decided opinions in his favor, & that it was a palpable fraud. Still the Father persevered in his refusal for the reasons above assign'd, & that he had sufficient property for both his sons, Ion (Thos.?) died shortly after, his brother the late Earl of Clare never looked for it, I suppose in respect to his father's memory, who he knew was so determined against it—still that should not, in my idea, prevent the present Earl of seeking for upwards of Twenty Thousand a year—This is the only information I can give you which I hope will prove satisfactory, as it has been impressed on my mind from my earliest dawn & I am now in my sixty sixth year—I am inform'd some have given a different account—Be it so—I shall not enter the list with any person about it. I am very weak and infirm, which you may perceive by my writing. I have been more than a fortnight endeavouring to write thus far, believe me a difficult task for a very infirm man, which I would not undertake but solely to gratify a gentleman of your respectability, a Person I wd Wish to have the pleasure of knowing.

"I am y^r very ob^t humble Servant

"JOHN FzGIBBON.

"Anne-street, Limerick,
"Febr 24, 1810."

* This was John King, 3rd Lord Kingston, (brother to Robert, 2nd Lord Kingston). He became a Papist, was outlawed, but after his

brother's death, in 1693, was pardoned—(Burke's *Extinct Peerage*, p. 805); he died in 1737.

III.

Pedigree of the late Earl of Clare

THOMAS FITZGIBBON,* =
of Ballylander.

John FitzGibbon, M.D.* =
educated at Paris by John 3rd Earl
of Kingston, who died 1737.

Thomas FitzGibbon,* = --- Hayes.
of Ballyseeda.

4. Gibbon,
of Ballyseeda.

Elizabeth. = Matthew Lane
Scanlan.

3. Thomas.* =

2. Patrick =
John, buried at Donoghmore,
near Limerick, writer of
letter to Sir Wm. Betham.

1. John FitzGibbon, barrister. = Isabella, dau. of John
b. 1708, at Ballyseeda; d. Grove, Esq., of Bally-
at Mount Shannon, 1780; himmock, Co. Cork.
will in Prerogative Court.
(Burke.)

Elizabeth. = 1763 Wm. Beresford,
Archb. of Tuam.
Eleanor. = Dominick Trant, Esq.
of Dunkettle, Co.
Cork.

Isabella. = James St. John
Jefferys, of
Blarnoy Castle.

1. Thomas.
Richard = Anne, dau. of Richard
Chapel Whaley, Esq.,
of Whaley Abbey.
(Burke.)

Isabella Mary Anne, d. s. p.
1873 in London.

Richard Hobart FitzGibbon, 3rd = 1825, Diana, dau. of Charles
Earl of Clare, b. 2 Oct., 1789, Bridges Woodcock, Esq.,
d. 10 Jan., 1864, when title be- of Brentford Butts, Co. of
came extinct. Middlesex.

John FitzGibbon, 2nd = 14 April, 1826, Elizabeth
Earl of Clare, b. 10 Julia Georgiana, dau.
June, 1789; d. s. p. 18 of Peter, 1st Lord
Aug., 1831. (Burke.) Gwydyr.

3. Eleanor Sophia Diana. = Francis Cavendish.

2. Louisa Isabella = Hon. Gerald Normandy Dillon,
Georgiana. Mount Shannon, Co. Limerick.

1. Florence. = John, Lord
Wodehouse.
John Charles Henry, Viscount
FitzGibbon, b. 3 May, 1829;
killed at Balaklava, 1855;
d. s. p.

IV.

The following is a copy of a Chancery Inquisition, taken at Cork in 1618, throwing some interesting light on the family of the White Knight Edmond.

Inq' taken at the king's castle in the county of Cork the viith of July 1618, in the 16th year of the reign of king James of England &c. — Before Laurence Parsons, Thos. Cave his Majesty's Eschaetor for the province of Munster (and others,) by the oaths of good and lawful men &c. who say that Edmond McGibbon commonlie called the White Knight deceased was at the time of his death seised in his demesne as of fee of the town, lands, castle, Bawn, mill & watercourse of old Castletowne als Ballytancaulane, Callonaghmore, Callonabegg, Ardskeah, Ballinknockane, Ballingilro, Knockinrissy and Kynelyneigh with the appurtenances in the county of Cork aforesaid, containing half a ploughland & worth by the year above all charges &c. 5s. holden of his Majesty in free and common soccage under the yearly rent of xv. Irish, and also of the Town and lands of Labimollagga containing half a ploughland, Toorelegane cont' a quarter of a ploughland and Monenenchroin cont' a quarter of a ploughland, in all cont' one ploughland in the county of Cork aforesaid, worth by the year x. holden of his Majesty by knight service in capite but by what service jurors know not. And also of & in the Town, lands, castle, walled Bawn, myll & watercourse of Michelstown als Ballyvistéal, Coulemacgillocoddo, Kilecoghane, Garrynesheneske als Garrynehagelsby, Gortewyloré, Killvallinard and Baulbane in the county of Cork aforesaid cont' one ploughland and an half; worth by the year xv. holden of his Majesty in free & common soccage under the yearly rent of xiii. iiid. And also of the town, lands, castle of Brigowne and the villages thereunto belonging called the two Clonleghs the two Clonees, the two Clancarbeyes, Gortenenrane, Bansaghknockagh, Gortnylicky, Classewensy, Bainard, Clasaspell et Fenure in the county of Cork aforesaid, cont' one ploughland worth by the year x. holden of his Majesty in free and common soccage under the yearly rent of x. And also of the town and lands of Garranviccadock als Garrane McCaddowe als Garranemackaddy & the villages thereunto belonging called Sissivory, Farranewoody, Fergorany, Bunwhane, Gurtinepla Gortnedogh p'te of Knockanemaguige with the appurtenances in the county of Cork aforesaid, cont' halfe a ploughland worth by the year vi. holden of his Majesty in free & common soccage under the yearly rent of iiii. iiid. And that David Condon doth claim the aforesaid ploughland of Brigowne with the appurtenances and the aforesaid half ploughland of Garranviccadock to be his own inheritance. And they do further say that Edmond McGibbon commonly called the White Knight aforesaid deceased was at the time of his death seised in his demesne of one chief rent of forty shillings sterling yearly issuing out of the lands of Aghaliske, Coolegowyn, Garrywallishy, Kildrony and Carrogarriffe in the com' of Cork aforesaid. And also of and in one other capital or chief rent of iiii. viid & two white groats yearly issuing out of the lands of Crockeragh in the com' of Cork aforesaid, and also of the moiety of the town and lands of Corraghmore in the county of Cork aforesaid and the villages &c. thereunto belonging called Lisetaileore. the west p'te of Glanduff divided by a stream the head whereof cometh from the mountain of Glanduff, cont' half a ploughland worth by the year vi. holden of his Majesty in free and common soccage under the yearly rent of xviii. ; & that there is due and payable out of the aforesaid town and lands of Ardskeagh yearly unto David Lord Roche viscount of Fermoy & his heirs one capital or chief rent of xliiii. vd. ob' sterling. And that John Power of Kilbollane Esq' doth claim the aforesaid Town of Ardskeagh with the appurtenc', to be his own inheritance by the name of two ploughlands. And that Richard fix Gerald McShane of Ballyshoniken doth likewise claim the said town of Ardskeagh with the appurtenc' by the name of two ploughlands to be his own inheritance. And the said Jurors do further say that Edmond McGibbon commonly called the White Knight aforesaid was at the time of his death seised of fee of the town and lands of Curraghivo als Curragh Ibuoa als Curragh Iwo with the appurtenances in the county of Cork aforesaid & the villages thereunto belonging called Kilculduagh, Skehinerehe, Gortineboule, Ardglaremore, Ardglarebeg, Cappa Breacks, Killeagh & Moingrangine cont' one ploughland, worth by the year x. Ir', holden of his Majesty by free & common soccage under the yearly rent of x'. And that Robert Condon doth claim the aforesaid town of Curraghivo & Kilculduagh by the name of one ploughland to be his own inheritance.

And that David Condon doth claim a chief rent of xiii. iiid. yearly out of Skehinerehe p'cell of Curraghivo aforesaid. And they do further say that Edmond McGibbon called the White Knight was at the time of his death seised in his demesne as of fee

of the town & lands of Gurtintariff, Garranerushelagh, Carraganeleagha, Kilechloick, & Lissenbretase with the appurtenances in the county of Cork aforesaid, containing one ploughland worth by the year xs., holden of his Majesty by knight's service in capite. And also of the town and lands of Buolichalla, with the appurtenances in the county of Cork aforesaid, containing half a ploughland worth by the year vs. holden of his Majesty by knight service in capite, and also of the town & lands of Ballyarthure, Garrichanan, als Ballhanan, Monygoruma and Derrylahan with the appurtenances in the county of Cork aforesaid, cont' half a ploughland worth by the year vs., holden of his Majesty by knight's service in capite. And also of the town and lands of Gortruo and Kilechloick with the appurtenances in the county of Cork aforesaid cont' half a ploughland worth by the year vs., holden of his Majesty by Knight service in capite. And also of the towns lands and Bawn environed with a stone wall of Cloghlefunne als Cloghlemonne, Ballinechoola, Skartlefunne, Garrychroine Knockardmore, Lissevart and pte of Barnenchosoga in the county of Cork aforesaid, cont' one ploughland worth by the year vs., holden of his Majesty by Knight service in capite. And also of and in the towns lands castle stonehouse Bawn myll and watercourse of Marshalstown als Ballymariscall als Lisnolomon and Curraghgorum with the appurtenances in the county of Cork aforesaid, and the villages thereunto belonging called Ballinroane Knockybeannyghie Keilnekillskennagh Lisarwoe, Knockaneny—marraffe Corrygarruffe, Knockanena—mody, Landerd, Tullournan, Ballinchoka, Gortbuy, Gortnegeragh, Dirrenenoolle Attenvale, Gortneskegh and Killcuirck, containing two ploughlands, worth by the year xs., holden of his majesty in free and common soccage under the yearly rent of viii. And also of the town & lands of Garriblenesiery Parckemuane Lyssnefyuy Shanvalley—more, Tooreogh & Cuileibannane in the county of Cork aforesaid, cont' one ploughland worth by the year xs., holden of his majesty by Knights service in capite. And also of and in the town and lands of Knockaniviu, Curraghine, Tobberingaun, Traharogh Currihinehanekarde, Knockencrogher & Monere, with the appurtenances, in the con' of Cork aforesaid, cont' one ploughland worth by the year xs., holden of his Majesty by Knights service in capite. And that Garrett Suppell as feoffee of John Condon als M^cMaog maketh clayme to stand seised of seven ploughlands p'cell of the lands before mentioned among divers other lands in a deed of feoffment made by the said John Condon als McMaog to the said Garrett Suppell and one Morice Bwy Condon, which deed of feoffment followeth in these words vizt To all &c.—And the said jurors do further say that William Cahasey & David McShane Condon being two of the witnesses whose names are indorsed upon the aforesaid recited Deeds were deposed at the taking of this Inquisition that the livery and seisen of the said Deed was made in the cellar of Carrignynownrye and not elsewhere by the said John Condon als M^cMaog to the said Gerrott Suppell and Morice Bwy Condon in these words vizt—I deliver this &c.—And they do further say that the said John Condon als McMaog did convey by a subsequent Deed unto Edmond McGibbon otherwise called the White Knight and his heirs for ever both the aforesaid Kilcomabynes which deed followeth in these words vizt Be it known &c. And they do further say by the said M^cMaog Condon his own confession that Edmond FzGibbon als the White Knight himself his father and grandfather died possessed of the aforesaid lands past unto him by the said Condon. And that at the making of the aforesaid Deed to Garrett Suppell & Morice Bwy Condon the said Edmond FzGibbon als the White Knight was in possession of the said lands at the making of the said Deed of feoffment. And further they do say that the aforesaid Edmond McGibbon commonly called the White Knight had issue three sons vizt Morrice, John & Edmond oge, and that John & Edmond oge died without issue, and that the said Morrice had issue Morrice oge and Dame Margarette Fenton now wife of Sr Wm Fenton of Youghill in the county of Cork Knight, which Dame Margarette was of the age of fifteen years the last day of May last past before the date hereof, and that the said Morrice father of Morrice oge and son to Edmond McGibbon commonly called the White Knight died in the lifetime of his father vizt the xxiii^d day of April 1608. And that Edmond McGibbon commonly called the White Knight aforesaid died so seized of the premises the xxiii^d day of April 1608 By whose death the premises descended and came unto the said Morrice oge as grandson and heir of said Edmond McGibbon, by virtue whereof the said Morrice oge into all & singular the premises entered and was thereof seized as of fee &c., & being thereof so seized died without issue the xxx^d day of May, 1611, whereby all & singular the premises wholly descended & came to the said dame Margaret as sole sister & heir of the said Morrice oge McGibbon son & heir of the said Morrice the eldest son & heir apparent of the said Edmond McGibbon commonly called the White Knight, who was grand father to the said dame Margaret.

V.

The following copy of an inquisition preserved among the Chancery Inquisitions in the Public Record Office of Ireland, contains so much information regarding the possessions of the White Knights, and the various dealings therewith in the time of the White Knight Edmund, that it seems worth while committing it to print in its original and abbreviated form :—

10. Inquis' capt' apud civit' Corcke xxo die Maii anno regni d'ni Jacobi etc. sexto, coram Dominico Sarsfield mil' uno Justie d'ni regis capital' placei regni sui Hib'nie (et aliis) p' sacram' p'bor, etc. qui dic' quod Edmundus Fitz Gibbon ar' als the White Knight die' clausit extrem' xliiio die April 1608. Et jur' pred' dic' quod p'd' Edmond fitz Gibbon ar' als dict' the White Knight tempore mort' sue se'itus fuit de feodo de castr' vill' et terr' de Ardsakea in com' Corke cont' tres carucat' terr' et media' p'te unius caruc' terr' que quide' terr' etc. tenent' de rege in lib'ro et comuni soccagio, et valent p' ann' xd'. Item dic' quod tempore vite et longe ante obitu' diati Edmundi fitz Gibbon, Gerald fitz Joh'is Gerald se'it' fuit de feodo de vill' et terr' de Ardsakea p'd' virtute cujusd'm brevis d'ni regis de restituc'oe gerent' dat' xvio die Januar' 1603. Et pred' Geraldus fitz Joh' Gerald sic se'itus existens a possessione ejusd' vill' et terr' amotus fuit p' Joh'ne fitz Edmund fitz Gibbon filiu' pred' Edmundi qui quide' Gerald fitz Joh'is Gerald nihilominus intravit in vill' et terr' p'd' et tunc et ibide' et divers' vicibus et specialiter infra spaciun unius anni ante obitu' ejusd' Edmundi fitz Gibbon clamavit Castr' vill' et terr' pred' esse jus et hereditamentu' su'. Et jur' insuper dic' quod quida' capital' reddit' xliiio v4 ob' ster' anuat' debet' Davido D'no Roche vicecom' Fermoy et hered' s's ex pred' vill' et terr' de Ardsakea.

Item Jur' pred' dic' quod ide' Edmundus fitz Gibbon als dict' the White Knight sic se'itus existens de vill' et terr' pred' p' charta' sua' indentata' geren' dat' xliiio die Augusti annoq' regni regis Jacobi anglie etc. quinto dimisit Dominico m^o Fynin Cartie Castr', vill' et terr' de Ardsakea pred' cu' membris et p'tin' s's vixt Garranyruidie, Ballyneboolie, Le lland, et Ballinlopin in com' Corck cont' duas carucat' terr' et media' p'te unius caruc' terr', Habend' et tenend' eid'm Dermicio m^o Fynin hered' et assignat' s's p' ter'io xxi annor' reddendo inde anuat' p'd' Edmundo fitz Gibbon hered' et assignat' s's sum' s'vi ster', ac etia' unu' porcu' et una' ovem in quolib' anno durante ter'io p'd' ut p' eand' chart' magis plane liquet.

Et Jur' pred' dic' quod pred' chart' sigillat' et deliberat' fuit mane ejusd' die in quo p'd' Edmund fitz Gibbon obiit, cujus tenor sequit' in hec verba. This Indenture made, etc. Item Jur' p'd' dic' quod pred' Edmundus fitz Gibbon tempore vite sue se'itus fuit de feodo de vill' et terr' de Marshalestowne als Lisnolomon et Curraghgorru' ad opus et usu' p'd' Edmundi et Joanne ny Dermote uxor' ejus et alios usus p'ut per feoffament' pred' magis plane liquet cujus tenor sequit' in hec verba. Sciunt p'tes etc.

Et ulterius Jur' pred' dic' q'd vill' et terr' de Marshalstowne et Curraghgorrow pred' tenent' de rege in lib'ro et communi soccagio et non in capite, et valent per ann' xlii, liiia. Et Jur' insup' dic' quod Johes Meade in legibus eruditus habens interesse in vill' et terr' p'd' de Marshalstowne et Curraghgorrow p' charta' sua' geren' dat' viio die Martii 1607 relaxavit totu' jus etc. suu' in p'miss' pred' Edmundo fitz Gibbon heredibus et assignat' s's imp'petuum ut p' eand' charta' magis plane app'et, cujus quidem tenor sequit' in hec verba, Omnibus xpi fidelibus ad quos etc. Et ulterius Jur' pred' dic' quod pred' Edmundus fitz Gibbon relaxavit tot' jus etc. su' in premis eisdem Robto Tirrey et Dermito m^o Fynyn Cartie habent' quiet' possession' in pred' terr' de Marshalstowne et Curraghgorrow p'd', secundu' usu' in p'fato feoffament' specificat' p'ut p' quand' charta' relaxac'on' dat' xxo die Martii 1607 magis plan' app'et, cujus tenor sequit' in hec verba. Omnibus xpi fidel' etc.

Item Jur' pred' dic' quod pred' Edmond fitz Gibbon se'itus fuit de feodo de vill' et terr' de Cloghlemonie et Ballincullie in com' pred' cont' un' carr' terr'; Ac de vill' et terr' de Knockanyvine cont' un' alia' caruc' terr' in com' pred'; et sic inde se'itus existens p' charta' suam feoffamen' geren' dat' xxiio die Augusti 1606 feoffavit pred' Rob'tu' Tirrey et Dermitu' M'Fynne Cartie de vill', terr' etc. in p'miss' pred' ad opus et usu' p'd' Edmundi fitz Gibbon et Joan ny Dermodie uxor' ejus p' termino vite cujuslibet eor' et ad alios usus in dicta charta feoffament' specificat' p'ut p' feoffment' pred' plen' app'et, cujus quid' tenor sequit' in hec verba: Sciunt p'tenti, etc.

Item dic' Jur' pred' quod pred' vill' et terr' de Cloghlemonie Ballyncoolle et Knockanyvine tenent' de Rege in capite sed p' que servie Jur' ignor', et val' p' ann' xs. Item Jur' pred' dic' quod pred' Edmund fitz Gibbon tempore mortis sue pred' se'itus fuit de feodo de vill' et terr' de Brigowne in com' Cork pred' cont' un' carucat' terr', ac etiam de vill' et terr' de Kycowledagh Corroghiboyne et Skehenerhie cont' un' caruc' terr'. Ac etiam de vill' et terr' de Curraghmore cont' una' caruc' terr'; Ac etiam de vill' et terr' de Gortowe et Kylgowne cont' un' carucat' terre in com' pred'; Ac etiam de vill' et terr' de Ballyarthurie cont' dimid' un' carucat' terr' in com' pred'. Ac de vill' et terr'

de Curryleigh cont' dimid' un' caruc' terr' in com' pred': Ac de vill' et terr' de Labymolaggie, Towereligan, et Monenencroynne cont' un' caruc' terr' in com' pred'. Et jur' pred' dic' quod quelibet carucat' terr' pred' val' p' ann' iiii.

Et ulter' die' quod vill' et terr' pred' de Ballyarthurie Labimolaggie, Towereligan et Monenencroynne tenent' de Rege in capite sed p' que servic' Jur' pred' ignor'; et quod vill' et terr' de Brigowne, Kilcouledough, Curraghmore, Skehenerihie, Curraghmore Gortowe et Curryleigh tenent' de rege in lib'ro et communi soccagio. Item Jur' pred' dic' quod pred' Edmund' fitz Gibbon tempore vite sue se'itus existens de feodo de vill' et terr' de Curraghmore pred' cont' un' carucat' terr', Gortowe et Kylligowne cont' un' caruc' terr' in com' Cork, ac etiam de vill' et terr' de Curraghboye Killcowledaugh et Skehenerihie cont' un' carucat' terr' in com' pred', p' charta' sua' indentat' geren' dat' xximo die Januar' 1607 dimisit Geraldo fitzjames Barrie de Dromedoe in com' Tipp'ar' gen' pred' vill' et terr' de Gortowe Kylligowne, Curraghboy, Kilcowledaugh et Skehenerihie, Habend' et tenend' prefato Geraldo fitzjames Barrie hered' et assign' s' p' termino xxxii annor'. Reddendo inde annuat', pred' Edmundo aut assign' s' sum' sex libr' ster' unacu' al' custumis et servic' p'ut p' eande' chartem magis plane app'et, cujus tenor sequit'.

Item Jur' pred' dic' quod Davidus Condon de Cloghleigh in com' Cork gen' in pred' vill' et terr' de Brigowne intravit infra spacium unius ann' ante obit' p'd' Edmundi FitzGibbon, et tunc fecit clameu' su' ad dict' vill' et terr' de Brigowne p'd' esse Jus et hereditam' su'.

Et insuper Jur' pred' dic' quod David Condon Redmond Condon Rob'tus Condon et Joh'es Condon burgenses et libr' tenent' de vill' et terr' de Brigowne [] recipere debent de et pro qualibet acr' terr' arr' quando seminat, [] in dicta vill' de Brigowne reddit' vd ob' ster' p' ann', ac etiam de qualibet domo aive tenement' et gardin' in vill' pred' reddit' 24 ob' ster' p' ann'. Et Jur' pred' dic' quod p'd' David', Edmundus, Robertus et Johannes Condon eorumq' antecessores a tempore cujus memoria homin' non existit seisisit fuerunt de quibusdam terris ten't' gard' aliisque heredit' in vill' de Brigowne pred' ut p'cell' ejusd' vill', sed quantitat' terr' vel quot sunt tenement' et gardin' ab antiquo ad dictos Condon p'tinentia Jur' pred' ignor'.

Et Jur' pred' dic' quod tenentes et occupatores unius car' terr' in vill' et campis de Skehenarehie pred' debent solvere pred' David Condon et hered' suis ex pred' carr' terr' anual' redd' xiii' iiii'.

Item Jur' pred' dic' quod p'd' Edmund Fitzgibbon tempore vite sue seisisit fuit de feodo de vill' et terr' de Michelstowne et Kilcoghane, cont' un' car' et dimid' un' carr' terr' in com' Cork pred'; et sic inde seisisit existens p' chartam suam feoffament' geren' dat' xxiiiio die Julii 1605 feoffavit Rob'tu' Tirrey de Cork gen' et Dermitiu' [] Cartie pred' ad usu' et intencion' in dict' feoffament' content' p' ut p' pred' chartam magis plane liquet cujus tenor sequitur in hec verba. Sciant p'ntes etc., quequidem vill' et terr' pred' de Michelstowne et Kilcoghlan tenent' de Rege in lib'ro et communi soccagio, et val' p' ann' xxs ster'.

Item Jur' pred' dic' quod Gerrald Condon fitz David et Petrus Condon fitz Edmond seisisit fuerunt de feodo de vill' et terr' de Garranvicadugge cont' media' p'te' unius carrucat' terr' in com' Cork pred'; et sic inde seisisit existens p' chartam suam feoffament' geren' dat' xxiiiio die Julii 1605 feoffavit Dermitiu' McFinin Cartie de vill' et terr' pred'. Habend' et tenend' sibi et hered' s's ad opus et usu' p'd' Edmundi fitz Gibbon al's dic' Albi mil' et Johann' ny Dermoda uxor' ejus; et post eor' obitu' ad opus et usu' heredis vel heredum suor' et ad alios usus in dicto feoffamento content' p'ut p' dictam chartam plane app'et cujus tenor sequit' in hec verba: To all Christian people, etc. Et Jur' pred' dic' quod vill' et terr' de Garranvicadugge tenent' de Rege in capite, sed per que servic' Jur' pred' ignorant, et val' per ann' xxs vid. Et Jur' pred' dic' quod David Condon infra spaciu' unius anni ante obitu' pred' Ed'di FitzGibbon intravit in pred' vill' et terr' de Garranvicadugge et fecit clameu' ad dict' vill' et terr' esse suam hereditatem.

Et Jur' pred' dic' quod p'd' Edmund McGibbon tempore vite sue seisisit fuit de feodo de vill' et terr' de Ballyngarran et Ballinvillin cont' media' p'tem unius carrucat' terr' in vill' et campis pred'; et sic inde seisisit existens ut antea p'dicit' circa festum omni' Sancto' ultimi p' terit' in anno 1607 p' dict' David Condon intravit in vill' et terr' p' dict', et de iidem terris possessionat' est huc usque clamans vill' et terr' pred' suam esse hereditatem.

Item Jur' pred' dic' quod pred' Edmund McGibbon tempore mortis sue pred' seisisit fuit de feodo talliat' viz., sibi et hered' masculis de corpore suo legitime p' creat' sive p'reand' de vill' et terr' de Pollardstown alias Ballinpollarde, continen' tertiam p'tem unius carucat' terr', ac etiam de vill' et terr' de Kyeleglasse cont' media' p'tem unius carr' terr' in com' Cork pred' quequidem vill' et terr' pred' tenent' de Rege in capite p' servic' militar' et val' p' ann' v' ster'.

Item Jur' pred' dic' quod pred' Edmund FitzGibbon tempore vite sue seisisit fuit de feodo de vill' et terr' de Dromleagh et Ballykearine cont' un' carr' terr' in com' Cork p'd', ac etiam de vill' et terr' de Ardsheallaghbeg, Ardsheallaghmore et Currvallinard

in com' pred', quas vill' et terr' pred' Edmund habuit et possidebat virtutli cujusdam feoffament' Johannis Condon alias McMawe Condon p' modum mortivadii p' summa viginti librar' ster'.

Et ulterius Jur' pred' dic' quod pred' Edmundus FitzGibbon sic ut antes seisis' existens de vill' et terr' de Dromleagh, Ballykearnie, Ardsheleaghbeg Ardsheleaghmore et Currinavallinard, per chartam suam feoffament' geren' dat' xmo die Augusti 1806 feoffavit Daniel Mc Owen Callaghane de Carrybeg gen' et Dermicium McFinin Cartie de omnibus pred' vill' terr' tenem' aliisque p'miss' ad usu' in dict' feoffament' content' cujus tenor sequit' in hec verba. Be it known unto all, etc. Et Jur' pred' dic' quod vill' et terr' et tenem' pred' tenent' de Rege in capite, sed per que servic' Jur' pred' ignor', et val' p' ann' vs ster'.

Et Jur' pred' dic' quod pred' Edmund FitzGibbon tempore mortis sue pred' seisisit fuit de feodo talliat', viz., sibi et heredibus mascul' de corpore suo, virtute l'rarum patent' ei concessar' p' nup' d'na' Reginam Elisabeth, geren' dat' xvto die Decembr' anno regni sui xxxiii, de vill' et terr' de Skairt, Kyleloyne, Killvalleremond, Kildarryvill, Ballyvestin, Ballyneghane alias Ballyveghane, Killmocolie et Philipstowne cum eor' p'tin' in com' Cork pred', que o'ia vill' terr' et ten't' p'd' cum p'tin' tenent' de Rege in capite p' servic' mil' et val' p' ann' xxx ster'.

Item Jur' pred' dic' quod p'd' Edmund FitzGibbon tempore vite sue seisisit fuit de feodo de castr' vill' et terr' de Oldcastletown, Kynelyneigh et Ballinknockan in com' Cork, et sic inde seisisit existens per chartam suam feoffament' geren' dat' tertio die Februar' 1591, feoffavit Joh'em Butler de Woodinstown in com' Tipperary gen' et Thadeum O'Meagher de Ballydwill in com' Croc' Tipperary yeoman, de pred' castr' vill' et terr' * * * ad opus et usu' Mauricii Fitz Gibbon filii p'd' Edmundi et Johanne Butler uxoris dicti Maurici' pro ter'is vitar' suar' et cujuslibet eor', et ad al' usum p'ut p' eandem chartam magis plane liquet cujus tenor sequit' in hec verba: Sciant p'tes, etc. Et Jur' pred' dic' quod cast', vill' et terr' pred' tenent' de Rege in capite, sed per que servic' Jur' ignor', et val' per ann' vs ster'.

Item Jur' pred' dic' quod quidam Arthur Hide ar' seisisit fuit de feodo de vill' terr' et ten't' de Aghcross, Templemaggie et Farrensinerine in com' Cork pred', et sic inde seisisit existens p' chartam suam gerent' dat' Lxxxviii, die Aprilis 1806, feoffavit Johannem Nash et Edmund' Hacket in mortuovadio pro summa Lxxx ster'. Habend' et tenend' eidem Joh'ni Nash et Edmundo Hacket et hered' s' ad opus et usu' pred' Mauricii FitzGibbon et Joanne Butler uxoris ejus durant' vit' eor', et post eor' et cujuslibet eor' decess' ad proprium usu' Mauricii oge fitz Maurice FitzGibbon fil' et hered' dicti Mauricii defuncti, ut p' eandem chartam magis plane liquet. Et vill' et terr' pred' tenent' de domino Rege in libero et communi soccagio.

Item Jur' pred' dic' quod pred' Edmund McGibbon tempore mortis sue pred' seisisit fuit de feodo de vill' et ter' de duabus Kiltinabins, viz. :— de vill' et terr' de Gortintarriff, Ballicully, Gortroe, Garran et Blemissine, cont' septem caruc' ter' in com' Cork pred', que o'ia p'miss' tenent' de Rege in capite, sed per que servic' Jur' pred' ignor', et val' per ann' xxx ster'.

Et ulterius Jur' dic' quod annual' reddit' xliiis liiis ster' debet' et solvend' est annuatim cuidam Joh'ni Condon alias McMawge Condon et heredibus suis de o'ibus pred' terr' etc. de Kiltinabins pred' cont' septem caruc', ac etiam extra vill' et terr' de Ballinathury, Cloghlefyne, Curraghormie et Knockanevin unacum aliis custumis etc. in quadam charta indentat' inter dict' Johannem Condon et pred' Edmund fitzGibbon gerent' dat' xto die Junii 1803, ut per eandem chartam magis plane app'et.

Et Jur' pred' dic' quod Mauricius FitzGibbon diem clausit extremu' xxiiio die April' 1808. Et ulterius Jur' pred' dic' quod Mauricius Oge fitz Maurice fitz Edmond FitzGibbon est filius et heres pred' Mauricii fitz Edmond FitzGibbon defunct'. Et insuper Jur' pred' dic' quod pred' Maurici' Oge fitz Maurice fitz Edmond fitz Gibbon est consanguineus et proximus heres pred' Edmundi FitzGibbon pred'.

Et ulterius Jur' pred' dic' quod dict' Maurici' Oge fitz Maurice fitz Edmond FitzGibbon tempore mortis patris et avi sui pred' fuit etatis undecem annor' et non maritatus. Et Jur' pred' an pred' Edmund FitzGibbon aut Maurici' FitzGibbon aut eor' alter vel aliquis alius vel aliqui alii p'sonar' sup' nom'at' in hac inquisitione habuit vel habuerunt a nup' d'na Regina vel a d'no Rege nunc licenc' vel p' donac' alien' vill' et pred' Jur' pred' ignorant.

VI.

[Referring to the note at foot of p. 706 *ante*, the following copy of the grant of Wardship of Maurice Oge FitzGibbon, the last male heir of the White Knights, has been considered worth printing.]

Jacobus dei gra' Anglie Sootie Francie et Hib'nie Rex fidei defensor, etc., om'ibus ad quos p'ntes Ire p'venerint sal'tem. Sciatis quod nos p' et in considerac'one finis trigint' libr' curr' monete Hib'nie ad manus Thome Ridgeway milit' Vicethes' ac general' receptor' n'ri d'c'i Regni n'ri Hib'nie p' dil'c'm nobis Franciscum Annesley gen' ante signac'onem p'ntiu' bene et fideliter p'solut' et deliberat', de gra' n'ra sp'iali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu n'ris, necnon de advertisament' et consensu p'dilecti et fidelis consiliarii n'ri Arthuri Chichester milit' deputati n'ri generalis d'c'i regni n'ri Hib'nie, Thome Ridgeway milit' Vicethes' ac thes' n'ri ad guerr' in eodem regno n'ro Hib'nie, Jacobi Ley milit' capitalis Justiciar, n'ri Capital place' n're regni n'ri Hib'nie Humphred' Winche milit' cap'lis Baron' sc'rii n'ri d'c'i regni n'ri Hib'nie, Anthonii Sen-i tleger Milit' mag'ri Rotulor' n'ror' d'c'i regni n'ri Hib'nie, Oliver' St John Milit' mag'ri ordinanc' n'ror' d'c'i regni n'ri Hib'nie, Galfridi Fenton milit' principal' secretar' n'ri in d'o'o regno n'ro Hib'nie, Rich'i Cooke milit' un'alter' Secretar' n'ror' d'c'i regni n'ri Hib'nie et, Jacobi Fullerton milit' unius de privat' consilio n'ro in d'c'o regno n'ro Hib'nie, Comissionar' n'ror' assignat' et l'itime authorizat' p' barganizac'on' et vendic'on' custod', ward' et maaitag' tam o'iu' et singulor' Wardor' n'ror' in d'c'o regno n'ro Hib'nie contingen' et infra etat' sub gradu baron' q'm o'iu' ter' ten't' et al' heredit' suor' in possessione vel in usu p'textu l'rar' n'rar' sigil' paten' Commis' eisdem et aliquibus quatuor eor' (quor' p'fat' deputat' n'r'm general' unu' esse volum') sub magno n'ro regni n'ri Anglie direct', geren' dat' apud Westm' s'c'do die Martii anno regni n'ri Anglie Francie et Hib'nie quarto et Scottie quadragesimo, p'ut p' easdem l'ras n'ras paten' Comission' in Rotul' Cancellar' n're d'c'i regni n'ri Hib'nie irrotulat' plenius liquet, dedimus concessimus barganizavimus et vendidimus, ac p' nob' heredit' et success' n'ris damus et concedimus, barganizamus et vendimus p'fat' Francisco Annesley et assignat' suis, custod' et firmam ward' et maritag' Mauritiu' fitzGibbon nepotis sive consangu'nei et heredi' Edmundi fitz Gibbon co'iter vocat' the White Knight defunct', viz., filii et heredi' Mauritiu' fitzGibbon defunct'; filii et heredi' d'c'i Edmundi fitzGibbon, infra etat' et custod' n'ra iam existen' absque dispragac'one, ac etiam maritagi' et Valor' et forisfactur' maritag' ip'ius p'fat' Mauritiu' fitzGibbon, Necnon custod' firmam et Ward' omniu' et singulor' Castr' maner' mess' terr' ten't' et al' possess' et heredit' quor'cu'que, unacu' reddit' exit' mediis p'fic' commoditat' revenc'on' et arrerag' inde que ad nos aliquo modo a tempore mortis p' dict' Edmundi fitz Gibbon avi dicti Mauritiu' fitz Gibbon, rac'one minoritat' ip'ius p'fat' Mauritiu' nepotis dicti Edmundi fitzGibbon co'iter vocat' the White Knight decesserunt seu decesserunt debuerunt, aut quamdiu in manibus n'ris rac'one p'dict' iam existunt vel existere debent vel debent. Ac etiam reverc'onem et reverc'ones inde cum acciderint. Damus insuper ac p' p'ntes p' nobis heredit' et success' n'ris de uberiori gra' n'ra concedimus p'fato Francisco Annesley execut' et assignat' suis plenum beneficiu' et advantagi' omniu' et o'imod' intrac'on' intrus'on' et ingress' fact' seu p'petrat' sive commiss' ante hec temp'a p' p'd' Edmundi fitz Gibbon, vel p'd' Mauritiu' fitz Gibbon patrem dicti Mauritiu', seu p' aliquos al' antecess' suos quoscunque; ac etiam omniu' et omnimod' donac'on' alienac'on' repris' statu', et o'ia et singula media p'fic' ac p'cept'on' p'fic' rac'one dict' intrusion' vel alienac'on' p' p'fat' Edmundi fitzGibbon aut Mauritiu' fitzGibbon patrem dicti Mauritiu' fitz Gibbon seu p' aliquos alios antecess' suos ante hac fact' sive p'petrat' sine licentia n'ra sive aliquor' p'genitor' seu p'decessor' n'ror' et nobis heredit' vel success' n'ris aliquo modo debet' accrescent' sive p'tinea'. Habend' et tenend' p'dict' custod' Ward' et maritag' necnon valorem et forisfactur' maritag' corp'is p'fat' Mauritiu' fitzGibbon. Ac etiam custod' firmam et Ward' o'iu' et singulor' p'dict' maner' castr' mess' terr' ten't' et al' possession' et heredit' ac ceteror' p'missor' quor'cu'que cu' p'tin' cu' o'ibus et singul' redit' exit' p'fic' et commoditat' exinde p'venien' sive crescen' unacu' reddit' exit' p'fic' revencon' commoditat' et arrerag' eor'dem et cujuslibet inde p'cell' a die mortis p'fat' Edmundi fitz Gibbon defunct' p'fat' Francisco Annesley et assignat' suis durant' minoritat' ip'ius p'fat' Mauritiu' fitz Gibbon aut quamdiu in manibus n'ris heredit' vel successor' n'ror' fore contigerint vel contigerint. Reddendo inde annuatim nobis heredit' et successoribus n'ris ad recept' Scaccarii n'ri heredit' et successor' n'ror' dicti Regni n'ri Hib'nie p' tempore existen' vel ad manus Vicethes' sive gen'al' receptor' n'ri heredit' et successor' n'ror' dicti regni n'ri Hib'nie p' tempore existen', sumam quindecim libr' octodecem solid' decem denar' ob' q' current' monete Hib'nie ad fest' sancti Mich'is Archangeli et pasche p' equales porc'nes annuatim solvend' quamdiu maner' castr' mess' terr' ten'ta et possession' et hereditam' p'dict' rac'one minoritat' ip'ius p'fat' Mauritiu' fitz Gibbon in manibus n'ris heredit' vel success' n'ris heredit' vel successor' n'ror' fore seu remanere contigerint. Necnon Reddend' annuatim nobis heredit' et success' n'ris durant' minoritat' ip'ius p'fat' Mauritiu' fitzGibbon o'es et singulos al' antiquos reddit' annual'

reservac'on' et jura nobis hered' et success' n'ris per aliquas l'ras paten' p'nos vel aliquos p'genitor sive antecess' n'ror' p'antea de p'miss' vel de aliqua inde p' cell' conces' reservat' debet' vel aliter solubil' ex p'miss' vel aliqua inde p'cell'. Et si contingat p'dict' Mauritiu' fitz Gibbon obire antequam ad plenam et legitimam etatem p'venerit, et antequam idem Franciscus Annesley vel assig' sui plenu' effectui et advantagiu' p'd' custod' ward' et maritag' ac ceteror' p'miss' sup'ius exp'ss' acceperint vel acceperit hered' vel hered' dicti Mauritiu' infra etat' existen' tunc ulterius de uberiori gra' n'ra sp'iali damus et concedimus p'fato Francisco Annesley execut' et assig' suis om' et singulor' p'd' castr' maner' terr' ten'tor' ac ceteror' p'missor' cu' o'ibus suis p'tin', ac custod' et maritag' et valor' et forisfactur' maritag' tal' hered' vel heredu' infra etat' existen' durant' minoritat' h'modi hered', et sic de hered' in hered' quousque unus dictorum hered' ad plenam et legitimam etatem p'venerit, ac quousque idem Franciscus Annesley execut' vel assignat' sui plenu' effectui maritag' unius eorum accepit vel accep'int. Reddend' annuatim nobis hered' et succ' n'ris ad recept' Scaccarii n'ri hered' et success' n'ror' dicti regni n'ri Hib'nie vel ad manus Vicethea' seu gen'al' receptor' n'ri hered' et success' n'ror' ejusd' regni Hib'nie p'temp'e existen' summam quindecim libr' octodecem solid' decem denar' ob' q' current' monete Hib'nie ad festa Sancti Mich'is arch'i et pasche p' equales por'iones annuat' solvend' ut p'fertur. Ac ulterius reddend' nobis hered' et success' n'ris annuatim durant' minoritat' tal' hered' vel hered' aut quamdiu p'd' maner' castr' mess' terr' ten't ac cetera p'miss' in manibus n'ris hered' vel success' n'ror' racone p'dict' fore contigerint, omnes et singulos dictos antiquos reddit' et annual' reservac'on' et jura nobis hered' et success' n'ris p' aliquas l'ras paten' de p'miss' aut eor' aliquo ante hac ut p'fertur reservat' debet' seu solubil'.

Ac ulterius damus, ac p' p'tes p' nobis hered' et success' n'ris, de uberiori gra' n'ra sp'iali concedimus p'fato Francisco Annesley execut' et assig' suis quod ip'i h'eant et retineant in manibus suis p'pr' de p'dict' annual' reddit' nobis in forma p'dict', p' has l'ras n'ras paten' reservat', quamdiu p'dict' terr' et ten'ta et al' possess' et hereditam' in manibus n'ris hered' vel successor' n'ror' fore et remanere contigerint, summam quinq' libr' curr' monete p'd' p' annual' allocac'on' sustent'on' manuten'con' et educac'on' p'fat' Mauritiu' fitz Gibbon aut tal' alerius hered' vel hered' ut p'fertur durant' minoritat' sua et ipsor' cujuslibet. Et ulterius p'dictus Franciscus Annesley et assig' sui manutenebunt et educabunt seu manuteneri vel educari causabunt p'dict' Mauritiu' fitz Gibbon vel aliquem aliu' hered' ut p'fertur in religione in Anglia doct' et allocat', et in apparat' et habit' Anglican' in Collegio Sancte Trinitat' juxta Dublin ab anno etat' sue duodecimo donec p'implebit plenam etatem octodecem Annor'. Non obstant' statut' in p'liament' apud Westm' Anno regni Domini Henrici nuper regis Anglie Sexti p'decessor' n'ri decimo octavo edit' et in regno n'ro Hib'nie postea inter al' auctoritat' p'liament' confirmat' et stabilit', quod nulle l're patentes fiant alicui p'sone vel aliquibus p'sonis de aliquibus terr' vel ten't' antequam Inquisic'on' de tituli Domini Regis in eisd' compt' sit' in cancell' vel Scaccario returnat' si titulus Domini Regis in eisdem non sit compt' neq' infra mensem post eund' returnat' si non sit illi vel illis qui p'fert vel p'ferunt suam traversiam. Et si alicui l're paten' fuer' in contrar' inde vacue sint et p' nullis h'eantur ut in statuto p'dicto continetur. Aliquo alio statuto act' ordinac'on' sive p'vis' in contrariu' in aliquo non obstant'. Eo quod exp'ssa menico etc. In cujus rei testimoni'w' has l'ras n'ras fieri fecimus paten'. Teste p'fat' deputato n'ro generali Regni n'ri Hib'nie apud Dublin, decimo tertio die Junii Anno regni n'ri Anglie Franc' et Hib'nie sexto, et Scotie quadragesimo primo.—(*Patent Roll, Ireland, 6 Jas. I., part I.*)

VII.

[In a "Book of Memoranda of Decisions of the Court of Claims, 1863," preserved in the Auditor General's Collection in the Public Record Office of Ireland, some curious notes regarding the Mac-an-tsen-Ridderly Branch of the Fitzgibbons are given, which are here printed.]

534.

Wednesday 22 July, 1863.

Gibbon fitzGibbon et mater.

Bagot o. c. (opens claim?). Cooke pro Oliver.

For Maur. Gibbon we goe to Articles; but for the Jointure now.

Dennis Hifferran sworn. Knew the Claimant wife of Morish fitzGibbon. At Dunmone when the English marcht that way she came to the Irish garison and desired them to goe and keep the pass. Some of the English killed and their armes and clotnes were brought to her house, and she gave them 5s. for them. The 1st summer of war she received the goods of some English at Loghkirr.

John Carew sworn. He agrees with Hifferran.

Robert Dalton sworn. Knew Compl't live at Dunmon, "a garison for the Irish."

David Condon sworn. Cap. Lewis Griffin (as Hiffernan ^{sd}) promised him £20.
Robert Bandon sworn. N. (nil?).

E. p. q. (Evidence for complts?).

Mr. — Grady sworn. From March to June bes[ieged] in the castle of Logher.
Sr Ed. fitzHarris sworn. Ro. Goose this day told the dep^t that Hiffernan said that he was to have £20, but he would not take it in cattle as he would pay it.
Court. Let Robert Goose be brought in court in 2 days' time before they give their judgment.

An order for the woman Onora ny Gillerough to be brought in likewise.

Friday the 24th July, 1663.

Gibbon fitzGibbon.

Robert Goose sworn. He was sum^a ere yesterday. Came to towne against his will. Mett Capt. Griffin, and he said that he had Hiffernan to be a witnes. The night he came to towne he went to the Blackbul, and Hiffernan came hither and bid him welcome. From thence to another house, and ther mett with Mo. OBryen, and went to drinke. Then came Capt. Parker. They askt dep^t what brought him to towne. Hiffernan said he was to have £20 for his testimony. But they were to have cattle at their rate. Dep^t tould Sr E. Fitzharis of this business, and would not tel it if he thought he would have tould it.

6th August, 1663.

[] Gibbon. Court. The sonne to Articles. Ajudge Ell. Int Papist.
Restore to Jointure according to Proof.

[The decisions of the Commissioners, as far as concerns the claims of some of the Limerick and Cork Fitzgibbons ousted by the Usurping Government, are specified in a Book (also belonging to the Auditor General's Collection), entitled "The names of such Irish as had decrees from the Court of Claims." The following extracts are worth publishing.

"Gibbon fitz Morrice Gibbon
of Dunmore (sic).

County: Limerick.

Lands claimed:

By descent in the Barr. of Costlea, 4 Plowlands and 3 parts of a Plowland, all of the large country measure, of the yearly value of £410 sterling. Item, Purchased the 4th part of a plowland and 8th part of a plowland, of the yearly value of £28 sterling from one Gerratt fitzGerald. The castle town and lands of Ballynard, containing $\frac{1}{2}$ a Plowland, a lease for 58 years. Item, severall mortgages amounting to £700.

Qualification:

Seventh [Article.]

Lands Decreed:

800 acres in lieu of the said lands and mortgages.

Claymants name:

John fitzGerald Gibbon of Bealhanaskaddane.

County:

Limerick.

Lands claymed:

The lands of Bealhanaskaddane and Corbally, containing one plowland and a halfe, and 800 plantation acres of arrable meadowe and pasture, and 100 acres of turbarry, of the yearly value of £150 ster. The lands of Rathkellane, containing 60 plantation acres, profitable lands, of the yearly value of £10.

Qualification:

Seventh [Article].

Lands decreed:

200 acres.

In the County of Cork Ellinor Gibbon relict of Maurice Gibbon of Garrynegrath, and Maurice his son and heir, claim 34 plowlands under the seventh Article; the award being 200 acres to Ellinor during her life, reversion to Maurice her son.

Richard Gibbon of Kiltwoge, gent, claimed under the 7th Article Kiltwoge, Ballyhoe and Ballyhenry, and was decreed 288 acres; and Katherine Gibbon of the Barony of Kilmore claimed a joynture of a plowland under the eighth Article, and was decreed 50 acres.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT a QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held at the Museum,
Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, July 26th,
1882 :

THE REV. CHARLES A. VIGNOLES in the Chair ;

The following Members were elected :—

E. O'Shea, Callan.

P. M. Egan, High-street, Kilkenny.

Joseph Friselle, Post Office, Kilkenny.

The Rev. James Graves laid on the table a crucifix and beads of silver and glass. It was no doubt about two hundred years old at least. The large silver beads on it were of two kinds, one oblong, in the form of a double cone—the other globular, with small annulets round the holes for the cord. There was in their Museum a set of ancient jet beads, found in the north of the Co. Kilkenny, of form closely resembling these on the rosary of the double cone and globular fashion; and in the Royal Irish Academy Museum are gold beads of a similar form. These jet and gold beads are generally supposed to be prehistoric, they bear a striking resemblance to these seventeenth century rosary beads. The beads and crucifix, now added to the Museum, had been sold for the silver to a jeweller in Kilkenny.

Mr. O'Shea presented a small oblong lozenge-shaped object like a saltcellar. It was carved in white stone,

moulded at the sides, and had four low prominences on the bottom serving as feet. It was found in a field near the old church of Tullaghany, Co. Kilkenny.

Mr. W. J. Gillespie presented sixty-nine standard weights of Ireland, two siege pieces, or money of necessity, in copper, struck in Ireland about 1644; also a collection of sixteen Hiberno-Danish silver coins. A hoard of these coins had been found near Baltinglas, in the county of Wicklow, and Mr. Gillespie had secured eighty-four—being, as he believes, the entire of the find. They seemed to be all struck by the Danish kings of Dublin, but the greater part had not been identified; but there were coins of Sittric II. and IV.; Aulaff, or Anlaff, V. or VI.; Ifar III.; and Regnold III.; ranging from A.D. 982 to 1125. The coins, though not in many instances decipherable, were just as they came from the die, the edges being extremely sharp, and so must have been hidden almost immediately after being minted.

The Rev. James Graves remarked that he had some years ago seen a hoard of about forty Hiberno-Danish coins, which presented the same sharpness and unworn condition. At the time he erroneously considered that this indicated that the coins were forgeries, and he refused to purchase them; but he believed that he was mistaken in suspecting that they were specimens of the art of modern forgers of antiquities. It was curious to speculate as to the cause of this. These Hiberno-Danish coins were the earliest, indeed it may be said the only, coins minted in Ireland before the Anglo-Norman conquest, and the silver was very pure. Did the Irish, unused to coinage as a mode of exchange, refuse to use them?

Dr. Caulfield contributed a genealogical and historical poem, entitled "Lord Mount Cashell's Elegy; first sung in Irish by Dermot M'Carthy, about the year 1721 or 1724, and now translated into English by Michael Longan, for the use and amusement of Justin M'Carthy, Carrignavar, Esq., An. Dom., 1812." It was found amongst old papers in a box, containing correspondence, bonds, receipts, &c., in an unused chamber at the top of Carrignavar House. It was

usual in ancient times for bards to sing the praises of their lords, which seems to have been continued in this family from ancient times. This is probably one of the latest incidents we have of a national poet celebrating the high descent and ancestral deeds of an ancient Irish family. The Irish tongue had ceased already to be the medium of such topics; so a poet in the person of a translator interpreted the ancient deeds enumerated in that language, which was at once one of song and sorrow. It is to be observed that its most jubilant strains are often overshadowed with a strain of mourning in the next stanza, of which the poem contains fifty-four. On the fly-leaf we have the following genealogy:—

“Justin M’Robert, M’Daniel, M’Daniel, M’Charles, M’Daniel, M’Charles, who was 33 years in the Lordship of Musgry, died in Blarney Castle, Anno Domⁱ. 1616, and was buried in Kilcrea. *Vide* the genealogy of that Noble Family by Dermot M’Carthy in the year 1721. This Dermot was a learned Gentleman, a fine Linguist & a Poet. His brother Denⁱ M’Carthy was R. C. B. of Corke, in y^e year 1724.”

“MOUNT CASHELL’S ELEGY.

“Lord Mount Cashell’s Elegy, first sung in Irish by Dermot M’Carthy, about the year 1721 or ’24, and now translated into English by Michael Longan, for the use and amusement of Justin M’Carthy, of Carrignavar, Esq. Anno. Domⁱ., 1812:—

I.

“I noble Justin thus by fate bemoan
Thou prince of Erin’s race, as fame do own.
A champion bold, whose martial feats we find
All over Europe, flew with every wind.

II.

A brigadier experienced and renowned,
Master of Lewis’ camp with laurels crown’d,
A marshal whose abilities were great,
That made his foes before him to retreat.

III.

Your death for ever melts my heart in woe;
Your strong arm, that often beat the foe,
Supporting still your noble family’s name,
And to your country won a lasting fame.

IV.

Death wounding thee, has grieved my heart most sore ;
 Of hopes bereft, I'm left for ever more ;
 There's not one honest man in Ireland found,
 But does with me lament this mortal wound.

V.

Thou general great, who from thy infant years
 Train'd up to arms was taught to brave all fears,
 From what you performed in the field of Mars,
 I did not think that thus you'd quit the wars.

VI.

To exchange your armour for a sorry shroud,
 Sinks down my spirits never to be proud.
 In experience, bravery, and other famous things,
 This noble chief exceeded many kings.

VII.

Our Irish Fioun, that often did prevail ;
 Osgar the strong, that never turned tail ;
 Connell M'Neill, that tyrants did destroy ;
 Or the son of Thetis, at the siege of Troy.

VIII.

The shield and helmet of Milesians old,
 Poor Erin's darling and her gamecock bold,
 The chief protector of the Church and State,
 Tho' cross'd in all by dire unlucky fate.

IX.

Thy hand in combats often bore the sway,
 And brought the spoils of conquer'd foes away ;
 Thy death in Bourbon costs me many a tear,
 Where relatives or friends but few were near.

X.

My love, my all, tho' it will renew my pains,
 Your Elegy I'll sing in doleful strains,
 As ne'er was sung for any prince before
 Here, or in France, nor will for evermore.

XI.

No wonder if I would your fate deplore,
 And sing your praise to Erin's shelly shore ;
 Thirty kings in splendour and renown
 Here sway'd the sceptre and Hibernia's crown,
 Of y^r ancestors, as chronicles do own.

XII.

If all our ancient learn'd bards had lived,
 And were from penal pestering laws reliev'd,
 I would set them sure, should they in chorus meet,
 To sing your Elegy sublime and sweet,
 As Dermot w^d could he the Muses greet.

XIII.

The great Mont Cashell well deserv'd the same,
And that in golden characters of fame,
Well penn'd on parchm^t to the end of time,
From poet's best, that ever wrote a rhyme.

XIV.

In losing thee Hibernia is no more,
Her glory's gone and all her joys are o'er.
Her meads adventurers have shared and mown
Among themselves, as if 'twas all their own.

XV.

And not one with them, contending for his right,
Of Helen's race or Herimon's on sight.
Since you in the coffin was, alas! laid low
Tyrants may rest secure, and that they know.

XVI.

Curst be the death that process'd him so soon,
This chief, that put all Ireland in a gloom
Until he'd see his 70th year of age—
A year that millions quit this mortal stage.

XVII.

Thou murderous death, that did commit this deed,
By waters thus as sickness for to bleed,
To come before him with a sword in hand,
And kill him then, w^d put thee to a stand.

XVIII.

Thou treacherous cur and bloodthirsty thief,
If the gods but knew y^r view for this chief,
Comets w^d blaze, enlightening every coast,
To avert the murder of old Erin's boast.

XIX.

Rattling thunders roll and winds would blow,
Stars in disorder, rivers cease to flow,
Rocks w^d split, and waves w^d loudly roar,
And nature in confusion and uproar.

XX.

Mushery Mountain down in vallies brought,
And Kerry Hills w^d sink themselves to nought,
The Lake of Blarney transformed into blood,
And the River Lee extend its awful flood.

XXI.

Lough Lene in woe o'erflow the country round,
And sweep the flocks from off the fertile ground.
'Twas there at first y^r vital breath you drew,
And there I first your manly person knew.

XXII.

Carrig-na-ngeelach in a mournful face,
 Carrig-an-drohid burst upon the place,
 Carrig-na-muck w^d moulder into sand,
 And Carrig-na-var could not its grief withstand.

XXIII.

The goddesses of this enchanted lake
 Did at your birth y^r nursing undertake,
 Endowing you with such heroic courage bold,
 As not to flinch tho' millions had controul'd.

XXIV.

Mars did gift you with his arms bright,
 Pallas with wisdom for to act most right,
 Not to give back but charge the foe on aight,
 And fall or conquer in the fatal fight.

XXV.

Alas ! your death has caused my tears to flow,
 And gave poor Ireland this one final blow ;
 Thou son of Heber, that heroes did subdue,
 And intruding foes did banish and pursue.

XXVI.

In Erin's defence for three thousand years,
 The many battles fought with swords and spears,
 Against the Danes and other powers that sought
 To strip them of their right, they brought to nought.

XXVII.

Nor w^d they tamely strike for England's might,
 'Till weakened were by dire domestic fight ;
 Intestine wars, fomented by the foe,
 Immerg'd our Irish chieftains all in woe.

XXVIII.

Although I lost a gallant troop that way,
 Of my own sons and loving friends most gay,
 I never despaired, but full of mirth and glee
 Kept up my hopes still, still expecting thee.

XXIX.

Thy rents in Cashell thou promis'd I should take,
 Although you early did the whole forsake ;
 It was not you that w^d not this perform,
 But th' avenging wrath of God that's here inform.

XXX.

There's no philosopher or prophet wise
 Could tell our loss, our sorrow, or surprise ;
 From sad misfortunes, I see daily breed,
 I forgive Heber's royal race and seed.

XXXI.

Together with each dire oppression sore,
That caused our youth to quit their native shore,
What went with you of 'em into France and Spain,
Who have they now to bring them back again ?

XXXII.

Oh ! Cashel sweet, thou consecrated place,
What sable cloud is that before thy face,
That chang'd your visage, once so bright and clear,
And parted you from y^r Milesians dear.

XXXIII.

No M'Carthy shall possess thee again,
Tho' long the're wedded to thy verdant plain,
For your choice, Mont Cashel, now you may declare
Of England's spurious, clownish breed with care.

XXXIV.

Give up all thoughts of Heber's as before,
Since brave and valiant Justin is no more,
My Hector bold against these E—— toads,
That have of late infected Erin's coasts.

XXXV.

Great Core M'Luigh's right and lawful heir,
Who first built Cashel and was monarch there :
Eogan More, his son and heir likewise,
And Olololim's cousin in the rise.

XXXVI.

To Callaghan, Cashel, thou wert near akin,
Who banished Danes and mighty fame did win.
To the Red-Hand Luigh, who in Ire^ld once did reign,
And to fair Heber of the Golden Rein.

XXXVII. :

Mille, whose sons first Ireland did obtain,
Son of Bille, valiant king of Spain.
Great Gadelus, son of Scots fair,
Your kinsman was, as chronicles declare.

XXXVIII.

You them resembled in your actions brave ;
You were like them in y^r councils grave ;
Your person, gait, and bold majestic mein,
Were all like theirs, as might at once be seen.

XXXIX

Thou in the army won applause and fame
Among the kings, where'er then you came ;
Your blood and merit placed y^eself as one,
Thou son of Donogh, that made war alone.

XL.

Munster's tribute it was his right to take,
 And rule that part, if bards do not mistake.
 When compell'd by superior force to yield,
 He got conditions ere he left the field,
 Yet not fulfilled, tho' he threw away his shield.

XLI.

You Musgry dames, why don't I hear y^r ories
 From all your hills, to rend the very skies ?
 Or are ye at all concerned for this chief,
 Who led y^r youth such glory to achieve ?

XLII.

In wit, respect and person, stout and brave,
 In skill at arms, laws and counsels grave,
 In learning rich, and eloquent in words,
 Mount Caahel of camps and golden-hilted swords.

XLIII.

Nor was O'Donnell nor O'Neill announ'ed,
 Nor O'Sullivan Beare for fame renown'd,
 Nor a M'Carthy, that came of their flow'r,
 In favour with kings like him, nor in power.

XLIV.

King Charles once your actions did admire,
 King James did show you friendship and desire,
 From the King of Denmark you got the highest post,
 And Lewis advanc'd to command his host.

XLV.

The Prince of Baden felt your conquering arm ;
 You took the Pass and did himself disarm ;
 You took the field, the camp and baggage all,
 And caused a thousand of his men to fall.

XLVI.

Marquis de Boniard, famed for martial deeds,
 You took him prisoner in his fort as needs ;
 The town you gained in spite of all their might,
 And won the gold together with the fight.

XLVII.

'Twas in your mind to visit Gothia plain,
 And Scythia in w^{ch} y^r ancestors did reign,
 Another place you'd visit in their turn,
 Disturb their peace and cause them for to mourn.

XLVIII.

Sad news in Munster, ever to be told,
 That all y^r lands are published to be sold
 To the highest bidder, that comes next the way,
 A sign that death did you a visit pay.

XLIX.

I more expected you to come with speed,
With ships enough and troops to effect such deeds
As would astonish B——, and drive them far from hence,
And leave to us our own inheritance.

L.

Alas ! my hopes death did at once destroy,
I never shall that pleasure now enjoy ;
Clare nor Lucan will return no more,
And we must bear those Penal Laws most sore.

LI.

I beg of you, my Omnipotent Lord,
Who created me by Thy sweet holy word,
To grant to Donough a long and happy life,
Free from jars, impertinence, and strife.

LII.

Your loving friends and loving kinsmen dear,
The remnant still of them existing here,
Their trees are withered and their fruit grown old,
Since stript of you, their shield and Hector bold.

LIII.

I pity, too, our countrymen abroad,
Their lives to them I think not worth a groat,
Who in following thee impending death despised,
And fought with valour the battles you proscribed.

LIV.

My band of heroes, Heber's royal race,
Tho' now laid up, they merit no disgrace.
I cry'd enough, of that I now shall cease,
Their souls may rest in sweet eternal peace."

THE EPITAPH.

"Ireland's Phenix, Munster's chiefest boast,
A pearl of Heber's race, whose fame we toast,
Deep in this earth now lies, under this massy stone,
The valiant Justin, Donogh's son alone.

Requiescat in Pace."

Mr. W. F. Wakeman contributed the following account of some Prehistoric Remains, recently discovered in the Co. Tyrone:—

“As Hon. Local Sec. for Enniskillen district, I beg to report to the Association a most remarkable discovery, made at a place called ‘Broughderg,’ Co. Tyrone, of a large sepulchral vase, which upon examination was found to contain a smaller vase or ‘cup.’ The larger vessel was unfortunately destroyed, but its companion, two views of which drawn half the size of the original are here presented, has been preserved entire.

“The first intimation which I received of this interesting ‘find’ was conveyed in a letter addressed to me by the Rev. J. K. O’Doherty, P. P. of Newtownstewart, Co. Tyrone; I at once replied, requesting to be favoured with a detailed account of the discovery. In the meantime the little vessel had been kindly forwarded to Enniskillen for my inspection. Father O’Doherty was good enough at once to write to the Rev. J. Moyes, curate of Lower Bodoney, the parish in which the urns occurred, and that gentleman lost no time in placing himself in communication with the actual finder, the substance of whose reply is as follows. The figures, it may be observed, refer to questions which I had begged the Rev. J. K. O’Doherty, through his friend, to present to the finder, Mr. M. Mulholland:—

“‘1. I found the urns on the 28th of March, 1880.

“‘2. The small urn was full of decayed bones.

“‘3. The larger urn was full of bones much more decayed.

“‘4 and 5. There are some small bits of the large urn to be had yet.

“‘6. The vessels were enclosed in a kind of stone chamber, consisting of a broad flat stone on the top, and a smaller flat stone on the bottom, with a stone standing at the side, about 6 feet high by 2 feet wide. About 3 feet of this stone was above the surface, and 3 feet below.

“‘7. The urns were found about 50 perches from Granua’s Grave.’

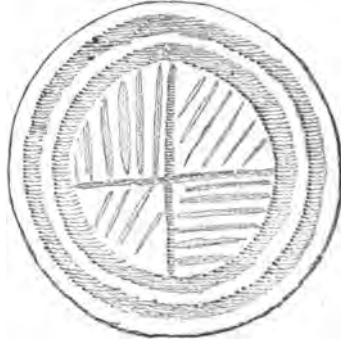
“It would appear, from the same authority, that some time ago a second large urn, containing decayed bones, was found at a distance of about 30 perches from the vase-bearing chamber just referred to. By the side of it stood a ‘large long stone,’ and close to it a quantity of bones ‘mixed with some stuff like ashes, and covered over with a large flag.’

“Early in the spring of the present year I was very hospitably invited by Father O’Doherty to visit Newtownstewart, from which place he proposed that we should together visit Broughderg, and view the antiquities to which I now beg to draw attention. Unfortunately I was obliged to go alone, clerical duties unexpectedly presenting themselves to keep my kind host at home.

“Before proceeding further, I may here notice the little urn, food vessel, or ‘cup,’ the discovery of which has at last drawn attention to the very interesting antiquities of the neighbourhood in which it was found. The uppermost figure represents the bottom of the vessel. The design is very curious, and almost unique, consisting of a double depressed

circle enclosing the figure of a cross, in each quadrant of which appear an array of lines, which would seem originally to have been six in number. It is true that one of the spaces contains only four of such strokes, and another but five, however fields for the missing lines, which may possibly have been worn away, remain. The lower etching represents the appearance of the side. Both figures are given half the size of the original. The material is very fine clay, of a deep yellow-ocherish or reddish shade, resembling the finest terra cotta ware. Small vessels of this class have, in a very few instances, been recorded as having been found in Ireland, either within an urn, or in the plain earth, or in a cist. It would appear that in Britain they are not uncommon; and it is evident that they had had some connexion with burial usages. The Rev. Canon Greenwell (our highest authority on the subject of British barrows), to whom I had forwarded a drawing of the subject under notice, has been kind enough to reply as follows:—‘The small vessel, to which the name of “Incense Cup” has been given, is a very fine specimen, and rather larger than ordinary. These vessels have very frequently perforations on the side, varying in number from two to twenty-seven. Most frequently they have two or four; in the latter case two on one side, and two opposite. They are usually found laid on the top of a deposit of burnt bones, either in a cinerary urn, in a cist, or where the bones have simply been placed without any protecting cover. Sometimes they occur amongst the bones; and if they themselves contain any bones, those are only such as necessarily got into the vessel from the circumstances of its position.’ As far as I am aware, not a single example of these so-called incense vessels with perforated sides has hitherto been discovered in Ireland. The other day, indeed, a gentleman, connected with the Engineering Department of our Great Northern Railway, while examining some ‘ballast,’ which had been ‘shot’ near the Enniskillen station, picked up, from amongst the gravel, a piece of pottery, which appears to have belonged to such a vessel. This I hope soon to lay before a Meeting of our Association. It is composed exactly of the same material as that of the Brough-derg specimen, and, curiously enough, came from the neighbourhood of Newtownstewart, where the gravel called ‘ballast’ is at present being procured.

“Our Associate, Mr. Kinahan, has suggested to me that little vessels



Side, and bottom of Vase found at Brough-derg.
Half the real size.

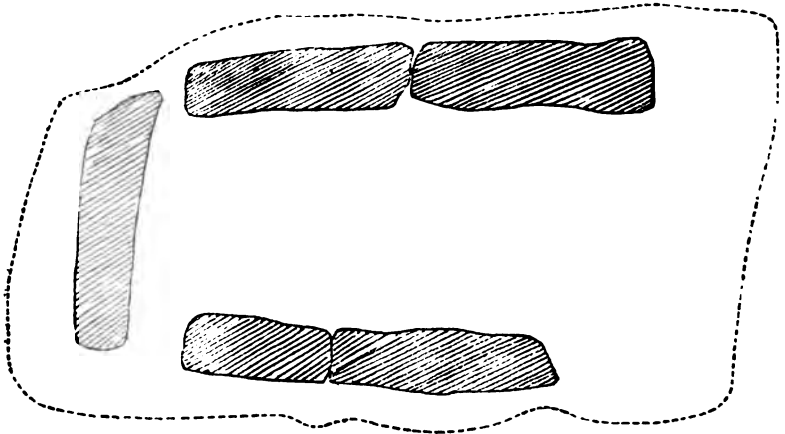
of the Drum-derg type were said to have been used as lachrymatories, or receptacles for tears to be preserved in honour of the dead. He did not state that he concurred in such an opinion.

"The large vessel in which our specimen was found was of very coarse clay, reddish externally and internally, but burnt to a perfect black in the thickness of its sides and base. From the smallness of the fragments remaining at the time of my visit, all I can say is, that it had been very rudely ornamented. It was probably about ten inches in diameter at its greatest breadth, and was enclosed in a cist, measuring internally, as nearly as possible, thirteen inches square. I may observe that the place was not perfectly symmetrical, as may be seen by the accompanying plan. It is a great pity that the pillar stone, described by Mr. Mulholland, no longer exists.



Cist, with its covering-stone, at Brough-derg, showing the position of the urn.

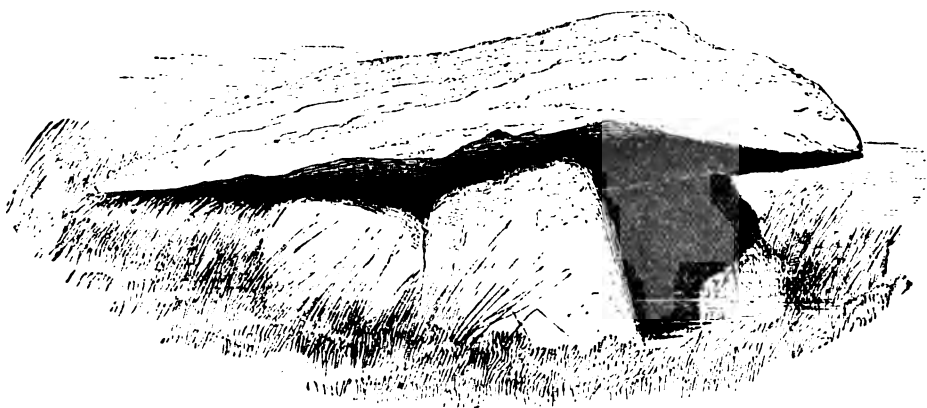
"About fifty perches from the cist, in a westerly direction, deeply sunk in the bog, occurs a very fine specimen of the cromleac. It is



Plan of Cromleac at Brough-derg.

styled by the Irish-speaking people of the district, *Leaba-Dhiarnada-agus-Grainne*, but some of the natives call it 'Granua's Bed' only. As it is at all times full of water, an examination of its floor has not been

made. It consists apparently of six stones, five of which support a table, or covering flag, the latter measuring 8 feet in length, by 4½ feet in breadth; the greatest thickness being 1 foot. The material is what Northerners call 'whin.' Close by is a monument, perfectly similar in size and in the number of stones of which it is composed, and like the former it is full of water and bog-stuff.



Cromlech at Brough-derg.

"Further down the hill is a very rude cairn, enclosed by a rough circle of stones. It goes by the singular name of the 'Gray Mare's Load.' There is a ridiculous story about this heap: that it was being brought from a distance by St. Patrick, for church-building purposes, but that, owing to misconduct of some kind on the part of its conductors, it had to be dropped on the spot where it now stands."

The Rev. J. K. O'Doherty has lately forwarded for my inspection a piece of iron pyrites, which was found by Mr. Mulholland amongst the burnt bones and other contents of the Brough-derg cist. It is in form a perfect cube, and of about the size of an ordinary die, such as is used by backgammon players. Objects of this material have sometimes been found in British barrows in juxtaposition with portions of flint. The two, taken together, are supposed by Canon Greenwell, and other English antiquaries, to be simply "flint and steel." This is the first time, as far as I know, that pyrites has been noticed as occurring in an Irish cist. Whether at Brough-derg it was accompanied by a flint it is now impossible to determine, as the contents of the cist have been widely scattered. Mr. Mulholland does not appear to have noted anything of the kind; but then such an article would not be likely to attract the attention of an unscientific explorer. Our example of the "steel" was found on trial to be well adapted for the production of sparks from a flint.

George H. Kinahan, M.R.I.A., sent the following notice of an urn, found in a tuam at Ballykale, Co. Wexford.

"The northern portion of the county of Wexford appears to be rich in prehistoric interments, and numerous cinerary urns have been found from time to time at the south-east side of moates, or in the south-east bank of raths, or in small tuams. A list, as far as it could be collected, has been given in a paper, recently read by me before the Royal Irish Academy, 'on Sepulchral and other Prehistoric Remains in the Cos. Carlow, Wicklow, and Wexford.' Unfortunately these urns rarely have been preserved, and of those found we have been only able to get bits of a handsome unique (both in ornament and shape) urn, found in Cummer, on the borders of the Co. Wicklow, and one of the urns found some years ago by Mr. Dean Pierce in Ballykale, two miles south of Gorey. For the following description of the find I am indebted to his son, Mr. Roger Pierce.

"Mr. Dean Pierce was improving his farm at Ballykale, and squaring the fields. Near one of the fences there was a heap of clay and stones, which was supposed to be the remains of a limekiln, this they carted away, and underneath found a flag as if covering a shore. Under the flag



Urn found at Ballykale, Co. Wexford.

was a square stone box (kistvean) containing an urn which was broken while clearing the place out. Adjoining this kistvean, however, there was a second, this they opened more carefully, and from it was taken the urn; a side view of which, one half the size of original, is given in the accompanying engraving."

Miss Hickson sends the following:—

“When I was writing the pedigree of the Knights of Kerry, and the notes to the History of the Mac Shan Ruddy in 1874 and 1875, the following documents escaped my notice. As they possess a certain historical as well as genealogical interest, I now send them. They are taken from the Cromwellian Books of Orders and References on Petitions, lately transferred from the Birmingham Tower, Dublin Castle, to the Public Record Office, Dublin. I am sorry to say the petitions themselves are not forthcoming. They are said to have been destroyed in the fire of 1711, which injured Sir W. Petty's maps. I cannot help, by the way, calling attention to the appropriation by Mr. Joseph Forster, in his genealogical collections, of the above-mentioned pedigree of the Knights of Kerry. The said pedigree was the first complete and accurate one of the Knights of Kerry and Cloyne that ever appeared in print. It cost me months of tedious and minute research amongst the State Papers in London and Dublin, the MSS. at Glanleam, Valentia, lent to me by the late Knight of Kerry, the Penrose-Fitz Gerald papers, and other private collections, and Mr. A. Fitz Gibbon spared no expense in the work. Mr. Forster, it is needless to say, would have been quite justified in copying the pedigree, provided he stated that he had copied it from the original in the ‘Journal’ for 1876. But this he has omitted to do. He has, as I have said, appropriated it wholesale without one word of acknowledgment. Dr. Smith, in his ‘History of Kerry,’ severely condemned this form of literary piracy.”

(*Athlone, 19th June, 1655.*)

“Upon consideration of the above petition of Gibbon Fitz Maurice the elder, and of the report of Col. Purefoy and Mr. Clarke thereupon, humbly offering that, for reasons therein set forth, they consider him capable of any favour that may be extended unto such persons as to their being exempted from the general rules touching transplantation into Connaught or Clare. It is hereby ordered that the said Gibbon be dispensed with from transplantation as aforesaid, of which all whom it doth or may concern are to take notice.”

(*Council Chamber, Dub., 25th Dec., 1657.*)

“Whereas, John Fitz Gerald, Esq., commonly called the Knight of Kerry, by his humble petition to this board, hath set forth that by reason of the generality of one clause in the late Act of Attainder of the Rebels in Ireland, fol. 4, who have not manifested their constant good affection, and obtained judgment thereof, etc., he and his heirs may be drawn into question for his estate, and exposed to reproach and ruin, in regard he hath not obtained a judgment or decree for the manifestation of his constant good affection to the interest of the Commonwealth of England, as by the said Act is declared, notwithstanding all the declarations and testimonials of such his affection being active and passive, made by the successive chief magistrates of this nation on his behalf; and thereupon praying that his said estate may be secured unto him and his heirs, etc. The Lord Deputy and Council having considered thereof, and of several orders formerly made on his behalf, as also of the

letter of the late Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, dated 17th May, 1654, directed to his Highness's Council in England, certifying their lordships that the good report they received from persons of integrity concerning the petitioner, both in relation to his manifold sufferings under the barbarous Irish rebels, for his affection to the English and Protestants, and his adherence to the English and their interest, the protecting of divers English Protestants in the country from the rage and cruelty of the rebels; and being entrusted by the late Lord Deputy Ireton to manage with others the public affairs of the place, as Commissioner of Revenue, performing faithfully that service, appeared so evidently, that it was the sense of the Committee of officers to whom the Examination thereof was referred, that the petitioner deserved to be ranked and put into equal capacity with the English, in what civil freedom and liberty his condition is capable of, and that he be repaid what his estate there exceeded the English in assessments, since the county was reduced, and that some mark of favour be conferred on him, as a manifestation of his affection to the English interest, by enjoying the privileges aforesaid (notwithstanding his being a native of Ireland and a Roman Catholic), which they conceive suitable to justice, and his deserving. Upon all which the board is satisfied. And for that upon the said grounds the petitioner's lands have not been surveyed as forfeited lands, or disposed of for satisfaction of the arrears of the army, but for the reasons before mentioned, have continued in possession thereof, and received the rents and profits hitherto. It is held fit and reasonable that the estate properly and of right belonging unto the said John Fitz Gerald, in the county of Kerry, be continued in his possession as formerly, and that he be permitted to have and receive the rents and profits thereof accordingly, whereof all persons concerned are to take notice."

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT the GENERAL QUARTERLY MEETING, held at the Museum, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, October 25th, 1882 :

THE REV. CHARLES A. VIGNOLES, M.A., in the Chair,

The following Fellow was elected :—

Major W. G. Wood-Martin, Sligo.

The following Members were elected :—

John Carmichael Ferrall, Barrister-at-law, Augher Castle, Augher, Co. Tyrone.

Rev. W. Hanlon, Rectory, Inishannon.

Mr. Robertson presented, on behalf of Mr. Friselle, a pierced amber bead found at Baleen, between Downpatrick and the sea coast. It was turned up by the plough in a field. It was a beautiful specimen of amber, of an oval shape, and somewhat larger than a good-sized horse-chestnut.

Mr. Smithwick presented two sculptures found during the progress of some sewerage works at Kilcreen.

The Rev. Mr. Graves said it was probable that one of the stones might have formed part of the Rothe monument at Kilcreen.

Mr. Robertson thought that the other was of Portland stone, and represented a portion of a lion.

Mr. J. Blair Browne reported that a fine specimen of the class of standing stones, at Brownstown, near Kilkenny, on the property of Sir Charles Cuffe, had fallen.

It was surprising the slight foundation it had. There was scarcely six inches of it in the ground. It was knocked down by the cattle using it as a rubbing-stone.

Rev. Mr. Graves presented, on the part of Mr. Charles Budds, a small copper coin, about the size of a farthing, an English coin of one of the Edwards. It was found at the bottom of a pit, which seemed to have served as a kitchen midden, in a pitcher, which was supposed to have been full of coins of the sort, on the grounds of Mr. Budds, St. Mullins, close to the Abbey there.

Mr. Robert Day, jun., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., contributed the following Paper upon an Irish Chalice of Silver :—

In our April number for 1881, I attempted to describe some pieces of Cork-made seventeenth century silver plate. Since then I have purchased from Mr. Donegan, of Dublin, a silver chalice and paten, as used in the Roman Catholic Church. The chalice rests upon an octagonal base and shank, with a knop of as many sides, and terminates in a plain circular cup. The only attempt at engraved ornamentation is a leaf pattern border round the base, and a representation of the Crucified Redeemer, with some of the emblems of the Passion—the pincers, the hammer, and the ladder of seven steps; between the engraved border and the edge is the following inscription :—

“PRAY FOR Y^e GOOD INTINTION OF MARY GABRIEL
SKERRET WHO PROCURED Y^e CHALICE & A VESTIMENT
FOR Y^e USE OF HER NEPHEW FR MARK SKERRETT 1732.”

The maker's stamps and town-marks occur upon the base of the chalice and on the edge of the cup. They are the letters R I, an anchor, and the same letters again repeated. These also occur upon the paten. The chalice unscrews and comes in three pieces, and both weigh 10 oz. 8 dwt. I have been unable to give these town-marks a location. The town-mark of Birmingham is the anchor, but our chalice was made long before this emblem was granted to the capital of the midland counties. None of the authorities on silver plate that I have consulted give a similar mark. The character of the letters prove that it is not foreign; and Galway, being a seaport town and having a Goldsmiths' Guild, and the chalice having come from there, I think it highly probable that it is a specimen of Galway manufacture.

The arms of the Corporation of Goldsmiths in Galway occurs on one of the tombstones there, in proof that such a guild existed.

I regret that I have not a correspondent in Galway that would help me in ascertaining some particulars of the history of this guild, but I

hope the publication of this Paper will enable some of our members residing there to clear up the matter. I have already, in treating of the Cork town-marks, compared the state of Ireland in the first quarter of the eighteenth century with the railway system of our own times. Then there was practically no means of getting from Galway to Dublin, except upon a pack-horse, or in a primitive chaise; and a man of property was sure to make his will before adventuring his life through the perils that would have beset him in such a journey. When this was the case there was little chance of the Galway silversmiths risking their plate upon the uncertainty of the double journey to and from Dublin, for the sake of having it assayed and stamped with the hall-marks. As in Cork, so in Galway, a stamp was adopted that was of equal value to the old "Hibernia" of the Dublin Assay Office. In Cork it was certainly the ship between two castles; in Galway, I hope yet to prove that it was the anchor.

I have already stated my reason for assigning the chalice to Galway. It was the gift of Mary to her nephew, Father Mark Skerrett, an old family and Galway tribal name. Hardiman, in his *History of Galway*, gives the following account of the Skerrett family:—"This old and respectable family is of considerable antiquity in Galway. The name was originally Huscared, and they derive their family origin from a noble English stock, one of whom, Roger Huscared, is mentioned by Dugdale as a judge at a very early period. Robert Huscared, or Scared, held lands in Connaught under Richard de Burgo in 1242. In the Registry of the Monastery of Athenry, Walter Huscared and Johanna his wife are mentioned among the principal benefactors of that foundation; and Richard Scared, or Skeret, who is supposed to have been their son, was Provost of Galway in 1378," &c.

In 1731, one year before the date engraved upon this chalice, the severe penal statutes against the Roman Catholics were put into force in Galway; and the subjoined extract from the returns made by the Mayor, Walter Taylor, in that year, will show the state of the Catholic clergy, and, as it makes frequent mention of the Skerretts, is interesting in connexion with the Skerrett chalice:—"They (the Sheriffs) also gave me an account of a reputed Popish chapel in Middle-street aforesaid, in which chapel there is an altar, a canopy, and some forms; and informed me that one Gregory French and Robert Skerrett, two Popish priests, usually officiated therein. And another Popish chapel, in the same street, in a warehouse belonging to Anthony Bodkin, merchant, with some forms; and that one Patrick Bermingham, titular warden, and some other priests or friars, whose names I could not learn, officiate therein; and which said warehouse was converted into a chapel five or six years ago. And that one Patrick Skerrett, a registered Popish priest, a very old man, officiates and says Mass (as they heard) in his chambers in Skinners-street; and that one Patrick Hoobane, an old registered priest, officiates and says Mass in the parish of Rahoon, in the west suburbs of Galway. And that one Gregory French is said to officiate in the house of *Widow Skerrett*, lately deceased, in Lombard-street, near the lower barrack," &c.

Here, therefore, we have convincing proof that the chalice came from Galway, and it only rests with us to work out the clue and discover where the chalice was made, and if the anchor town-mark, as used in

1732 or thereabouts, was the mark or stamp that authenticated the silver plate manufactured by the Goldsmiths' Guild in that ancient and historic city.

Mr. W. F. Wakeman, Hon. Local Secretary for Fermanagh, contributed the following Notes on an Ogam Pillar-stone in Aughascribbagh, Co. Tyrone; with some notice of the "Doonfeany Stone," near Ballycastle, Co. Mayo:—

Before entering upon the subject of my present brief Paper, which is simply intended as a description of a hitherto unnoticed Ogam-stone, situate in a wild and unfrequented part of the County Tyrone, called Aughascribbagh, lying not far from the sub-post-office and police barrack of Brough-derg, I shall venture to make a few remarks on the question of that class of monument, as generally seen in this country.

It may safely be stated that the practice of a kind of writing styled *Ogam craobh*, from its tree-like branchy appearance, was in use amongst certain orders of the Irish during a period which followed closely on the time of St. Patrick. That Ogam characters were known to, and were more or less used by, the learned in Erin during the course of many centuries succeeding the advent of our national saint, are facts which cannot for a moment be disputed. I need not now refer to certain treatises upon the subject which appear in several of our mediæval MSS., as in the "Book of Leinster," written, or rather compiled, by Finn Mac Gorman, Bishop of Kildare, who died A.D. 1130; and in that of Ballymote, compiled between A.D. 1370-98, in the house of Tomaltach Og Mac Donogh, Lord of Corron in the County of Sligo. The Ogam would seem never to have been lost sight of from a period of about the fifth century down to comparatively modern times.

It is a question yet to be solved, how this still somewhat mysterious style of writing first came to be used, and when. The Right Rev. Dr. Graves, Bishop of Limerick, who has almost exhaustively probed the subject, does not believe that we have Ogam monuments belonging to the centuries B.C. On the other hand, the late Professor O'Curry, our lamented Associate, R. R. Brash, M.R.I.A., and other eminent archæologists, attribute to the Ogam an antiquity of many centuries B.C. The question is comparatively in its infancy, and will not probably be finally decided for some time to come—not, at least, until our antiquaries shall have achieved a considerable further amount of monumental and philological investigation bearing upon this peculiar subject. In the meantime it may be observed that a considerable number of our ancient Gaedhelic writings, which treat of pagan times and usages, refer to the Ogam as having been generally in use during ante-Christian days in Erin, and especially for purposes of monumental commemoration: see, for instance, the following extract from the "Book of Lismore," given by the Bishop of Limerick, in his "Notes on the Ogam Beithluisnin," in *Hornathena*, vol. iii. :—

"We, the Fiann, said Cailte, both high and low, great and small, king and knight, raised a loud shout of lamentation for the brave and valiant champions. And a mound was dug for each of them; and they

were put into them; and his own arms along with each. Their tombstones were raised over their graves, and their Ogam names were written then."—"Book of Lismore," fol. 121, *b*.) See again, from an account of the battle of Gabhra, which was fought A. D. 283. The reference appears in the "Book of Leinster," and is, after all, a copy from much older writing:—

"An Ogam in a *lia*, a *lia* over a *leacht*,
In a place whither men went to battle,
The son of the king of Erin fell there,
Slain by a sharp spear on his white steed.


"That Ogam which is on the stone,
Around which the heavy hosts have fallen,
If the heroic Finn had lived,
Long would that Ogam be remembered."

(H. 2, 18, fol. 109, *b*, *a*.)

In an account of the death of Fiachra, son of Eochaidh Muighmhedhoín, and brother of Niall of the Nine Hostages, which appears in the "Book of Ballymote," the following curious story is given:—

"Then the men of Munster gave him battle in Caenraighe, and Maidhi Meascoragh wounded Fiachra mortally in the battle. Nevertheless, the men of Munster and the Erneans were defeated by dint of fighting, and suffered great slaughter. Then Fiachra carried away fifty hostages out of Munster, together with his tribute in full, and set forth on his march to Temar. Now when he had reached Forraidh in Uíbh Maccuais, in West Meath, Fiachra died of his wound. His grave was made, and his mound was raised, and his *cluiche cainte* (funeral rites, including games and dirges) were ignited, and his Ogam name was written, and the hostages which had been brought from the south were buried alive round Fiachra's grave."

But that it has so often been given I might here quote at length an account of the death and burial of Fothadh Airgthech, who was killed in the battle of Ollarba, fought, according to the "Annals of the Four Masters," in the year A.D. 285. The record concludes by stating:—"And there is a pillar-stone on the carn; and an Ogam is (inscribed) on the end of the pillar-stone which is in the earth. And what is in it is Eochaid Airgthech here."—"Leabhar na h-Uidhre," fol. 133, *bb*.)

But it would appear from the Brehon Laws that Ogam-inscribed stones were sometimes placed in mounds, where they might be referred to as authorities defining the meanings of territories or landed possessions. An interesting example of what appears to be a flag of this class was discovered in the summer of 1875, amongst material removed a yard or so from the great carn which crowns the summit of Toppid Mountain, near Enniskillen. All the particulars of this "find" were contributed by me to our "Journal" for October of that year. For the sake of illustration, the etching which accompanied my Paper on that occasion is here reproduced. The flag (red sandstone) measures one foot six inches by eight and three-quarter inches. It is three and three-quarter inches in greatest, and two and a-half inches in its smallest thickness. The inscription plainly reads  *nattacu*, and is evidently complete in itself, the ends of the stone being rounded and

timeworn, presenting not the least appearance of having been fractured since the time the legend was cut.

To those who have paid even a passing attention to the subject of the Ogam question, it is evident that the character was sometimes on other material than that of stone, and for purposes widely different from any to which I have glanced. There exists very strong documentary evidence of its having been applied to wood, and even to iron. Examples occur on bone, amber, gold, silver, and lead. The specimen in lead which I was fortunate enough to discover in 1844, in the possession of an aged Catholic retired clergyman, who was using the vessel upon which it appeared as an inkbottle, is extremely valuable not only from the legend being in relief but also from the circumstance of its discovery in Kilmallock, the name of which place it gives. The Ogams are in two lines, and, if read from the bottom upwards, render the words:

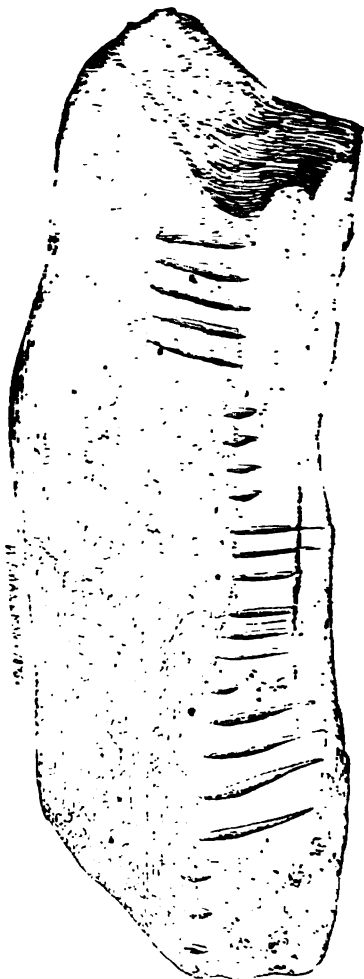
"Nig lasmeich and Cill Mocholmog."

The object on which they occur is a narrow quadrangular vessel, one inch and three-eighths in height, with sides converging upwards, and with a low small circular neck.

No doubt the Ogam character, in one form or another, was not unfrequently used as a charm, or, as shown by Bishop Graves, for purposes of divination.

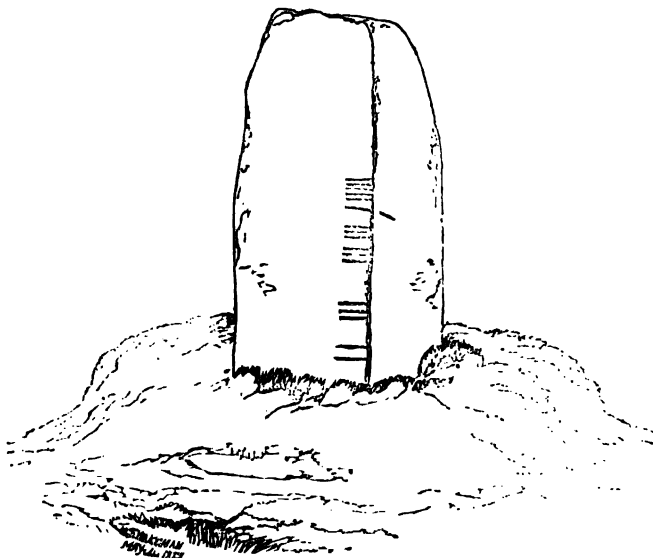
I shall now endeavour to describe the Aghascribbagh monument, which with its belongings is of considerable interest as bearing upon the pagan character of no small number of kindred remains.

It is simply a *dallan*, or pillar-stone, of yellow sandstone, nearly square in plan, and measuring above ground four feet in height. The dimensions of the base are one foot six by one foot seven. As shown in the accompanying etching, the stone gradually narrows towards the top. The *ulaidh* from which it rises is now of rather small proportions, and has evidently been encroached upon by the farming operations of ages. The pillar bears upon its south-east angle an array of well-marked Ogam characters, which would seem to



Ogam Stone from Carn on Toppid Mountain, Co. Fermanagh.

constitute the whole of the inscription as originally cut or punched. The characters are **II III III III III / III**. The exact mode in which the work was executed is at present, owing to the partial weathering of the stone, difficult to determine. The majority of the strokes measure as nearly as possible three and a-quarter inches in length; but in one of the spaces three notches, representing the vowel *u*, in the Roman alphabet, are little more than dots: a slightly oblique score crossing the angle and measuring six and a-half inches in length, indicates the letter *m* in



Ogham Stone and Ulaidh at Aughascribbagh, Co. Tyrone.

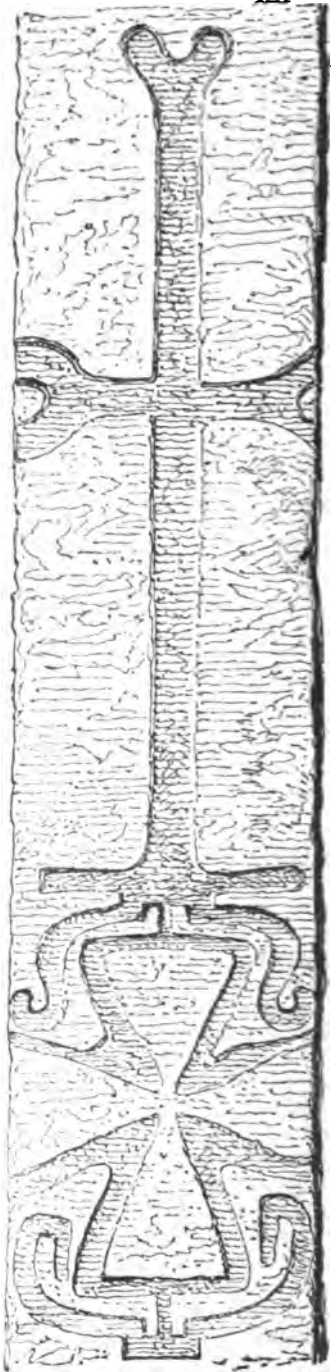
the Ogam style. The inscription is twenty-one and a-half inches in length, and would seem to commence from the base. Sir Samuel Ferguson, to whose judgment I submitted a careful drawing made from a rubbing of the scorings, was kind enough to reply as follows:—"Your Aughascribbagh Ogam is quite a new contribution. If you are right in your transcript, as I dare say you are, it is another proof of the existence of cryptic varieties. Having no phonetic force in the ordinary equivalents, its expression of sound, not to speak of meaning—though it is probably a proper name—must be looked for through the aid of a key not yet discovered."

It is to be hoped that a key to this truly cryptic puzzle may yet be found. There can be no doubt that it was intended to convey a meaning. The *ulaidh* or *carn*, as I have already intimated, presents the appearance of having been sadly denuded and encroached upon. It is composed chiefly of small stones, and now measures about seven or eight feet in diameter.

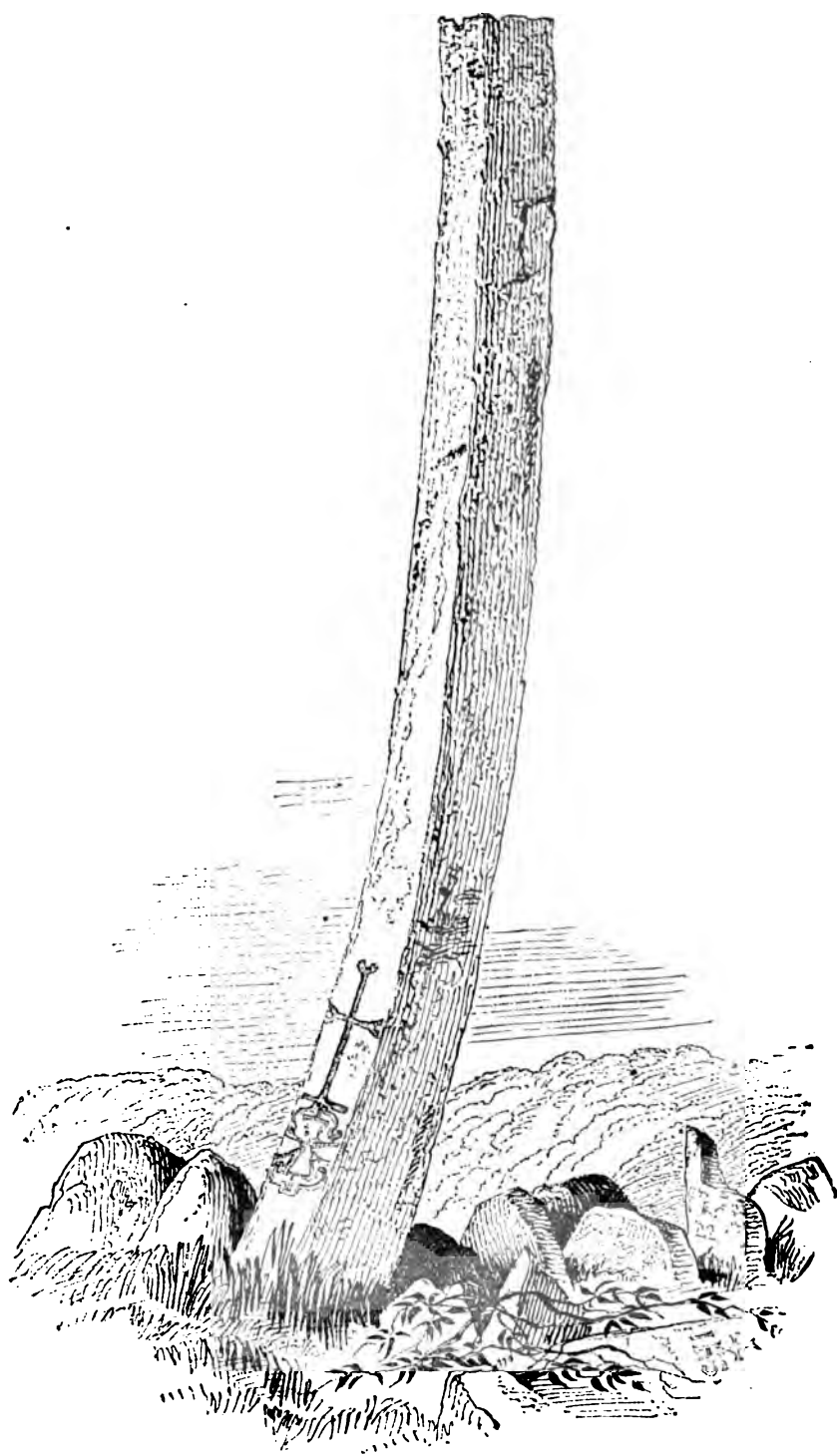
Here then we find an Ogam-bearing monument which exhibits all the features of a pagan tomb, as described in our oldest MSS., which there is reason to believe are themselves but transcripts of documents still considerably more ancient. But this is not all. Just immediately adjoining stands a *dallan*, about fourteen feet in height, and of enormous

breadth and thickness—a memorial indeed of a kind which it was not the custom of any Christian community to upraise. It is perfectly plain, and has evidently never been touched by a hammer or chisel. Near the brow of the hill, almost facing these two “sentinels of Time,” occurs a magnificent stone circle, which is accompanied by several other pillar-stones of great size. These I hope to describe in a future Paper, giving drawings and measurements. No indication of ancient Christian culture remains about this interesting spot, the aspect of which is singularly weird and pagan. The neighbouring people, who are few in number, accept the usual tradition in connexion with such monuments, that these stones were placed as they now stand by giants.

The foregoing remarks had scarcely been penned, when Charles Elcock, of Belfast, a gentleman whose archaeological and artistic taste is well known to a large circle of friends, was kind enough to place at my disposal two sketches, or drawings, which he had recently made of a pillar-stone called the “Doonfeeny Stone,” from the place in the Co. Mayo, near Ballycastle, where it is found. This is certainly one of the most remarkable monuments of its class still remaining in Ireland. It measures 21 or 22 feet in height (above ground), by 16½ inches in width, and 10 in thickness. It is probably one of the few remaining examples of the *coirthe*, or idol stones, to which we can point. An early cross, surmounted by a canopy, has been carved upon its base. From this rises a second cross, the whole of the design measuring 42 inches in length. The lower cross is of the earliest Christian kind, and is probably coeval with that at St. Brigid’s Well near Clifony, bearing the *Swastika* emblem, and which was figured by me in the “Journal” of the Association a few months ago. It possesses much in common with the carving on a stone at Kilfountain, Co. Kerry, which, as it bears the name of Fintan, must be considered as old at least as the sixth century.



Crosses cut on base of the Doonfeeny Pillar-stone, Co. Mayo.



Pillar-stone at Doonfeeny, Co. Mayo.

It would be a highly interesting pursuit to trace, step by step, the gradual development of the Scotie cross-builder's art, from the huge and rugged *coirthe*, or dallan, monument, idol, boundary-stone, or whatever it may have been, to the exquisite art treasures which we still happily possess in the royal monuments of Clonmacnois, Tuam, and other sites of learning, piety and art. The changes were slow but sure and progressive, and to a skilful antiquary the task would present no difficulty. There can be little question that St. Patrick and his immediate followers destroyed, in their horror of all that was idolatrous, a large number of the pillar-stones which, "time out of mind," had been venerated, or even worshipped by our pagan ancestors; but nevertheless a considerable number would appear to have been permitted to remain. These, in not a few instances, would seem to have been consecrated to the Faith and, from having been idols, were transformed into memorials of the triumph of Christianity. We are not without tangible evidence of such adaptation having been effected. Several of our apparently oldest lithic monuments may be observed rudely punched with the figure of a primitive cross, accompanied by one or other of the inscriptions DNI, DNO, or DOM. Probably, if carefully looked for in sequestered localities, many other examples might be found, particularly in islands off the southern and western coast. Dr. Todd, in his *Life of St. Patrick*, I think, has conclusively shown the generally received idea of the sudden and, it may be said, miraculous conversion of Ireland in the days of the saint, and in those of his immediate successors, to be wholly erroneous. It would appear that, so late as the sixth century, there were still pagans in Burren, in the now county of Clare. Our earliest crosses, so called, were simply pillar-stones carved with the emblem of Christianity. The figure is usually very simple, and of the plain Greek or Roman pattern. It springs sometimes from a line curved upwards, somewhat like the head of a ship's anchor; and at times the line is so fashioned that a student of archaic forms might fancy the design as intended to represent an ancient galley.

The figure of a ship, with the mast crossed at right angles by a spar, appears to have been a favourite symbol of the Faith amongst Roman Christians of the third and fourth centuries. From their conventional treatment it is at times difficult to determine whether, in some of our early cross designs, the lower curved line was intended to symbolize a ship or an anchor, the emblem of Hope. I do not now essay to write a treatise on the subject of our cross emblems, embellishments, or designs. Such a work would require a volume or more for its elucidation; but, before closing this present sketchy Paper, I would wish to draw attention to the fact that it requires little exercise of imagination to trace to primitive native sources—early even as the time when the bronze culture prevailed in Erin—that spirit of design which ultimately culminated in the unequalled and justly styled "OPUS HIBERNICUM."

Mr. George H. Kinahan, M.R.I.A., sent the following extract from the *Chemical Society's Journal* for 1881, being an examination of the material of some French Vitrified Forts. By Daubrée (*Comptes Rendus*, 92, 269-274):—

"Vitrified forts are enceintes or wall débris, the material of which,

consisting—according to the locality—of granite, gneiss, quartzite, clay-slate, basalt, &c., has been cemented together by the aid of fire. They are found in different countries, and usually rest on older rock, crystalline or non-crystalline, which contain but little lime. A specimen from La Courbe, Orne, consisted of a semi-fused, deep brown, slag-like glass, which contained a large number of transparent octahedrons, probably spinelle, besides other crystals, having the physical characteristics of humboldtite.

“Analysis indicates that this glass was obtained by adding common salt to an aluminic silicate, such as clay or schist. The analysis of a vitreous, vesicular, fragile, greenish-grey specimen from Sainte Sussanne show that in this case fusion was effected by the addition of soda to some argillaceous substance. The forts at Puy de Gandy have been constructed of granite, containing white orthoclase, oligoclase, quartz, and black mica. The specimens have been completely fused on the outside, but the interior still retains the appearance of granite, although the mica has been replaced by a brown, opaque, vesicular substance; and the felspar has in some cases undergone disintegration. A portion of the felspar has undergone complete fusion, and some of the granite has been changed into innumerable crystals of spinelle, and into microlites, which partly consist of triclinic felspar. These alterations have in some cases extended a great distance into the masses of rock employed in the construction of the forts. The mica contains small portions of fluorine, which would assist in the alteration of the granite; but there is no proof of the addition of any flux, the mean composition of the altered rock being that of an average granite. The examination of these and other specimens shows that fusion was not always effected in the same way, but that the method employed varied according to the materials operated upon. It also shows that the constructors of the forts were experienced in the management of fire, and were acquainted with the means of obtaining and maintaining an intense heat.”

Mr. Robert Day, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., sent the following, copied by him some years ago from an old Bible in the family of Mr. Turkington of Athlone, an account of the storm which passed over that place, with such disastrous results, in the month of October, 1697.

Athlone had already been subject to the two sieges mentioned in the MSS.—the first in July, 1690, when General Douglas was forced to retire from before the place; and again, in June of the following year, when the town was invested and taken by the English forces, commanded by Ginkle.

Harriss, in his *Life of King William III.*, Dublin, 1749, records that “the soldiers get good store of plunder among the ruins.” Enough is contained in this short sentence to show that the townspeople could ill bear the great desolation which this storm brought upon

them. Its story, so well told in the old book, is confirmed by the signature of the then Governor of Athlone, Gustavus Hamilton, a name that often occurs among the military records which fill up the latter years of the seventeenth century in Irish annals. He was the same that was elected Governor of Enniskillen, 1688, and colonel of the foot and horse which were raised there at that time.

"A true narrative of the Prodigious Storm of Wind, Rain, Tunder, and Lightning that happened in Athlone, betwixt four and five of the clock, on Wednesday morning, being the 27th of October, 1697, as it was unanimously declared before the Sovereign and Governor of the said Town, upon the examinations of the Officers and Soldiers of the main guard and guard of Dublin-gate; and likewise by the 8 sentinels that stood on the bastions and works during this horrid scene: together with the dreadful consequences that attended the blowing up of the stores.

"1. A terrible blast of high wind suddenly shook and stripped y^e Guard House, by the terrour of which the Guard fled to the door and window.

"2. A dreadful shower of rain, as if a whole cloud had fallen on the street, which, being forced by a violent wind, made a prodigious noise as it fell.

"3. After the rain a dreadful and terrible clap of Tunder.

"4. Ensued a thick darkness, that continued for the space of half a quarter-of-an-hour.

"5. Broke out continued lightning, without ceasing, so that Heaven and Earth seemed to be united by y^e flame, which was more terrible to y^e Guards than all that happened before, and ended with three claps of dreadful tunder in a fiery cloud from y^e north, and running violently thro' the air stopt just above y^e castle: and at the last of y^e three claps, in the twinkling of an eye, fell a wonderful great body of fire or lightning, out of y^e said cloud (in figure round) directly upon the Castle: and in a moment after, the magazin took fire and blew up 260 barrells of powder, 1000 charged hand-grenades, with 810 skanes of match, which were piled over them, 220 barrells of musket and pistol balls, great quantities of pick-axes, spades, shovels, horse shoes and nails, all which blew up into the air and covered y^e whole Town and neighbouring fields, by the violence of which the Town gates were all blown open. The poor inhabitants, who were generally asleep when the tragick scene began, awakened with y^e different surprizing misfortunes y^e befel them: some finding themselves buried in y^e ruins of their own houses; others finding their houses in a flame above their heads; others blown from their beds into y^e streets; others having their brains knocked out with the fall of great stones, and breaking of hand-grenades in their houses. These surprizing disasters within doors made most of these poor amazed mortals fly for shelter to y^e street, where, to their greater astonishment, they saw the air filled with different shapes of fire, ready to fall upon their houses and heads; the great quantities of match that was blown up occasioning

these different figures of fire, which being followed by great Tunder claps made a great many of these helpless inhabitants believe, with reason, y^t it was the day of Judgement, and therefore for some time minded nothing but their prayers, without using any other means for the preservation of themselves or neighbours. In the meantime the lighted match firing the thatched houses burned to the ground the greater part of what the Tunder and blast had left standing, that little remained of the whole Town but a few poor cottages without gates. It is not to be omitted the wonderful deliverance of Mr. Dodwell, store-keeper, and Mr. Roe, one of the bayliffs of y^e town, who being buried in the Rubbige at least six hours after this fatal accident happened, were at length dugg out with their wives dead in their arms. Mr. Dodwell is in a fair way of recovery, and Mr. Roe perfectly well. God's great care of the inhabitants was very wonderful in this great disaster, there being but 36 wounded and 7 killed in y^e whole Town. There is above 100 Families that have been sufferers in this great misfortune, and by the most moderate computation their losses amount to above £5000, which, considering they lately suffered by two sieges, most undoubtedly reduce them to great extremeties, unless speedily relieved by the generous charity of well-disposed persons.

"I do affirm that, upon the strictest enquiry I could make, I find this to be a true account, and therefore desire that no other may be written.

"(Signed),

GUSTAVUS HAMILTON."

Mr. George H. Kinahan, M.R.I.A., sent the following notes on some peculiarities in Sepulchral Urns:—

Will you allow me to make some observations on Mr. Wakeman's Paper on the find at Broughderg, Co. Tyrone, p. 740. He seems to suggest that, in the ornamentation on the bottom of the urn, the lines in the compartments ought to be equal in number. Now this is a subject I have been lately considering, on account of the fragments of an urn found at Cummer, Co. Wexford, being suggested to be pieces of two urns, on account of a slight difference in the pattern and thickness of the pieces; and an examination of the urns in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy has led me to the following general conclusions:—

First—The figuring on an urn, although after one design, is not always alike in detail; while in some places the pattern is much more rudely done than in others. The lines in triangles, square, and such like, although having a somewhat similar appearance, are very often quite unequal in numbers, while they are differently placed, as if the operator filled in the spaces with lines, but after no special pattern. In the more conspicuous portions there are also varieties in the detail: some circles and curves will be smaller than others, as if the surface had been badly spaced, and some of the figures had to be made smaller to get them in; while the scores, making up adjoining circles, curves, and lines, will not be equal in number. Other discrepancies might also be pointed out.

Second—The material in the sides of the urns, as in the rude pottery of the present day, is not of equal thickness. To this appears to be due the want of symmetry in many of these, as while drying the thick and

heavier parts appear to have weighed down, and made the vessels more or less lob-sided; sometimes this irregularity in thickness is very considerable, and consequently the urn, after it was dried and baked, it became considerably unsymmetrical. Some are made of very coarse materials, others of fine carefully prepared stuff; and the latter usually are much more symmetrical, and better finished in every way than the others.

In the *Dublin Penny Journal* for September 26, 1835 (vol. iv. p. 97), we learn that Mr. Isaac Glenny, of Glenvale, Newry, Co. Down, made extensive explorations of the Carns in that county, which are stated to be very numerous. It is the writer of this article, signing himself "J. R., Hilltown," who calls the small urns, found inside the large ones, lachrymatories, and thus explains the term—"an earthen vessel, wherein the ancients received the tears of those friends that attended the funeral of the deceased, and buried them with the departed friend or relation." He, however, in describing some of the finds, states that in the small urns black earth was found, which is "supposed to be the ashes of the heart" of the deceased.

It interests me to learn that a megalithic structure in the Co. Tyrone should be called a "load," as the megalithic structures on the Pass of Cummer, Co. Wexford, are called "the loads," which name is accounted for by a tradition that when the castle of Ferns was being built the carts broke down here. Curious, that Ferns castle has been built entirely of local stones; why, therefore, the story should have originated I cannot imagine. I regret to say that, when the neighbouring chapel of Monaseed was being built, the megalithic structures were destroyed, and the stones carted away. Dr. Joyce translates Monaseed as the "bog of the arrows"; and I find that, in the boggy flat near, flint arrow-heads have been discovered, while there was a kistvaen and urn found near the bridge over the stream.

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